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THE

EARLIER PROPHECIES

OF

ISAIAH.

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BY

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PREFACE.

To prevent misapprehension and facilitate the use of the following work, some explanation may be needed with respect to its design and execution. The specific end at which it aims is that of making the results of philological and critical research available for purposes of practical utility. In attempting to accomplish this important purpose, it was soon found indispensable to fix upon some definite portion of the reading public, whose capacities, acquirements, and wants might be consulted in determining the form and method of the exposition. Some learned and ingenious works in this department have been rendered to a great extent practically useless, by the want of a determinate fitness for any considerable class of readers, being at once too pedantic for the ignorant and too elementary for the instructed. In the present case there seemed to be some latitude of choice, and yet but one course on the whole advisable. Works exclusively adapted to the use of profound orientalists and biblical scholars are almost prohibited among ourselves at present, by the paucity of competent writers and congenial readers. Works designed for the immediate use of the unlearned must of necessity be superficial and imperfect, and are proved by experience to be not the most effective means of influencing even those for whom they are expressly written. The obscurer parts of Scripture, or at least of the Old Testament, can be most effectually brought to bear upon the popular mind by employing the intermediate agency of an intelligent and educated ministry. The people may be best taught in such cases through their teachers, by furnishing a solid scientific basis for their popular instructions. Under the influence of these considerations an attempt has here been made to concentrate and economize the

labours of the ministry in this field, by affording them a partial succedaneum for many costly books, and enabling them to profit by the latest philological improvements and discoveries, without the inconveniences and even dangers which attend a direct resort to the original authorities.

What has now been said will explain a feature of the plan, which might at first sight seem to be at variance with the ultimate design of the whole work, to wit, the exclusion of the practical element, or rather of its formal exhibition in the shape of homiletical and doctrinal reflections. A work upon Isaiah so constructed as to constitute a series of lectures or expository sermons, instead of doing for the clergy what they need and what they wish, would be attempting to do for them that which they can do far better for themselves, by presenting one of the many forms in which the substance of the book may be employed for the instruction and improvement of their people. The effect of this consideration is enhanced by an impression, which the author's recent labours have distinctly made upon his mind, that much of the fanciful and allegorical interpretation heretofore current has arisen from a failure to discriminate sufficiently between the province of the critical interpreter and that of the expository lecturer or preacher, the effect of which has been to foist into the Scriptures, as a part of their original and proper sense, a host of applications and accommodations, which have no right there, however admissible and even useful in their proper place. Let the professional interpreter content himself with furnishing the raw material in a sound and merchantable state, without attempting to prescribe the texture, colour, shape, or quantity of the indefinitely varied fabrics into which it is the business of the preacher to transform it. From these considerations it will be perceived that the omission now in question has arisen, not merely from a want of room, and not at all from any disregard to practical utility, but on the contrary from a desire to promote it in the most effectual manner.

Another point, which may be here explained, is the relation of the following commentary to the authorized English Version of Isaiah. It was at first proposed to make the latter the immediate basis of the exposition, simply calling in the aid of the original to rectify the errors or clear up the obscurities of the translation.

The primary reason for abandoning this method was its tendency to generate an indirect and circuitous method of interpretation. A still higher motive for the change was afforded by its probable effect in promoting thorough biblical learning, and discouraging the sluggish disposition to regard the common version as the ultimate authority, and even to insist upon its errors or fortuitous peculiarities as parts of a divine revelation. The contrary disposition to depreciate the merits of the English Bible, by gratuitous departures from its form or substance, is comparatively rare, and where it does exist is to be corrected, not by wilful ignorance, but by profound and discriminating knowledge of the version and original. The practical conclusion, in the present case, has been to make the Hebrew text exclusively the subject of direct interpretation, but to give the common version all the prominence to which it is entitled by its intrinsic excellence and by its peculiar interest and value to the English reader. It may be thought that the shortest and easiest method of accomplishing this object would have been that adopted by Maurer, Knobel, and some other writers, who, without giving any continuous version of the text, confine their comments to its difficult expressions. It was found upon experiment, however, that much circumlocution might be spared in many cases by a simple version, or at most by an explanatory paraphrase. A literal translation of the whole text has therefore been incorporated in the present work, not as a mere appendage or accompaniment, much less as a substitute or rival of the common version, which is too completely in possession of the public ear and memory to be easily displaced even if it were desirable, but simply as a necessary and integral part of the interpretation. The grounds of this arrangement will be stated more fully in the Introduction, of which it may as well be said in this place as in any other, that it makes no pretensions to the character of an exhaustive compilation, but is simply, as its name imports, a preparation for what follows, consisting partly in preliminary statements, partly in general summaries, the particulars of which are scattered through the exposition.

Another question, which presented itself early in the progress of the work, was the question whether it should be a record of the author's individual conclusions merely, or to some extent a history

of the interpretation. The only argument in favour of the first plan was the opportunity which it afforded of including all Isaiah in a single volume. As to economy of time and labour, it was soon found that as much of these must be expended on a simple statement of the true sense as would furnish the materials for a synopsis of the different opinions. The latter method was adopted, therefore, not merely for this negative reason, but also for the sake of the additional interest imparted to the work by this enlargement of the plan, and the valuable antidote to exegetical extravagance and crudity, afforded by a knowledge of earlier opinions and even of exploded errors. These advantages were reckoned of sufficient value to be purchased even by a sacrifice of space, and it was therefore determined to confine the present publication to the Earlier Prophecies (ch. I–XXXIX), the rest being reserved to form the subject of another volume. This separation was the more convenient as the Later Prophecies (ch. XL–LXVI) are now universally regarded as a continuous and homogeneous composition, requiring, in relation to its authenticity, a special critical investigation.

But although it was determined that the work should be historical as well as exegetical, it was of course impossible to compass the whole range of writers on Isaiah, some of whom were inaccessible, and others wholly destitute of any thing original, and therefore without influence upon the progress of opinion. This distinction was particularly made in reference to the older writers, while a more complete exhibition was attempted of the later literature. Some recent writers were at first overlooked through accident or inadvertence, and the omission afterwards continued for the sake of uniformity, or as a simple matter of convenience. Some of these blanks it is proposed to fill in any further prosecution of the author's plan. The citation of authorities becomes less frequent and abundant, for the most part, as the work advances and the reader is supposed to have become familiar with the individual peculiarities of different interpreters, as well as with the way in which they usually group themselves in schools and parties, after which it will be generally found sufficient to refer to acknowledged leaders or the authors of particular interpretations. The prominence given to the modern German writers has arisen not from choice but from necessity, because their labours have been so

abundant, because their influence is so extensive, and because one prominent design of the whole work is to combine the valuable processes and products of the new philology with sounder principles of exegesis. Hence too the constant effort to expound the book with scrupulous adherence to the principles and usages of Hebrew syntax, as established by the latest and best writers. The reference to particular grammars was gradually discontinued and exchanged for explanations in my own words, partly for want of a conventional standard, alike familiar to my readers and myself, partly because the latter method was soon found upon experiment to be the most effectual and satisfactory, in reference to the object which I had in view.

The appearance of the work has been delayed by various causes, but above all by a growing sense of its difficulty and of incapacity to do it justice, together with a natural reluctance to confess how little after all has been accomplished. To some it will probably be no commendation of the work to say, that the author has considered it his duty to record the failure as well as the success of exegetical attempts, and to avoid the presumption of knowing every thing as well as the disgrace of knowing nothing. His deliberate conclusion from the facts with which he has become acquainted in the prosecution of his present task, is that quite as much error has arisen from the effort to know more than is revealed, as from the failure to apply the means of illustration which are really at our disposal. As advantages arising from delay in this case may be mentioned some additional maturity of judgment and the frequent opportunity of reconsideration, with the aid of contemporary writers on Isaiah, of whom seven have appeared since this book was projected, besides several auxiliary works of great importance, such as Fürst's Concordance, Nordheimer's Grammar, Hävernick's Introduction, Robinson's Palestine, the later numbers of Gesenius's Thesaurus, and the last edition of his Manual Lexicon. It is proper to add that, although the plan was formed and the collection of materials begun more than ten years ago, the work has been wholly, and some parts of it repeatedly, reduced to writing as it passed through the press. The advantage thus secured of being able to record the last impressions and to make use of the latest helps, has this accompanying inconvenience, that

changes insensibly take place in the details of the execution, tending to impair its uniformity without affecting its essential character. To such external blemishes it is of course unnecessary to invite attention by any more particular description or apology.

Since the printing of the volume was completed, the typographical errors have been found to be more numerous than was expected, although for the most part less injurious to the work than discreditable to the author, who is justly accountable for this defect, on account of the very imperfect state in which the manuscript was furnished to the printer. Instead of resorting to the usual apologies of distance from the press and inexperience in the business, or appealing to the fact that the sheets could be subjected only once to his revision, he prefers to throw himself upon the candour and indulgence of his readers, and especially of those who have experienced the same mortification. At the same time, it will not be improper to direct the attention of the reader, at the very outset, to a few of the errata, which more immediately affect the sense, or do not readily correct themselves.—P. 3, l. 11, for *verb* read *rest*.—P. 47, l. 7, for *heard* read *hard*. Of the errors in the Hebrew, which for the most part may be easily corrected by a reference to the Hebrew Bible, only one or two will be enumerated here. On p. 110, l. 29, for שִׁשִּׁים read שִׁשִּׁים.—P. 198, l. 15, for אֹיר read אִיר.—P. 224, l. 21, for יִרְמָא read מְרִיא.—P. 408, l. 3, for הִידְלִי read יִחוּלִי.—P. 469, l. 9, read יִתָּקֵעַ.—P. 513, l. 12, read פֶּרֶן נֹפֶל.—P. 515, l. 11, read *πολλοί*. The want of uniformity in the insertion or omission of the Hebrew points is certainly a blemish, but will not, it is hoped, occasion any serious inconvenience, even to the inexperienced reader. It arose from the accidental combination of two different methods, each of which has its advantages, the one as being more convenient for beginners, the other as favouring the useful habit of deciphering the unpointed text, and rendering typographical correctness more attainable.

Princeton, April 20, 1846.

INTRODUCTION.

The English words *prophet*, *prophesy*, and *prophecy*, have long been appropriated, by established usage, to the prediction of future events. To prophesy, according to the universal acceptation of the term, is to foretell, and a prophet is one who does or can foretell things yet to come. This restricted application of the terms in question has materially influenced the interpretation of the prophetic scriptures by modern and especially by English writers. It is necessary, therefore, to compare the common use of these expressions with the corresponding terms in Greek and Hebrew.

The Greek προφήτης (from πρόφημι) is used in the classics not only to denote specifically a foreteller, but more generally an authoritative speaker in the name of God, in which sense it is applied to the official expounders of the oracles, and to poets as the *prophets of the muses*, i. e. as speaking in their name, at their suggestion, or by their inspiration. This latitude of meaning, in the classical usage of the term, agrees exactly with its application in the Greek of the New Testament, not only to those gifted with the knowledge of futurity, but in a wider sense to inspired teachers or expounders of the will of God in the primitive church. It is evident, therefore, that our *prophet*, *prophesy*, and *prophecy*, are much more restricted in their import than the Greek words from which they are derived, as employed both by the classical and sacred writers.

It may be said, however, that in this restricted usage we adhere to the primary and proper import of the terms, as the πρό in πρόφημι and προφήτης, no less than the *prae* in *praedico*, must have originally signified *before*, i. e. beforehand. Even this might be plausibly disputed, as the primary sense of πρό would seem to be not temporal but local, the idea of priority in time being given by the best lexicographers as secondary to that of antecedence or priority in place, in which case the particle in composition may have originally signified, not so much the futurity of the things declared, as the authority of the person who declared them. (Compare προεστῶς, προϊστάμενος, *antistes*, *praetor*, *praefectus*, *foreman*.) But even granting that the obvious and common supposition is correct, viz., that the πρό in πρόφημι and

its derivatives has primary reference to time, the actual extension of the terms to other authoritative declarations, and especially to those made in the name of God, is clear from the usage both of the classics and of the New Testament. Looking merely to these sources of elucidation, we might still assert with confidence, that the modern use of the words *prophet* and *prophecy* is more restricted than that of the Greek terms from which they are derived.

But this is a very small part of the evidence on which the affirmation rests. The prophets, of whom the New Testament chiefly speaks, are not heathen prophets, nor even the προφῆται of the apostolic churches, but the prophets of the old dispensation. The terms applied to them must therefore be interpreted, not merely by a reference to etymology, or to classical usage, or to that of the New Testament itself, but by an appeal to the import and usage of the Hebrew terms, which the Greek ones are designed to represent. As soon as we resort to this source of illustration, the doubt which seemed to overhang the question, when considered as a question of Greek usage, disappears. We have here no probabilities to balance as to the primary import of a particle, no extension of the meaning of the whole word to account for or explain away. The etymology of נָבִיא, and the cognate verbal forms, makes it impossible to look upon foresight or prediction as their primary and necessary import. The only derivation, which can now be regarded as philologically tenable, is that which makes the word originally signify the act of pouring forth or uttering, a natural figure in all languages for speech, and more especially for public, solemn, and continuous discourse. In actual usage, the Hebrew words are admitted by modern writers of all schools and creeds to signify specifically one who speaks (or the act of speaking) for God, not only in his name and by his authority, but under his influence, in other words, by divine inspiration. The precise meaning of the noun נָבִיא is clear from Exodus 7 : 1, where the Lord says unto Moses, *See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet*, i. e. thy interpreter, thy organ of communication. (See Gesenius's Thesaurus, s. v. נָבָא.) The etymology proposed by Redslob, which gives נָבִיא the sense of a person sprinkled or baptized with the Spirit of God, if it can be established, only makes the primary and essential reference to inspiration still more certain than the common one. The few departures from this simple elementary idea, which the lexicons still recognise, may all be reduced to it more easily and naturally than to any other. For example, when Abraham is called a prophet (Gen. 20 : 7), there is no need of diluting the sense of the expression into that of a mere friend of God, which is sufficiently implied in the strict and common sense of an inspired person. It is equally unnecessary, on the other hand, to give the verb the sense of *raving* or becoming mad, when applied to Saul

(1 Sam. 18: 10), since it is there expressly mentioned that *an evil spirit from God had come upon him*, so that he was really *inspired*, however fearful and mysterious the nature of the inspiration may have been. A complete induction of particulars would show, with scarcely the appearance of a doubtful case or an exception, that the essential idea, running through the whole Hebrew usage of the verb and noun, is that of *inspiration*. The suggestion of Gesenius, that the verb is used exclusively in passive or reflexive forms because the prophet was supposed to be under a controlling influence, is not improbable in itself, and harmonizes fully with the usage of the words as already stated.

Another obvious deduction from the usage of the language is, that although נָבִיא, like many other terms of such perpetual occurrence, is employed both in a wider and a more restricted sense, the distinction thus made is not that between inspiration in general and the foresight of the future in particular. There is probably not a single instance in which the word denotes the latter, except as one important function of the power which it properly describes. The gift of prophecy included that of prophetic foresight, but it included more. The prophet was inspired to reveal the will of God, to act as an organ of communication between God and man. The subject of the revelations thus conveyed was not and could not be restricted to the future. It embraced the past and present, and extended to those absolute and universal truths which have no relation to time. This is what we should expect *a priori* in a divine revelation, and it is what we actually find it to contain. That the prophets of the old dispensation were not mere foretellers of things future, is apparent from their history as well as from their writings. The historical argument is stated forcibly by Gill when he observes, that Daniel proved himself a prophet by telling Nebuchadnezzar what he had dreamed, as much as by interpreting the dream itself; that it was only by prophetic inspiration that Elijah knew what Gehazi had been doing; and that the woman of Samaria very properly called Christ a prophet, because he told her all things that ever she did. In all these cases, and in multitudes of others, the essential idea is that of inspiration, its frequent reference to things still future being accidental, i. e. not included in the uniform and necessary import of the terms.

The restriction of these terms in modern parlance to the prediction of events still future has arisen from the fact that a large proportion of the revelations made in Scripture, and precisely those which are the most surprising and impressive, are of this description. The frequency of such revelations, and the prominence given to them, not in this modern usage merely, but in the word of God itself, admit of easy explanation. It is partly owing to the fact that revelations of the future would be naturally sought with more avidity, and treated with more deference, than any other by

mankind in general. It is further owing to the fact that of all the kinds of revelation, this is the one which affords the most direct and convincing proof of the prophet's inspiration. The knowledge of the present or the past or of general truths might be imparted by special inspiration, but it might also be acquired in other ways ; and this possibility of course makes the evidence of inspiration thus afforded more complete and irresistible than any other. Hence the function of foretelling what was future, although but a part of the prophetic office, was peculiarly conspicuous and prominent in public view, and apt to be more intimately associated with the office itself in the memory of man.

These considerations seem sufficient to account, not only for the change of meaning which the words have undergone in later usage, but also for the instances, if any such there be, in which the Bible itself employs them to denote exclusively prophetic foresight or the actual prediction of the future. But there is still another reason, more important than either of these, afforded by the fact, that the old dispensation, with all its peculiar institutions, was prospective in its character, a preparation for better things to come. It is not surprising, therefore, that a part of this economy so marked and prominent as prophecy, should have exhibited a special leaning towards futurity.

This naturally leads us from the theoretical idea of a prophet as a person speaking by divine authority and inspiration, to the practical consideration of the end or purpose aimed at in the whole prophetic institution. This was not merely the relief of private doubts, much less the gratification of private curiosity. The gift of prophecy was closely connected with the general design of the old economy. The foundation of the system was the Law, as recorded in the five books of Moses. In that, as an epitome, the rest of the Old Testament is contained, at least as to its seminal principles. The single book of Deuteronomy, and that the very one with which critical caprice in modern times has taken the most liberties, exhibits specimens of every style employed by the sacred writers elsewhere. Still more remarkably is this true of the whole Pentateuch, in reference not merely to its manner but its matter, as comprising virtually all that is developed and applied in the revelations of the later books. To make this developement and application was the business of the prophets. The necessity of such an institution was no afterthought. The law itself provides for it. The promise of a prophet like unto Moses, in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy, according to one of its most plausible interpretations, comprehends the promise of a constant succession of inspired men, so far as this should be required by the circumstances of the people, of which succession Christ himself was to be the greatest.

This promise was abundantly fulfilled. In every emergency requiring such an interposition, we find prophets present and active, and in some important periods of the history of Israel they existed in great numbers.

These, though not all inspired writers, were all inspired men, raised up and directed by a special divine influence, to signify and sometimes to execute the will of God, in the administration of the theocracy. Joshua is expressly represented as enjoying such an influence, and is always reckoned in the Jewish tradition as a prophet. The judges who succeeded him were all raised up in special emergencies, and were directed and controlled by a special divine influence or inspiration. Samuel was one of the most eminent prophets. After the institution of the monarchy we read constantly of prophets distinct from the civil rulers. After the schism between Judah and Ephraim, there continued to be prophets even in the kingdom of the ten tribes. They were peculiarly necessary there indeed, because the people of that kingdom were cut off from the sanctuary and its services, as bonds of union with Jehovah. The prophetic ministry continued through the Babylonish exile, and ceased some years after the restoration, in the person of Malachi, whom the Jews unanimously represent as the last of their prophets.

In tracing this succession, it is evident that the history attaches no importance to the unbroken series of incumbents, and describes them as deriving their prophetic character, not from their predecessors, but immediately from God. The cases of Joshua and Elisha are perhaps the only ones in which a prophet is expressly said to have inducted his successor into office; and even if it could be fairly inferred from these, that such was the ordinary practice, still the silence of the history implies that the validity of the prophetic ministrations was dependent upon no external rite of transfer and upon no unbroken continuity in the succession. This presumption is the stronger as a perfect series cannot be made out, even by inference and combination, from the recorded history, which usually speaks of the prophets so as to suggest the idea, not so much of an order which could never be interrupted or suspended, as of one which should not wholly cease until its purpose was accomplished, and should never be wanting in any emergency which called for a divine interposition. In this, which is the true sense of the promise, it was signally fulfilled, so that although we may not be able to demonstrate a perpetual succession of inspired representatives or messengers from God, we can safely affirm that he never left himself without witness, or his people without counsel, consolation, or reproof.

With respect to the nature of the inspiration under which these prophets spoke and acted, there can be no doubt that the Bible itself represents it as plenary, or fully adequate to the attainment of its end. (2 Tim. 3: 16. 2 Pet. 1: 21.) Where this end was external action, it was sufficiently secured by the gift of courage, strength, and practical wisdom. Where the instruction of God's people was the object, whether in reference to the past, the present, or the future; whether in word, in writing, or in both; whether

for temporary ends, or with a view to perpetual preservation; the prophets are clearly represented as infallible, i. e. incapable of erring or deceiving, with respect to the matter of their revelation. How far this object was secured by direct suggestion, by negative control, or by an elevating influence upon the native powers, is a question of no practical importance to those who hold the essential doctrine that the inspiration was in all cases such as to render those who were inspired infallible. Between this supposition and the opposite extreme, which denies inspiration altogether, or resolves it into mere excitement of the imagination and the sensibilities, like the afflatus of a poet or an orator, there seems to be no definite and safe position. Either the prophets were not inspired at all in any proper sense, or they were so inspired as to be infallible.

As to the mode in which the required impression was made, it seems both vain and needless to attempt any definite description of it. The ultimate effect would be the same in any case, if not upon the prophet, upon those who heard or read his prophecies. So far as any thing can be inferred from incidental or explicit statements of the Scripture, the most usual method of communication would appear to have been that of immediate vision, i. e. the presentation of the thing to be revealed as if it were an object of sight. Thus Micaiah *saw* Israel scattered on the hills like sheep without a shepherd (1 Kings 22: 17), and Isaiah *saw* Jehovah sitting on a lofty throne (Isai. 6: 1). That this was the most usual mode of presentation, is probable not only from occasional expressions such as those just quoted, but from the fact, that a very large proportion of the prophetic revelations are precisely such as might be painted and subjected to the sense of sight. The same conclusion is confirmed by the use of the words *seer* and *vision* as essentially equivalent to *prophet* and *prophecy*. There is no need, however, of supposing that this method of communication, even if it were the common one, was used invariably. Some things in the prophecies require us to suppose that they were made known to the prophet just as he made them known to others, i. e. by the simple suggestion of appropriate words. But this whole question is rather one of curiosity than use, even in reference to interpretation.

A kindred question, but distinct from this, is that respecting the mental and bodily condition of the prophet, under the influence of inspiration. Whatever we imagine to have been the mode of the communication, whether visual or verbal, in the general or in any given case, it may still be made a question whether the prophet, in receiving such communications, was as fully in possession of his faculties, and in the exercise of self-control, as at any other time; or whether, on the contrary, he was in what the Greeks called ἔκστασις, a state of passive subjection to a higher power, holding his own faculties in temporary but complete abeyance. It is well known that

the prophets and diviners of the heathen world, during their seasons of pretended inspiration, exhibited the outward signs of violent excitement often amounting to insanity. That this was not regarded as an accidental circumstance, but as a natural and necessary sign of inspiration, may be gathered from the etymological affinity between the Greek words *μάντις* and *μανία* or *μαίνομαι*. The early Fathers uniformly speak of this maniacal excitement as characteristic of the heathen inspiration, whether real or pretended, and describe the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets as distinguished by the opposite peculiarities of calmness, self-possession, and active intelligence. This is distinctly and repeatedly asserted by Chrysostom, Augustin, and Jerome, who ascribes the contrary opinion to Montanus and his followers. In our own day it has been revived, not only by Gesenius and others, who deny the real inspiration of the prophets, but by Hengstenberg, who steadfastly maintains it. In the first part of his Christology, he undertakes to explain the disregard of chronological relations by the prophets, and their fragmentary manner of exhibiting a subject, from the ecstatic state in which they uttered their predictions. This opinion has not only been attacked and ridiculed by later writers of a very different school, but disavowed by others of the same school, especially by Hävernick, who in his Introduction to the Old Testament (§ 199) argues at length in favour of the doctrine that the mental condition of the prophets in receiving their divine communications cannot have been a morbid one. The most serious objections to the theory of Hengstenberg, besides its opposition to the common judgment of the church in every age, and its apparent derogation from the dignity of the prophetic character, are, the want of any clear support in Scripture, and the inutility of such a supposition to attain the end at which he aims, and which may just as well be answered by supposing that the peculiarities ascribed to the extraordinary state of the inspired writers, were directly produced by something negative or positive in the divine communication itself. If they bring remote events into juxtaposition, the simplest explanation of the fact is, not that they were in a state which rendered them incapable of estimating chronological distinctions, but that these distinctions were withheld from them, or that although acquainted with them they intentionally overlooked them and combined the objects in another mode and on another principle. This view of the matter is entirely sufficient to explain what Peter says (1 Pet. 1 : 12) without resorting to a supposition which, unless absolutely necessary, is to be avoided as of doubtful tendency.

It has been disputed whether the prophets of the old dispensation had any training for their work at all analogous to what we call a professional education. Some have supposed the *sons of the prophets*, frequently mentioned in the books of Kings, to have been young men in a course of preparation for the prophetic ministry. To this it has been objected, that their

ministry depended on the gift of inspiration, for which no human training could compensate or prepare them. But although they could not act as prophets without inspiration, they might be prepared for those parts of the work which depended upon culture, such as a correct mode of expression, just as men may now be trained by education for the work of the ministry, although convinced that its success depends entirely on the divine blessing. It is not to be forgotten that the inspiration under which the prophets acted left them in full possession of their faculties, native and acquired, and with all their peculiarities of thought and feeling unimpaired. The whole subject of prophetic education is, however, one of surmise and conjecture, rather than of definite knowledge or of practical utility.

To the government the prophets do not seem to have sustained any definite or fixed relation, as component parts of a political system. The extent and manner of their influence, in this respect, depended on the character of the rulers, the state of affairs, and the nature of the messages which they were commissioned to deliver. As a class, the prophets influenced the government, not by official formal action, but as special messengers from God, by whom he was represented in particular emergencies, and whose authority could neither be disputed nor resisted by any magistrate without abjuring the fundamental principles of the theocracy. Even the apostate kings of Israel acknowledged the divine legation of the prophets of Jehovah.

The opinion that the priestly and prophetic functions were regarded as identical, or commonly united in the same persons under the theocracy, is wholly destitute of scriptural foundation. It is no doubt true that priests might be inspired, and that the High Priest may have been so always ex officio. Two of the most eminent prophets (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) were unquestionably priests. But the sacerdotal and prophetic offices, as such, were perfectly distinct, as well in function as in purpose, being instituted to promote the same great end in different ways, the one by maintaining the symbolical and sacramental forms of the theocracy, the other by correcting their abuse, and keeping constantly in view their spiritual import and design, as *shadows of good things to come.*

The relation of the prophets to the people and the manner of their intercourse appear to have been subject to no uniform and rigid law. From Elijah's hairy dress and John the Baptist's imitation of it, some have hastily inferred that the prophets were commonly distinguished by a peculiar dress and an ascetic mode of life. Whether the same conclusion can be drawn from the sackcloth mentioned in Isaiah 20: 2, is considered doubtful. The truth appears to be, that from the very nature of the prophetic ministry, it was exempted from the rules of rigid outward uniformity. Eichhorn has justly mentioned as a characteristic difference between the heathen and the Jewish prophets, that whereas the former tried to enhance their author-

ity by darkness and seclusion and mysterious accompaniments, the latter moved among the people without any such factitious advantages.

With respect to the promulgation and preservation of the prophecies, there have been various opinions and many fanciful conjectures. Some suppose the prophets to have been a kind of demagogues or popular orators, whose speeches, unless previously prepared, were afterwards recorded by themselves or others. Another supposition is that the prophets were inspired writers, and that their prophecies were published only as written compositions. A distinction as to this point has by some been drawn between the earlier and the later prophets. From the death of Moses to the accession of Uzziah, a period of nearly seven hundred years, a large proportion of the prophets are supposed to have performed their functions orally and without leaving any thing on record; whereas after that period they were led to act not only for the present but the future. We have no cause to doubt, however, that we now have in possession all that was *written aforetime for our learning*. And in the case of any prophecy, the question whether it was orally delivered before it was written, is comparatively unimportant, as our only concern with it is in its written form. The idea that the prophecies now extant are mere summaries of long discourses, is ingenious and plausible in certain cases, but admits of no historical or certain demonstration.

A question of more moment is that with respect to the way in which the writings were preserved, whether by private circulation as detached compositions, or by solemn enrolment and deposit in the sanctuary. The modern critics who dispute the integrity and genuineness of many passages lean to the former supposition; but the latter is unquestionably favoured by the whole drift of Scripture and the current of ancient usage, sacred and profane, with respect to writings which were looked upon as sacred. It may well be doubted whether among the ancient Hebrews there was any extensive circulation of books at all, and it seems to me to be as hard to disprove as to prove the position, that the only literature of the nation was THE BOOK or SCRIPTURE (הַסֵּפֶר), which from the time of Moses was kept open, and in which the writings of the prophets may have been recorded as they were produced. At all events, it seems unreasonable and at variance with the tenor of Scripture to suppose that writings held to be inspired were left to circulate at random and to share the fate of other compositions, without any effort to attest their genuineness or to secure their preservation.

Upon this improbable hypothesis some modern critics have constructed a theory as to the formation of the Hebrew Canon. They suppose that the books now composing the Old Testament were long in circulation as detached compositions, or at most in small collections; but that after the Babylonish exile, measures were taken to secure the national literature from

destruction by bringing together the most highly esteemed books then extant, to which others were added from time to time until the period of the Maccabees. In a similar manner they account for the threefold division of the Old Testament, into the Law, Prophets, and Scriptures (כְּתוּבִים, ἁγιόγραφα), found in all Hebrew manuscripts, and referred to, not only by Philo and Josephus, but in the New Testament (Luke 24: 44). This they account for, by supposing that the five books of Moses, because of their superior authority, were first placed together by themselves; that the earlier histories and prophecies were then joined in a second volume; and that a fourth was opened for the reception of books which might be afterwards discovered or composed. The obvious design of this whole theory is to account for the admission of books into the canon, which these critics are unwilling to recognise as ancient, such as Daniel, Esther, Chronicles, and many of the Psalms.

Others attempt to account for the threefold division, as founded on the subjects of the different books. But this supposition is precluded by the fact, that historical books are found in all the three divisions; Genesis in the first; Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings in the second; Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ruth, and Esther in the third; to which it may be added, that Daniel is found in the third division, and that Jeremiah's Prophecies are separated from his Lamentations.

The uniform tradition of the Jews is, that the sacred books were finally collected and arranged by Ezra and his contemporaries, under the guidance of divine inspiration, and that the threefold division is coeval with the formation of the canon. As to the principle of the division, some of the Jewish doctors teach that it is founded on the different degrees of inspiration under which the books were written, the highest being that of Moses, and the lowest that of the Hagiographa or Scriptures. This last opinion is not only destitute of evidence or scriptural foundation, but at variance with the tenor of the sacred writings and of dangerous tendency.

The most satisfactory solution of the fact in question is the one which supposes the law to have been placed first as the foundation of the whole, and the remaining books to have been divided, not with respect to their contents or the degree of inspiration in their writers, but with respect to their official character, the second great division being appropriated to the writings of men who were not only inspired but prophets by profession, who possessed not only the prophetic gift but the prophetic office, while the third place was reserved for those who, although equally inspired, held no such station. Thus the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, having been composed, according to the ancient tradition, by נְבִיאִים or official prophets, are prefixed to the prophecies properly so called, while the writings of David and Daniel, who were not such, are included in the third division.

The principal difficulty in the way of this hypothesis arises from the fact, that different writings of the same man, viz. Jeremiah, are found both in the second and third division. This single exception to the general rule has been accounted for by some, upon the ground, that the book of Lamentations, although written by a Prophet in the strict sense, is more an expression of personal feeling than the other prophecies; by others, upon the ground of its liturgical character, which naturally led to its insertion in the same part of the Canon with the Psalms. Another objection to this whole explanation of the threefold division has been drawn from the absence of entire uniformity in the application of the name נָבִיא to the official or professional prophet, and of חוֹזֶה (seer) to an inspired person, simply as such. The difficulty here referred to does not lie in the promiscuous use of *προφήτης* in the New Testament, where David, for example, is expressly called a Prophet. This is sufficiently explained by the want of any Greek equivalent to *seer*. But the same solution is not applicable to the use of both words *seer* and *prophet*, in the Old Testament itself, with reference to one and the same person. (E. g. Gad the seer, 1 Ch. 21: 9; Gad the prophet, 2 Sam. 24: 11.) How far this rare departure from the usage ought to weigh against the theory in general, or how far it may be accounted for by special circumstances in the case of Gad, are questions which may be considered doubtful. All that need be affirmed is that this hypothesis respecting the division of the Hebrew Canon, although not susceptible of demonstration, is more satisfactory and probable than any other which has been proposed.

The application of the name כְּתוּבִים, *ἁγιόγραφα*, or *Scriptures*, to the third division only, has been variously explained; but the simplest and most natural solution is, that the first two divisions having been distinguished by appropriate names, the third was left in possession of that which, if there had been no division, would have been appropriate to the whole. Thus understood, the three parts of the Canon are *the Law*, *the Prophets*, and *the* (*other*) *Scriptures*.

In the second of these great divisions, that of the Prophets properly so called, a prominent place, and for the most part the first place, has been always held, so far as we can trace its history, by a book bearing the name of Isaiah. A Talmudical tradition represents it as having formerly been preceded by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Some of the modern German writers take advantage of this statement, as a ground for the presumption that the book in its present form was not completed until after those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This supposition, the design of which is to facilitate the critical rejection of the later prophecies, is not only an unauthorized inference from a fact extremely dubious at best, but at variance with the simultaneous close of the whole canon, which we have seen to be the only well-sustained hypothesis. The Talmudists themselves explain the fact which they allege,

upon the ground that Jeremiah and Ezekiel are for the most part minatory prophets, and that the more consolatory writings of Isaiah were subjoined as a relief and antidote. A far more probable solution is, that the arrangement in question, if it ever prevailed, arose from the intimate connexion of the second book of Kings with Jeremiah, and perhaps from a traditional ascription of it to that prophet as its author. The necessity of any explanation seems, however, to be superseded by the doubt which overhangs the fact itself, especially when taken in connexion with the uniform position of Isaiah before the other two, in the most ancient manuscripts now extant, both of the Hebrew text and of the ancient versions.

The name Isaiah is a compound word denoting the *Salvation of Jehovah*, to which some imagine that the Prophet himself alludes in ch. 8: 18. The abbreviated form (יְשַׁעְיָה) is never applied in Scripture to the Prophet, though the rabbins employ it in titles and inscriptions. Both forms of the name are applied in the Old Testament to other persons, in all which cases the English Version employs a different orthography, viz. *Jeshaiah* or *Jesaiah*. In the New Testament our Version writes the name *Esaias*, after the example of the Vulgate, varying slightly from the Greek Ἡσαΐας, used both in the Septuagint and the New Testament. To the name of the Prophet we find several times added that of his father Amoz (אָמוֹץ), which several of the Greek Fathers have confounded with the name of the prophet Amos (עָמוֹס), though they differ both in the first and last letter. This mistake, occasioned by the Septuagint version, which writes both names alike (Ἀμώς), may be considered the more venial, as two of the latest writers on Isaiah in the English language have, in the very act of setting Cyril and Eusebius right, themselves committed a like error by misspelling the name Amos (אָמוֹס). The more ancient mistake may have been facilitated by a knowledge of the Jewish maxim, now recorded in the Talmud, that whenever a prophet's father is named, the father was himself a prophet. The Jews themselves, in this case, are contented with observing the affinity between the names Amoz (אָמוֹץ) and Amaziah (אֲמַצְיָה), upon which they gravely found a positive assertion that these men were brothers, and that Isaiah was therefore of the blood-royal, being cousin-german to the first king mentioned in the opening of his prophecies. This tradition has had great vogue among Jews and Christians, some of whom account for the urbanity and polish of Isaiah's manner as a natural effect of his nobility. It is unfortunately true, however, that the Jewish doctors sometimes invent facts for the purpose of filling up the chasms of history, and this is especially to be suspected where the statement seems to rest on an etymological conceit or any other fanciful analogy. At all events, we have no satisfactory assurance of the truth of this tradition, any more than of that which makes the prophet to have been the father-in-law of king Manasseh. The most

probable statement is that made by one of the most learned and judicious of the rabbins (David Kimchi), that the family and tribe to which Isaiah belonged are now entirely unknown. Of his domestic circumstances we know merely, that his wife and two of his sons are mentioned by himself (ch. 7: 3. 8: 3, 4), to which some add a third, as we shall see below.

The only historical account of this Prophet is contained in the book which bears his name, and in the parallel passages of Second Kings, which exhibit unequivocal signs of being from the hand of the same writer. The first sentence of Isaiah's own book, which is now commonly admitted to be genuine, assigns as the period of his ministry the four successive reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, one of the most eventful periods in the history of Judah. The two first reigns here mentioned were exceedingly prosperous, although a change for the worse appears to have commenced before the death of Jotham, and continued through the reign of Ahaz, bringing the state to the very verge of ruin, from which it was not restored to a prosperous condition until long after the accession of Hezekiah. During this period the kingdom of the ten tribes, which had flourished greatly under Jeroboam II., for many years contemporary with Uzziah, passed through the hands of a succession of usurpers, and was at length overthrown by the Assyrians, in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign over Judah.

Among the neighbouring powers, with whom Israel was more or less engaged in conflict during these four reigns, the most important were Damascene Syria, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, who although resident within the allotted bounds of Judah, still endeavoured to maintain their position as an independent and a hostile nation. But the foreign powers which chiefly influenced the condition of south-western Asia during this period, were the two great empires of Assyria in the east, and Egypt in the south-west. By a rapid succession of important conquests, the former had suddenly acquired a magnitude and strength which it had not possessed for ages, if at all. Egypt had been subdued, at least in part, by Ethiopia; but this very event, by combining the forces of two great nations, had given unexampled strength to the Ethiopian dynasty in Upper Egypt. The mutual jealousy and emulation between this state and Assyria, naturally tended to make Palestine, which lay between them, a theatre of war, at least at intervals, for many years. It also led the kings of Israel and Judah to take part in the contentions of these two great powers, and to secure themselves by uniting, sometimes with Egypt against Assyria, sometimes with Assyria against Egypt. It was this inconstant policy that hastened the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and exposed that of Judah to imminent peril. Against this policy the prophets, and especially Isaiah, were commissioned to remonstrate, not only as unworthy in itself, but

as implying a distrust of God's protection, and indifference to the fundamental law of the theocracy. The Babylonian monarchy, as Hävernick has clearly proved, began to gather strength before the end of this period, but was less conspicuous, because not yet permanently independent of Assyria.

The two most remarkable conjunctures in the history of Judah during Isaiah's ministry, are, the invasion by the combined force of Syria and Israel, in the reign of Ahaz, followed by the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the Assyrian invasion in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, ending in the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army, and his own ignominious flight. The historical interest of this important period is further heightened by the fact, that two of the most noted eras in chronology fall within it, viz. the era of Nabonassar, and that computed from the building of Rome.

The length of Isaiah's public ministry is doubtful. The aggregate duration of the four reigns mentioned in the title is above one hundred and twelve years; but it is not said that he prophesied throughout the whole reign, either of Uzziah or Hezekiah. Some, it is true, have inferred that his ministry was coextensive with the whole reign of Uzziah, because he is said to have written the history of that prince (2 Chron. 26 : 22), which he surely might have done without being strictly his contemporary, just as he may have written that of Hezekiah to a certain date (2 Chron. 32 : 32), and yet have died before him. Neither of these incidental statements can be understood as throwing any light upon the question of chronology. Most writers, both among the Jews and Christians, understand the first verse of the sixth chapter as determining the year of king Uzziah's death to be the first of Isaiah's public ministry. Some of the Jewish writers, who adopt this supposition, at the same time understand Uzziah's death to mean his civil death, occasioned by the leprosy with which he was smitten in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, for his sacrilegious invasion of the house of God, so that he dwelt in a separate house until his death. There seems to be no sufficient ground for this explanation of the language, or for the alleged coincidence of the event with the twenty-fifth year of Uzziah's reign, any more than for the notion of the oriental Christians, that Uzziah was deprived of the prophetic office, for his sin in not withstanding Uzziah, and after twenty-eight years of silence was restored in the year of that king's death, a fanciful interpretation of the facts recorded in chap. vi. The modern writers are agreed in understanding the expression literally, and in connecting the last year of Uzziah's life with the first year of Isaiah's ministry. It is by no means certain, as we shall see below, that the sixth chapter is descriptive of Isaiah's inauguration into office, still less that it was written before any of the others. But it cannot be denied that the chronological hypothesis just

stated is strongly recommended by the fact of its removing all objections to the truth of the inscription (chap. 1 : 1) founded on the extreme longevity which it would otherwise ascribe to the prophet, by enabling us at once to deduct half a century. If we reckon from the last year of Uzziah to the fourteenth of Hezekiah, the last in which we find any certain historical traces of Isaiah, we obtain as the minimum of his prophetic ministry a period of forty-seven years, and this, supposing that he entered on it even at the age of thirty, would leave him at his death less than eighty years old. And even if it be assumed that he survived Hezekiah, and continued some years under his successor, the length of his life will after all be far less than that of Jehoiada the High Priest who died in the reign of Joash at the age of 130 years. (2 Chron. 24 : 15.)

The Jews have a positive tradition that he did die in the reign of Manasseh, and as a victim of the bloody persecutions by which that king is said to have filled Jerusalem with innocent blood from one end to the other. (2 Kings 21 : 16.) Some accounts go so far as to give the pretext upon which the murder was committed, namely, that of discrepance between Isaiah's teaching and the law of Moses, as well as the precise form of his martyrdom by being sawn asunder, some say in the body of a tree, which had opened to receive him. The substantial part of this tradition is received as true by several of the Fathers, who suppose it to be clearly alluded to in Heb. 11 : 37. It has also found favour among many modern writers, on the ground of its intrinsic credibility, and the antiquity of the tradition. Hengstenberg assents to it moreover on the ground that it enables us more easily to account for the peculiar features of the later prophecies (ch. 40—66), by supposing them to have been written in the days of Manasseh, in the old age of the prophet, and after his retirement from active life. Hävernick, on the other hand, rejects the tradition, first, on the general ground that fabulous accounts are especially abundant in the Jewish martyrology, and then on the special ground, that this assumption leaves us unable to account for the omission of Manasseh's name in the inscription of the book, without admitting that the title may have been prefixed to a partial collection of Isaiah's prophecies, or by the hand of a later writer, which he holds to be unauthorized and dangerous concessions. To the suggestion that Manasseh may have been omitted because under him Isaiah had ceased to appear in public as a prophet and employed himself in writing, it is answered that if Uzziah is distinctly mentioned simply because Isaiah was inducted into office at the close of his long reign, he could scarcely have omitted Manasseh under whom so large a proportion of his prophecies were written, if not publicly delivered. In weighing the arguments of Hävernick, it must not be overlooked that his hypothesis compels him to regard ch. 37 : 38 as later than the times of Isaiah, simply because

the event there recorded must have taken place in the reign of Manasseh. This fact, together with the insufficiency of his objections to the contrary hypothesis, may at least dispose us to abstain from such a positive decision of the question as would cut us off from the assumption of a longer term of public service, however probable on other grounds, and however necessary to the full solution of questions which may afterwards present themselves during the process of interpretation. With this proviso, we may safely leave the precise chronological question, as the Bible leaves it, undetermined.

From the references, which have been already quoted, to the historical writings of Isaiah, some have inferred that he was an official historiographer, in which capacity the older prophets seem to have acted, as appears from the canonical insertion of such books as those of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, among the Prophets. We have no reason to suppose, however, that Isaiah held any secular office of the kind, distinct from his prophetic ministry. Nor is it clear in what sense the citation of Isaiah by the Chronicles as a historical authority should be understood. The reference may be simply to the historical portions of his book, or to the corresponding passages of Second Kings, of which, in strict discharge of his official functions, he may well have been the author. That the books referred to were more copious histories or annals, of which only summaries or fragments are now extant, is a supposition which, however credible or even plausible it may be in itself, is not susceptible of demonstration. The question as to the identity and fate of these historical writings is of no importance to the exegesis of the book before us. The books still extant under the name of the *Vision* and *Ascension of Isaiah* are universally admitted to be spurious and apocryphal. Our attention will therefore be exclusively confined to the canonical Isaiah.

This book not only forms a part of the Old Testament Canon as far as we can trace it back, but has held its place there without any change of form, size, or contents, of which the least external evidence can be adduced. The allusions to this Prophet, and the imitations of him, in the later books of the Old Testament, are not confined to any one part of the book or any single class of passages. The apocryphal writers who make mention of it, use no expressions which imply that it was not already long complete in its present form and size. The same thing seems to be implied in the numerous citations of this book in the New Testament. Without going here into minute details, a correct idea of the general fact may be conveyed by simply stating, that of the sixty-six chapters of Isaiah, as divided in our modern Bibles, forty-seven are commonly supposed to be directly quoted or distinctly alluded to, and some of them repeatedly. The same thing may be illustrated clearly on a smaller scale by stating, that in the twenty-one cases where Isaiah is expressly named in the New Testament, the quotations are drawn from the first, sixth, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twenty-ninth,

fortieth, forty-second, fifty-third, sixty-first, and sixty-fifth chapters of the book before us. These facts, together with the absence of all countervailing evidence, show clearly that the *Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (Luke 4 : 17) known and quoted by our Lord and his apostles was, as a whole, identical with that which we have under the same name. We find accordingly a long unbroken series of interpreters, Jewish and Christian, through a course of ages, not only acquiescing in this general statement, but regarding all the passages and parts, of which the book consists, as clearly and unquestionably genuine. This appears for the most part, it is true, not as the result of any positive reasoning or investigation, but as a negative assumption, resting on the want of any proof or even ground of suspicion to the contrary. Hence it is that in the older writers on Isaiah, even down to the middle of the eighteenth century, the place now occupied by *criticism*, in the modern sense, is wholly blank. No one of course thought it necessary to defend what had never been attacked, or to demonstrate what had never been disputed.

This neglect of critical investigation and discussion, although easily accounted for, as we have seen, led to a violent reaction towards the opposite extreme, as soon as the first impulse had been given to that kind of learned speculation. The critical processes employed, with paradoxical assurance, on the Greek and Roman classics, by the school of Bentley, were transferred to Scripture, and applied not only to particular expressions, but to whole passages and even books. That this new method would be early carried to excess, was not only to be apprehended as a possible contingency, but confidently looked for as a natural and even unavoidable result. The causes which facilitate inventions and discoveries tend also to exaggerate their value. Of this general truth we have abundant illustration without going beyond the field of biblical learning. The supposed discovery that Buxtorf and the Rabbins had attached too much importance to the masoretic pointing, led Cappellus, Houbigant, and Lowth, to reject it altogether—not only its authority but its assistance—and to make the Hebrew text a nose of wax between the fingers of an arbitrary and capricious criticism. The discovery that sufficient use had never yet been made of the analogy of Arabic in Hebrew lexicography, led Schultens and his school to an extreme which seemed to threaten a transfusion of the spirit of one language into the exhausted vessels of another. In like manner, the idea that the Hebrew text had been too *uncritically* handled, seems at first to have been wholly unaccompanied by any apprehension that the process of correction could be either misapplied or pushed so far as to defeat itself. In all such cases the first movements must be tentative. The primary object is to ascertain what *can* be done. In settling this point, it is necessary to assume provisionally more than is expected to abide the test of final and decisive experiment. The writers who originally undertook to separate the genuine and spurious portions of Isaiah,

acted of course on the presumption, that any part might prove unsound, and therefore set no bounds to their avidity for textual reforms and innovations. The natural result was a grotesque disguise and mutilation of the book by means of numberless erasures, transpositions, combinations, gratuitous assumptions of imaginary authors, two or more of whom were often thought to be identified within the bounds of one connected passage.

Particular examples of this critical mania, as displayed by Koppe, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and others, will be given hereafter in the exposition. What has been here said in the general will suffice to explain the fact that these extravagant results, and the confusion into which they threw the whole subject of interpretation, soon produced a new reaction. Rosenmüller, DeWette, and especially Gesenius, who may be regarded as the representatives of a more moderate and later school, have no hesitation in expressing their contempt for the empirical and slashing criticism of their predecessors, and, as a proof of their sincerity, assert the integrity and unity of many passages which Eichhorn and his fellows had most wantonly dismembered. This is undoubtedly a retrograde movement in the right direction, and as far as it goes has had a salutary influence, by making the criticism of the Hebrew text something more than idle guess-work or fantastic child's play. At the same time, it is not to be dissembled that the ground assumed by these distinguished writers is itself, to use a favourite expression of their own, *unkritisch* and *unwissenschaftlich*, i. e. neither critical nor scientific. The ground of this charge is that their own mode of critical procedure differs from that which they repudiate and laugh at, only in degree, i. e. in the extent to which it is applied. They expunge, transpose, and imagine less; but still they do all three, and on precisely the same principles. They mark out no new method, they establish no new standard, but are simply the moderate party of the same school which they represent as *antiquirt* and exploded.

The consciousness of this defect betrays itself occasionally in the *naïveté* with which Gesenius and DeWette appeal to their *critical feeling* as the ultimate ground of their decisions. The real principle of these decisions is identical with that assumed by Eichhorn and his school, to wit, that where there is a colourable pretext or the faintest probability in favour of a change, it is entitled to the preference, always provided that it does not shock the critical *Gefühl* of the performer, a proviso which experience has proved to be sufficient to prevent all inconveniences that might arise from a too rigorous construction of the rule. If, for example, after three-fourths of a sentence or a passage have been sacrificed because they may by possibility be spurious, it is found convenient to retain the fourth, for any exegetical purpose or to prove another point, it is effected without scruple or delay by a response of the *Gefühl* in its favour. In this convenient process, the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of the radical reformers, as the earlier critics may be justly

called, if not avowed in theory, is still held fast in practice, viz. the doctrine that the general presumption is against the truth and authenticity of every thing traditional or ancient, and in favour of whatever can by any means be substituted for it. The difference between this and the old-fashioned criticism seems to be the same as that between the principle of English jurisprudence, that a person accused is to be reckoned innocent until he is proved guilty, and the rule adopted in the criminal proceedings of some other nations, that he ought to be held guilty till he proves his innocence. A fundamental maxim of this whole school of criticism, upper and lower, first and last, extreme and moderate, is this, that what is possible is probable and may be held as certain if it suits the convenience of the critic; in other words, "things must be as they may."

Another proof that this whole system is uncritical, or destitute of any settled principle, distinct from that of the exploded method which it supersedes, is furnished by the absence of consistency and unity in its results. In one important point, these writers, it is true, display a singular agreement. This is their unanimous rejection of the twenty-seven chapters at the end of the collection, as the product of a later age; a unanimity arising neither from the clearness of the case nor from any real unity of principle among the critics who exhibit it, but simply from the fact, now universally admitted, that these chapters form a continuous unbroken composition, so that in order to be rid of any one part, it is requisite to sacrifice the whole. The particular grounds of this rejection will be stated and examined in a special introduction to that portion of Isaiah. The comparison about to be made here will be restricted to the remainder of the book, with the exception of the four historical chapters which connect the two divisions (ch. xxxvi–xxxix), and which have usually shared the same fate with the twenty-seven.

The earliest chapters are precisely those respecting which these critics are the least divided. It is commonly agreed among them that the six first are genuine productions of Isaiah, to which it can hardly be considered an exception, that ch. 2: 2–4 is supposed by many to be still more ancient. The only observable dissent from this general judgment seems to be the paradoxical opinion of the Dutch writer Roorda, that ch. 2: 2–4 is the only portion written by Isaiah, and that all the rest of the first five chapters is the work of Micah! Ch. 7: 1–16 is regarded by Gesenius as probably not the composition of Isaiah, who is mentioned in the third person. This opinion is refuted by Hitzig and repudiated by the later writers. Koppe's idea that the twelfth chapter is a hymn of later date, after being rejected by Gesenius, and revived by Ewald, has again been set aside by Umbreit. The genuineness of ch. 13 and ch. 14: 1–23 is more unanimously called in question, on account of its resemblance to ch. 40–66, which this whole class of critics set aside as spurious. Ch. 15 and 16 are ascribed by Koppe and

Bertholdt to Jeremiah; by Ewald and Umbreit to an unknown prophet older than Isaiah; by Hitzig, Maurer, and Knobel to Jonah; by Hendewerk to Isaiah himself. Eichhorn rejects the nineteenth chapter; Gesenius calls in question the genuineness of vs. 18–20; Koppe denies that of vs. 18–25; Hitzig regards vs. 16–25 as a fabrication of the Jewish priest Onias; while Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, Ewald and Umbreit, vindicate the whole as a genuine production of Isaiah. The first ten verses of the twenty-first chapter are rejected on the ground of their resemblance to the thirteenth and fourteenth. Ewald ascribes both to a single author; Hitzig denies that they can be from the same hand. Ewald makes the prophecy in ch. 21 the earlier; Hitzig proves it to be later. Koppe, Paulus, Eichhorn, and Rosenmüller, look upon it as a *vaticinium ex eventu;* Gesenius, Ewald, and the other later writers as a real prophecy. The twenty-third chapter is ascribed by Movers to Jeremiah; by Eichhorn and Rosenmüller to an unknown writer later than Isaiah; by Gesenius and DeWette to Isaiah himself; by Ewald to a younger contemporary and disciple of the prophet. The continuous prophecy contained in ch. 24–27 Knobel shows to have been written in Palestine about the beginning of the Babylonish exile; Gesenius, in Babylon towards the end of the captivity, and by the author of ch. 40–66; Umbreit, at the same time, but by a different author; Gramberg, after the return from exile; Ewald, just before the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses; Vatke, in the period of the Maccabees; Hitzig, in Assyria just before the fall of Nineveh; while Rosenmüller, in the last editions of his Scholia, ascribes it to Isaiah himself. Ch. 28–33 are supposed by Koppe to contain many distinct prophecies of different authors, and by Hitzig several successive compositions of one and the same author; while most other writers consider them as forming a continuous whole. This is regarded by Gesenius and Hitzig, notwithstanding the objections of preceding critics, as a genuine production of Isaiah; but Ewald doubts whether it may not be the work of a disciple. Most of the writers of this school join ch. 34 and 35 together, as an unbroken context; but Hitzig no less confidently puts them asunder. Rosenmüller, DeWette, and others, set these chapters down as evidently written by the author of ch. 40–66, while Ewald on the other hand maintains that this identity is disproved by a difference of style and diction.

No attempt has here been made to detail the grounds of these conflicting judgments, much less to decide between them. This will be done, so far as it seems necessary, in the exposition, and particularly in the introductions to the several chapters. The object aimed at in the foregoing statement is to show, that no additional security or certainty has been imparted to the criticism of the text by these empirical conjectures, and to confirm the previous assertion that they rest on no determinate intelligible principle or

standard of comparison. A further confirmation of the same position is afforded by the tests of genuineness and antiquity, explicitly asserted and applied by the writers of this school. A more correct expression would perhaps be tests of spuriousness and later origin; for, as we have already seen, the use of a criterion, in the hands of these critics, is seldom to establish or confirm, but almost always to discredit what has commonly been looked upon as genuine.

One of the surest proofs of spuriousness, according to the theory and practice of this school, is the occurrence of idioms and words belonging to a period of Hebrew composition later than the days of Isaiah. This method of discrimination, however unobjectionable in itself, is nevertheless often so employed as to be altogether violent and arbitrary in its application. This is effected, first, by exaggerating, in the general, the real difference between the older and the later writings, and the practical facility of recognising the peculiar style of either. Conclusions which have properly been drawn, in one case, from a variety of premises, including the assumption of the date as a fact already known, are most unreasonably drawn in others from a single element or item of the same proof in default of all the rest. This kind of sophistry is more delusive in the case of Hebrew than of Greek or Latin criticism, partly because we have fewer data upon which to form a judgment, partly because peculiar causes kept the written Hebrew more unchanged than other languages within a given period, and tended to obliterate in some degree the usual distinctive marks of earlier or later date. This is particularly true if we assume, as there are some strong grounds for doing, that the whole ancient literature of the Hebrews was contained in the canon of their scriptures, so that later writings were continually formed upon a few exclusive models. But whether this be so or not, the influence exerted by the books of Moses on the style and language of succeeding writers was immeasurably greater than in any other case at all analogous.

Besides this general and theoretical exaggeration of the difference between the older and the later Hebrew, there is also chargeable upon these critics an habitual proneness to lose sight of the distinction between what is really peculiar to the later books, or to the times in which they were composed, and that which after all, on any supposition, must be common to the different periods. That there must be a common stock of this kind is self-evident; and that it must be very great in comparison with that which is peculiar and distinctive, is as fully established by the facts of this case and the analogy of others like it, as any maxim of comparative philology. And yet some German critics of the modern school, although they do not venture to avow the principle, proceed in practice just as if they held the use of an expression by a later writer to be in itself exclusive of its use by one of a preceding age. And even when they do profess to make the distinction

just insisted on, they often make it in an arbitrary manner, or prevent its having any practical effect, by confounding archaisms with neologisms, i. e. mistaking for corruptions of a later age forms of expression which have been transmitted from the earliest period in the dialect of common life, but are only occasionally used in writing, and especially in poetry, until the language ceases to be spoken, and the difference of learned and colloquial style is thereby lost. The profounder study of comparative philology in very recent times has shown the fallacy of many such objections to the antiquity of certain passages, and at the same time shaken the authority of similar criticism in other cases, not admitting of direct refutation.

The bad effect of these fallacious principles of criticism is often aggravated by a want of consistency and fairness in their application. This is especially apparent in the younger German writers of this school, who often push to a practical extreme the theoretical assumptions of their more discreet or more enlightened teachers. Even where this is unintentionally done, it argues an eagerness to prove a point, or to sustain a foregone conclusion, not very likely to be found connected with a high degree of candour and impartiality. A signal illustration of this critical unfairness is the practice of evading the most certain indications of antiquity by noting them as imitations of a later writer. Where the recent date of the composition is already certain, the existence of such imitations may be certain also; but to assume them in the very process of determining the date, is little short of an absurdity. By setting down whatever can be found in other later books as proof of recent origin, and every thing which cannot as a studied imitation of antiquity, the oldest writings extant may be proved to be a hundred or a thousand years younger than themselves. Indeed it may be stated as a fatal vice of this whole system, that it either proves too little or too much, that it is either pushed too far or that it ought to be pushed further, that the limit of its application is determined by no principle or rule but the convenience or caprice of the interpreter. *Stat pro ratione voluntas.* The critical process is too generally this, that where the admission of a passage as genuine would lead to consequences undesirable in any point of view, the critic fastens upon every singularity of thought or language as a ground of suspicion, and the most unmeaning trifles by accumulation are converted into arguments; whereas in other cases altogether parallel, except that there is no urgent motive for discrediting the passage, indications equally abundant and conclusive are entirely overlooked. Sometimes the evidence of later date is found exclusively in one part of a long unbroken context, all admitted to be written by the same hand, though the critic fails to see that this admission is destructive of his argument so far as it is founded on diversity of language as a test of age. For if a later writer can be so unlike himself, why not an older writer also?

This remark, however, is applicable rather to the question of identity than that of age. For a favourite process of the modern critics, and especially of some below the highest rank, is that of proving a negative, by showing that a passage or a book is not the work of its reputed author, without attempting to show whose it is. Some of the means employed for the attainment of this end might seem incredible, as serious attempts at argument, but for the formal gravity with which they are employed. Sometimes the demonstration is effected by enumerating forms of expression, which occur nowhere else in the undisputed works of the reputed author, and inferring that he therefore could not have employed them in the case under consideration. The first absurdity of this ratiocination lies in the very principle assumed, which is, in fact if not in form, that whatever any writer has said once, he must, as a general rule, have said again if not repeatedly. Now what can be more certain or notorious than the fact that what the greatest writers say most frequently, is that which is least characteristic, while the thoughts and expressions which are most admired, quoted, and remembered, are for the most part ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, things which could only be said once, which would not bear to be repeated, by themselves or others? What would be thought of an attempt to prove the Ars Poetica spurious, on the ground that the words *exlex*, *sesquipedalia*, *cotis*, *litura*, *quincunce*, and the phrases *purpureus pannus*, *ab ovo*, *lucidus ordo*, *callida junctura*, *norma loquendi*, *in medias res*, *incredulus odi*, *sagax rerum*, *ad unguem*, *vivas voces*, *ore rotundo*, *decies repetita*, *laudator temporis acti*, the simile of the mountain and the mouse, and the proverbial saying, *occupet extremum scabies*, occur nowhere else in the writings of Horace? But this case, strong as it is, affords a very insufficient illustration of the theory and practice of the German critics now in question. Not content with the assumption of a false and arbitrary test of identity, they make the application of it more unreasonable still, by rejecting every proof adduced in opposition to their doctrine, as itself suspicious or unquestionably spurious. A parallel case would be that of a critic who, on being reminded that the phrase *ab ovo* is used in the same sense in the third satire, and *ad unguem* in the first, should set the argument aside by referring both these compositions to the times of Juvenal or Persius. With equal justice the tenth eclogue of Virgil might be taken from him, by first rejecting the Georgics and the last ten books of the Æneid as unquestionably spurious, and then enumerating all the single words, grammatical constructions, and peculiar idioms, to which no perfect counterparts are found in the remainder of his poems.

But besides this linguistical method of discrediting a large part of Isaiah as unquestionably not his composition, there is another process used for the same purpose, which may be entitled the rhetorical argument, consisting in the arbitrary affirmation that the style of certain passages is too prosaic, the

metaphors too much confused, the rhythm too harsh, the allusions too obscure, the illustrations too familiar, the expression too inelegant, to be imputed to so great a writer. This mode of criticism is pregnant with absurdities peculiar to itself. In the first place may be stated the unreasonable weight which it attaches to rhetorical distinctions in general, not to mention the peculiar stress laid on the technicalities of scholastic rhetoric in particular. This error is connected with a false hypothesis, to be considered afterwards, as to the light in which the prophets viewed themselves and were regarded by their readers. If they aspired to be nothing more than orators and poets, then rhetorical considerations would of course be paramount; but if they believed themselves, and were believed by others, to be inspired revealers of the will of God, it is absurd to imagine that they would or could allow the clear and strong expression of that will to be controlled by mere rhetorical punctilios.

Another flaw in this critical process is its puerile assumption that the prophets, even as mere orators and poets, must be always doing their best; that if ever striking, they must strike at all times; that if ever tender, they must always melt; that if they ever soar, they must be always in the clouds; whereas analogy demonstrates that the greatest writers, both in prose and verse, go up by the mountains and down by the valleys, or in other words, exert their highest faculties at intervals, with long and frequent seasons of repose, while poetasters and declaimers prove the hollowness of their claims by a painful uniformity of tension and a wearisome monotony of failure.

A third defect is one which might with equal justice have been charged against some arguments before recited, namely, the vague and indeterminate character of this criterion, as evinced by the diversity of its results. Not only does one critic censure what another critic of the same school leaves unnoticed; but the same thing is positively represented by the two as a beauty and a deformity, nay more, as fatal to the genuineness of a passage, and as a certain demonstration of it. It may seem invidious and perhaps presumptuous to add, that this unsafe and two-edged instrument could scarcely be intrusted to worse hands than those of some late German critics, who, with all their erudition, ingenuity, and show of philosophical *aesthetics*, are peculiarly deficient in that delicate refinement and acute sensibility of taste, which a less profound but far more classical and liberal training has imparted even to inferior scholars of some other nations, and especially of England. To this unfavourable estimate of German taste and literary judgment there are eminent exceptions, even in the ranks of theological and biblical learning; but among these it would be impossible to class the writers who are most remarkable for an unhesitating reckless use of the rhetorical criterion now in question. On the contrary, it may be stated as a curious

and instructive fact, that the imputation of inelegance, awkwardness, obscurity, and coarseness, has been lavished on Isaiah with peculiar prodigality by those interpreters who seem to be most open to the charge themselves, and who, in the very act of passing judgment on the Prophet or his writings as devoid of taste and genius, often show most painfully and clearly that their circumscribed professional pursuits, however thorough and successful, have been insufficient to compensate for the want of a more enlarged and humanizing culture.

The revulsion of feeling, necessarily occasioned in the great majority of cultivated minds, by these rhetorical attacks upon some portions of Isaiah, with a view to prove them spurious, must be greatly aggravated by another argument employed for the same purpose, which may be distinguished from the lexicographical, grammatical, and rhetorical tests already mentioned, as the ethical or moral test. This consists simply in accusing certain passages of being animated by a narrow, selfish, mean, and sometimes even by a fierce, malignant, cruel, vindictive, blood-thirsty spirit, wholly foreign from Isaiah's character, and from the temper of the age in which he lived. Without insisting on the arbitrary difference assumed in this objection to exist between certain periods of the sacred history, in point of moral elevation and enlargement, let it be observed how perfectly factitious and imaginary this peculiar tone of the disputed passages must be, when it has failed to strike the most enlightened readers of the Prophet for a course of ages. This is a question wholly different from that of philological or even rhetorical distinctions, which might easily escape the view of any but professional and critical readers, and be first discovered by the searching processes of modern scrutiny. But when the critic passes from the field of orthography and etymology to that of morals, he is stepping out of darkness into sunshine, from the bench to the bar, from the position of a judge to that of an advocate, who, far from being able to decide the controversy by a dictum, has to plead his cause at the tribunal of a multitude of trained minds and enlightened consciences. The want of familiar and devotional acquaintance with the Scriptures, on the part of many learned German critics, must disable them from estimating the advantage thus enjoyed by Christian readers, whose opinions have been formed upon the Gospel, and who certainly would be the first to mark any real inconsistency between it and the spirit of the ancient prophets. To such spectators, and in such a light, there is something almost ludicrous in the solemnity with which some unbelievers in the inspiration of the Bible utter sanctimonious complaints of an immoral and unhallowed temper in those parts of the Old Testament which they, for reasons afterwards to be considered, are unwilling to acknowledge as authentic, while they pass by, with discreet indulgence, indications far more plausible in other places. If it be said, that these immoral tendencies escape the ordinary reader on account of

his foregone conclusion that the whole proceeds from God and therefore must be right; the answer is, that a hypothesis, which thus brings all the parts of an extensive varied whole into agreement, bears upon its face the clearest marks of truth, and that the fact alleged affords an incidental proof that the position of the adverse party, which compels him to see every thing distorted and at variance with itself, must be a false one.

This last suggestion opens a new view of the whole subject. Thus far the question has been stated and discussed as one of criticism merely, not of hermeneutics or of doctrinal belief, with a view to show that even on historical and literary grounds, the modern German mode of dealing with the text of Isaiah, and of settling the antiquity and genuineness of its several parts, is wholly untenable, because capricious, arbitrary, inconsistent with itself, and at variance with analogy, good taste, and common sense. The reader must, however, have observed that in exposing the caprices of these critics, I have frequently described them as resorting to these methods only where they had strong reasons for desiring to discredit a particular portion of the book, at least so far as to dispute its antiquity. It will now be proper to explain how such a motive can be supposed to exist, the rather as the neological interpreters of Germany are often praised by their admirers, on the ground that, although they are skeptical, their very skepticism renders them impartial and gives their testimony greater weight, in every case except where the question of inspiration is directly and formally at issue. The practical effect of this superficial estimate has been the practice of adhering servilely to these neologists until they openly deny some fundamental doctrine of religion, then protesting against that specific error, and again walking closely in their footsteps, till another opportunity or palpable necessity for protestation or dissent occurs. Besides the want of harmony and unity in any course of criticism or exegesis thus conducted, it is evident that such a mode of dealing with a system, which is known and acknowledged to be unsound in principle, must lead the writer and the reader into many other dangers than the few which are upon the surface. *Incedis per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.* To avoid these hidden and insidious dangers, it is neccessary to compare the different theories of criticism and interpretation, not in their formal differences merely, but in their intimate connexion with diversities of fundamental principles and doctrinal belief. In order to effect this, it will be expedient to consider briefly the historical progress of opinion with respect to the principles of exegesis, as we have already traced the change of theory and practice in the treatment of the text. These two important parts of the same great subject will be found to illustrate and complete each other.

Isaiah himself, even leaving out of view the large part of his book which a capricious criticism has called in question, may be said to express every where his own belief that he was writing under an extraordinary influence,

not merely human but divine. This is at least the *prima facie* view which any unsophisticated reader would derive from a simple perusal of his undisputed writings. However mistaken he might think the prophet, in asserting or assuming his own inspiration, such a reader could scarcely hesitate to grant that he believed it and expected it to be believed by others. In one of the oldest and best of the Jewish Apocrypha (Sirach 24: 25), Isaiah is called the great and faithful prophet who foresaw what was to happen till the end of time. Josephus and Philo incidentally bear witness to his universal recognition by their countrymen as one inspired of God.

We have seen already that our Lord and his Apostles cite the whole book of Isaiah with more frequency than any other part of the Old Testament. It now becomes a question of historical interest at least, in what capacity and character Isaiah is thus quoted, and with what authority he seems to be invested in the New Testament. The simple fact that he is there so often quoted, when connected with another undisputed fact, to wit, that his writings, even at that early date, held a conspicuous place among the *Sacred Scriptures* (*ἱερὰ γράμματα, γραφαὶ ἅγιαι*) of the Jews, would of itself create a strong presumption that our Lord and his apostles recognised his inspiration and divine authority. We are not left, however, to infer this incidentally; for it is proved directly by the frequent combination of the title Prophet with the name Isaiah (Matth. 3: 3. 4: 14. 8: 17. 12: 17. Luke 3: 4. 4: 17. John 1: 23. 13: 28. Acts 8: 28–30. 28: 25); by the repeated statement that he prophesied or spoke by inspiration (Mark 7: 6. Rom. 9: 29); by the express declaration that some of his predictions were fulfilled in the history of Christ and his contemporaries (Matth. 3: 3. 4: 14. 8: 17. Acts 28: 25); and by the still more remarkable statement that Isaiah saw Christ and spoke of his glory (John 12: 41). These expressions place it beyond all possibility of doubt that the New Testament describes Isaiah as a Prophet in the strictest and the highest sense inspired of God. This is alleged here, not as a reason for our own belief, but simply as a well-attested fact in the history of the interpretation.

Coming down a little lower, we find all the Christian Fathers taking for granted the divine authority and inspiration of the Prophet, and regulating their interpretation of his book accordingly. But not content with thus acknowledging his right to a place among the sacred books of the Old Testament, they ascribe to him a certain pre-eminence as belonging rather to the new dispensation. Eusebius describes him as the great and wonderful prophet, and even as the greatest of prophets. According to Cyril, he is at once a prophet and apostle; according to Jerome, not so much a prophet as an evangelist. The latter elsewhere represents him as *non solum prophetam sed evangelistam et apostolum*, and his book as *non prophetiam sed evangelium*. As the old Jewish doctrine upon this point is maintained by the rabbinical expounders of

the Middle Ages, it may be affirmed that both the Old and New Testaments, according to the Jewish and the Christian tradition, represent Isaiah as inspired.

From the Fathers this doctrine passed without change into the Reformed Church, and from the Talmudists and Rabbins to the modern Jews, so far as they continue to adhere to their religion. Much as the Protestant Church has been divided since the Reformation, as to doctrine in general, as to the interpretation of Scripture in particular, and even with respect to the right method of interpreting Isaiah, all schools and parties, until after the middle of the eighteenth century, held fast to the inspiration of the Prophet as a fundamental principle, to which all theories and all exegetical results must be accommodated. Even the lax Arminian school of Grotius and Le Clerc, however much disposed to soften down the sharp points and asperities of orthodox opinion, upon this as well as other subjects, did not venture to disturb the old foundation. The very faults and errors, with which the stricter theologians charged their exegesis, were occasioned in a great degree by their attempt to reconcile more *liberal* and superficial views of the Prophet's meaning with the indisputable axiom of his inspiration. That a secret skeptical misgiving often gave complexion to their exegesis, is extremely probable; but it is still true, that they did not venture to depart from the traditional opinion of the whole church in all ages, as to the canonical authority and inspiration of the book before us. They sought by various means to belittle and explain away the natural results of this great principle; but with the principle itself they either did not wish or did not dare to meddle.

After the middle of the eighteenth century, a memorable change took place in Germany, as to the method of interpreting Isaiah. This change was closely connected with the one already mentioned, in relation to the criticism of the text. As the skeptical criticism of the classics was the model upon which that of the Hebrew text was formed, so a like imitation of the classical methods of interpretation became generally current. The favourite idea now was, that the Hebrew books were to be treated simply and solely as remains of ancient Jewish literature, and placed, if not upon a level with the Greek and Roman books, below them, as the products of a ruder period and a less gifted race. This affectation was soon carried out in its details *ad nauseam*. Instead of prophecies, and psalms, and history, the talk was now of poems, odes, orations, and mythology. The ecclesiastical and popular estimate of the books as sacred went for nothing, or was laughed at, as a relic of an antiquated system. This change, although apparently confined to technicalities, could never have been wrought without a deep defection from the ancient faith, as to the inspiration of the Scriptures. Under the pretext of exchanging barbarism for refinement, and of putting biblical and classical pursuits upon a footing of equality, the essential

distinction between *literature* and *scripture* was in fact abolished, without any visible or overt violence, by simply teaching men to treat them and to talk of them without discrimination.

This momentous change was undesignedly promoted by Lowth's ingenious and successful effort to direct attention to Isaiah's character and value as a poet. Believing justly that the exposition of the Prophet's writings had been hindered and perplexed by a failure to appreciate the figurative dress in which his thoughts were clothed, the learned and accomplished prelate undertook to remedy the evil by presenting, in the strongest light and in extreme relief, this single aspect of Isaiah's writings. In attempting this, he was unconsciously led to overcolour and exaggerate the real points of difference between the ordinary prose of history or legislation and the lively elevated prose of prophecy, applying to the latter all the distinctive terms which immemorial usage had appropriated to the strictly metrical productions of the Greek and Roman poets. This error led to several unfortunate results, some of which will be considered in another place. The only one that need be mentioned here is the apparent countenance afforded by Lowth's theories and phraseology to the contemporary efforts of the earlier neologists in Germany to blot out the distinction between poetry and prophecy, between the ideal inspiration of the Muses and the real inspiration of the Holy Ghost. This was the more to be regretted, as there does not seem to be the slightest reason for suspecting that the Bishop had departed in the least from the established doctrine of his own church and of every other, with respect to the divine authority and origin of this or of the other sacred books. That Lowth, by his unwarrantable changes of the text, and his exclusive disproportionate protrusion of the mere poetical element in scripture, gave an impulse to a spirit of more daring innovation in succeeding writers, is not more certain than the fact, that this abuse of his hypotheses, or rather this legitimate deduction of their more remote but unavoidable results, was altogether unforeseen. In ably and honestly attempting to correct a real error, and to make good an injurious defect, in the theory and practice of interpretation, he unwittingly afforded a new instance of the maxim, that the remedy may possibly be worse than the disease.

By the German writers, these new notions were soon pushed to an extreme. Besides the total change of phraseology already mentioned, some went so far as to set down the most express predictions as mere poetical descriptions of events already past. From this extreme position, occupied by Eichhorn and some others, DeWette and Gesenius receded, as they did from the critical extravagance of multiplying authors and redacting the ancient prophecies to fragments. They admitted, not only that many portions of Isaiah had reference to events still future when he wrote, but also

that he was inspired, reserving to themselves the right of putting a convenient sense on that equivocal expression. Among the later German writers on Isaiah, there is a marked variety of tone, as to the light in which the Prophet is to be regarded. While all, in general terms, acknowledge his genius and the literary merit of his writings, some, in expounding them, appear to vacillate between condescension and contempt. Of this class Hitzig is perhaps the lowest; Knobel and Hendewerk exhibit the same peculiarities with less uniformity and in a less degree. Gesenius treats his subject with the mingled interest and indifference of an antiquary handling a curious and valuable relic of the olden time. Ewald rises higher in his apparent estimation of his subject, and habitually speaks of Isaiah in terms of admiration and respect. Umbreit goes still further in the same direction, and employs expressions which would seem to identify him fully with the orthodox believing school of criticism, but for his marked agreement with neology in one particular, about to be stated.

The successive writers of this modern school, however they may differ as to minor points among themselves, prove their identity of principle by holding that *there cannot be distinct prophetic foresight of the distant future.* This doctrine is avowed more explicitly by some (as by Hitzig and Knobel) than by others (as Gesenius and Ewald); but it is really the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the whole school, and the only bond of unity between them. There is also a difference in the application of the general rule to specific cases. Where the obvious exposition of a passage would convert it into a distinct prediction, Gesenius and Hitzig usually try to show that the words really relate to something near at hand, and within the reach of a sagacious human foresight, while Ewald and Umbreit in the same case choose rather to convert it into a vague anticipation. But they all agree in this, that where the prophecy can be explained away in neither of these methods, it must be regarded as a certain proof of later date. This is the real ground, on which ch. xl–lxvi are referred to the period of the exile, when the conquests of Cyrus and the fall of Babylon might be foreseen without a special revelation. This is the fundamental doctrine of the modern neological interpreters, the *foregone conclusion*, to which all exegetical results must yield or be accommodated, and in support of which the arbitrary processes before described must be employed for the discovery of arguments, philological, historical, rhetorical and moral, against the genuineness of the passage, which might just as easily be used in other cases, where they are dispensed with, simply because they are not needed for the purpose of destroying an explicit proof of inspiration.

From this description of the neological interpretation there are two important practical deductions. The first and clearest is, that all conclusions founded, or necessarily depending, on this false assumption, must of

course go for nothing with those who do not hold it, and especially with those who are convinced that it is false. Whoever is persuaded, independently of these disputed questions, that there may be such a thing as a prophetic inspiration, including the gift of prescience and prediction, must of course be unaffected by objections to its exercise in certain cases, resting on the general negation of that which he knows to be true. The other inference, less obvious but for that very reason more important, is that the false assumption now in question must exert and does exert an influence extending far beyond the conclusions directly and avowedly drawn from it. He who rejects a given passage of Isaiah, because it contains definite predictions of a future too remote from the times in which he lived to be the object of ordinary human foresight, will of course be led to justify this condemnation by specific proofs drawn from the diction, style, or idiom of the passage, its historical or archaeological allusions, its rhetorical character, its moral tone, or its religious spirit. On the discovery and presentation of such proofs, the previous assumption, which they are intended to sustain, cannot fail to have a warping influence. The writer cannot but be tempted to give prominence to trifles, to extenuate difficulties, and to violate consistency by making that a proof in one case, which he overlooks in others, or positively sets aside as inadmissible or inconclusive. This course of things is not only natural but real; it may not only be expected *a priori*, but established *ex eventu*, as will be apparent from a multitude of cases in the course of the ensuing exposition. All that need here be added is the general conclusion, that the indirect effects of such a principle are more to be suspected than its immediate and avowed results, and that there cannot be a graver practical error than the one already mentioned of obsequiously following these writers as authoritative guides, except when they explicitly apply their *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* as a test of truth. The only safe and wise course is to treat them, not as judges, but as witnesses, or advocates, and even special pleaders; to weigh their *dicta* carefully, and always with a due regard to what is known to be the unsound basis of their criticism and exegesis. That this discretion may be vigilantly exercised, without foregoing the advantages arising from the modern philological improvements, is attested by the actual example of such men as Hengstenberg and Hävernick and others, trained in the modern German school of philology, and fully able to avail themselves of its advantages, while at the same time they repudiate its arbitrary principles in favour of those held by older writers, which may now be considered as more sure than ever, because founded on a broader scientific basis, and because their strength has been attested by resistance to assaults as subtle and as violent as they can ever be expected to encounter. Some of the critical and hermeneutical principles thus established may be here exhibited, as furnishing the basis upon which the following exposition of Isaiah is constructed.

In the first place, it may be propounded, as a settled principle of critical investigation, that the bare suggestion of a way in which the text may have been altered in a given case, and the *ipsissima verba* of the author, either by fraud or accident, confounded with the language of a later writer, only creates a feeble probability in favour of the emendation recommended, so as at the utmost to entitle it to be compared with the received opinion. Even the clearest case of critical conjecture, far from determining the question in dispute, only affords us an additional alternative, and multiplies the objects among which we are to choose. Our hypothesis may possibly be right, but it may possibly be wrong, and between these possibilities mere novelty is surely not sufficient to decide. The last conjecture is not on that account entitled to the preference. There are, no doubt, degrees of probability, susceptible of measurement; but in a vast majority of cases, the conjectural results of the modern criticism are precisely such as no one would think of entertaining unless previously determined to abandon the traditional or prevalent belief. If the common text, or the common opinion of its genuineness, be untenable, these critical conjectures may afford the most satisfactory substitute; but they do not of themselves decide the previous question, upon which their own utility depends. If the last chapters of Isaiah cannot be the work of their reputed author, then it is highly probable that they were written towards the close of the Babylonish exile; but it cannot be inferred from this conditional admission, that they are not genuine, any more than we can argue that a statement is untrue, because *if not true* it is false. The characteristic error of the modern criticism is its habitual rejection of a reading or interpretation, not because another is intrinsically better, but simply because there *is* another to supply its place. In other words, it is assumed that, in a doubtful case, whatever is established and received is likely to be spurious, and whatever is suggested for the first time likely to be genuine, and therefore entitled not only to be put upon a footing of equality with that to which it is opposed, but to take precedence of it, so that every doubt must be allowed to operate against the old opinion and in favour of the new one.

But in the second place, so far is this from being the true principle, that the direct reverse is true. Not only are the chances, or the general presumption, not in favour of a change or innovation, as such; they are against it, and in favour of that which has long been established and received. The very fact of such reception is presumptive proof of genuineness, because it shows how many minds have so received it without scruple or objection, or in spite of both. Such a presumption may indeed be overcome by countervailing evidence; but still the presumption does exist, and is adverse to innovations, simply viewed as such. If it were merely on the ground, that the mind, when perplexed by nearly balanced probabilities, seeks something to

destroy the equilibrium, and finds it in the previous existence of the one belief and its reception by a multitude of minds, we might allege the higher claims of that which is established and received, if not as being certainly correct, as having been so thought by others. In this the human mind is naturally prone to rest, until enabled by preponderating evidence to make its own decision, so that even in the most doubtful cases, it is safer and easier to abide by what has long been known and held as true, than to adopt a new suggestion, simply because it cannot be proved false. Here again the fashionable modern criticism differs from that which is beginning even in Germany to supersede it, inasmuch as the former allows all the benefit of doubt to innovation, while the latter gives it to received opinions.

The general principle just stated is peculiarly important and appropriate in the criticism of the Hebrew text, because so far as we can trace its history, it has been marked by a degree of uniformity, arising from a kind of supervision, to which no other ancient writings, even the most sacred, seem to have been subjected, not excepting the books of the New Testament. To call this Jewish scrupulosity and superstition does not in the least impair the strong presumption which it raises in favour of the text as it has been transmitted to us, and against the emendations of conjectural criticism. The wonderful resemblance of the Hebrew manuscripts now extant is admitted upon all hands, and explained as an effect of the masoretic labours in the sixth or seventh century, by means of which one Hebrew text acquired universal circulation. But this explanation needs itself to be explained. The possibility of thus reducing many texts to one has nothing to support it in the analogy of other languages or other writings. The variations of the text of the New Testament afford a memorable instance of the contrary. It is in vain to say that no such means were used to harmonize and reconcile the manuscripts; in other words, that no Greek masora existed. How can its absence be accounted for, except upon the ground, that the Hebrew critics followed ancient usage, and recorded a tradition which had been in existence for a course of ages? These considerations do not go to prove the absolute perfection of the masoretic text; but they unquestionably do create a very strong presumption—stronger by far than in any other like case—against innovation and in favour of tradition. The validity of this conclusion is in fact conceded by the signal unanimity with which the recent German critics, of all classes, set aside the fantastic mode of criticism practised by Cappellus, Houbigant, and Lowth, and assume the correctness of the masoretic text in every case except where they are driven from it by the stress of exegetical necessity. That the principle thus universally adopted in relation to the criticism of letters, words, and phrases, is not extended by these critics to the criticism of larger passages, argues no defect or error in the principle itself, but only a want of consistent uniform-

ity in its application. If it be true, as all now grant, that in relation to the elements of speech, to letters, words, and single phrases, we may safely presume that the existing text is right till it is shown to be wrong, how can it be, that in relation to whole sentences or larger contexts, the presumption is against the very same tradition until positively proved to be correct? That this is a real inconsistency, is not only plain upon the face of it, but rendered more unquestionable by the very natural and easy explanation of which it is susceptible. The criticism of words and letters, though identical in principle with that of entire passages, is not so closely connected with the evidence of inspiration and prophetic foresight, and is therefore less subject to the operation of the fundamental error of the rationalistic system. This is the more remarkable because in certain cases, where the main question happens to turn upon a single word or letter, there we find the same capricious license exercised, without regard to probability or evidence, as in the ordinary processes of criticism on a larger scale. From these theoretical concessions and these practical self-contradictions of the modern critics, we may safely infer the indisputable truth of the critical principles which they are forced to grant, and from which they depart in practice only when adherence to them would involve the necessity of granting that, the absolute negation of which is the fundamental doctrine of their system.

All this would be true and relevant, if the book in question were an ancient classic handed down to us in the manner just described. But Isaiah constitutes a part of a collection claiming to be a divine revelation. It is itself expressly recognised as such in the sacred books of the Christian religion. The authenticity and inspiration of the parts are complicated together, and involved in the general question of the inspiration of the whole. Whatever evidence goes to establish that of the New Testament adds so much to the weight of Isaiah's authority. Whatever strength the claims of the New Testament derive from miracles, from moral effects, from intrinsic qualities, is shared in some measure by the book before us. The same thing is true of the external and internal evidence that the Old Testament proceeds from God. The internal character of this one book, its agreement with the other parts of Scripture, and with our highest conceptions of God, the place which it has held in the estimation of intelligent and good men through a course of ages, its moral and spiritual influence on those who have received it as the word of God, so far as this can be determined separately from that of the whole Bible or of the entire Old Testament; all this invests the book with an authority and dignity which shield it from the petty caprices of a trivial criticism. Those who believe, on these grounds, that the book, as a whole, is inspired of God, not only may, but must be unwilling to give ear to every skeptical or frivolous suggestion as to the genuineness of its parts. Even if there were more ground for misgiving

than there is, and fewer positive proofs of authenticity, he whose faith is founded, not on detached expressions or minute agreements, but on the paramount claims of the whole as such to his belief and reverence, would rather take for granted, in a dubious case, that God had providentially preserved the text intact, than lift the anchor of his faith and go adrift upon the ocean of conjecture, merely because he could not answer every fool according to his folly.

The result of these considerations is, that as the neological interpreters assume the impossibility of inspiration and prophetic foresight, as a principle immovable by any indications of the contrary, however clear and numerous, so those who hold the inspiration of the Scriptures as a certain truth, should suffer this their general belief to influence their judgment on particular questions both of criticism and interpretation. The effect should not be that of closing the mind against conviction, where the reasons are sufficient to produce it, but simply that of hindering all concessions to an arbitrary and capricious license of conjecture, and all gratuitous sacrifices of received opinion to the mere possibility of some new notion. It is certainly not to be expected that believers in the inspiration of the Bible as a whole, should be content to give up any of its parts as readily as if it were an old song, or even a more valuable relic of some heathen writer.

In conformity with what has just been stated as the only valid principle of *criticism*, in the technical or strict sense, the laws of *interpretation* may be well defined to be those of common sense, controlled by a regard to the divine authority and inspiration of the book, considered as a fact already established or received as true. The design of biblical interpretation is not to prove, although it may illustrate, the canonical authority of that which is interpreted. This is a question to be previously settled, by a view of the whole book or of the whole collection which includes it, in connexion with the various grounds on which its claims to such authority are rested. Every competent expounder of Isaiah, whether infidel or Christian, comes before the public with his opinion upon this point formed, and with a fixed determination to regulate his treatment of particulars accordingly. The writer who should feign to be neutral or indifferent in this respect, would find it hard to gain the public ear, and harder still to control the public judgment. While the rationalist therefore avowedly proceeds upon the supposition, that the book before him is and can be nothing more than a human composition, it is not only the right but the duty of the Christian interpreter to treat it as the work both of God and man, a divine revelation and a human composition, the contents of which are never to be dealt with in a manner inconsistent either with the supposition of its inspiration or with that of its real human origin. The latter hypothesis is so essential, that there cannot be a sound interpretation, where there is not a consistent and a constant application of

the same rules which control the exposition of all other writings, qualified only by a constant recollection of the well-attested claims of the book expounded to the character of a divine revelation. One important practical result of this assumption is, that seeming contradictions and discrepancies are neither to be passed by, as they might be in an ordinary composition, nor regarded as so many refutations of the doctrine that the writing which contains them is inspired of God, but rather interpreted with due regard to the analogy of Scripture, and with a constant preference, where other things are equal, of those explanations which are most in agreement with the general fact of inspiration upon which the exposition rests. The attempt to explain every passage or expression by itself, and to assume the prima facie meaning as in every case the true one, without any reference to other parts of the same book, or to other books of the same collection, is absurd in theory and directly contradicted by the universal usage of mankind in determining the sense of other writings, while it practically tends to put the Christian interpreter in a situation of extreme disadvantage with respect to the neologist, who does not hesitate to press into the service of his own interpretation every argument afforded by analogy. The evil effect of this mistaken notion on the part of Christian writers is not merely that they often fail to vindicate the truth, but that they directly contribute to the triumph of its enemies.

With respect to the prophetic parts of Scripture, and to the writings of Isaiah in particular, a few exegetical maxims may be added to the general principles already stated. These, for the most part, will be negative in form, as being intended to preclude certain fallacies and practical errors, which have greatly hindered the correct interpretation of the book before us. The generic formulas here used will be abundantly exemplified hereafter by specific instances arising in the course of the interpretation.

All prophecies are not predictions, i. e. all the writings of the Prophets, and of this one in particular, are not to be regarded as descriptive of future events. The contrary error, which has arisen chiefly from the modern and restricted usage of the word prophet and its cognate terms, has generated some of the most crude extravagancies of prophetic exegesis. It has been shown already, by a historical and philological induction, that the scriptural idea of prophecy is far more extensive, that the prophets were inspired to reveal the truth and will of God, in reference to the past and present, no less than the future. In Isaiah, for example, we find many statements of a general nature, and particularly exhibitions of the general principles which govern the divine administration, especially in reference to the chosen people and their enemies or persecutors.

All predictions, or prophecies in the restricted sense, are not specific and exclusive, i. e. limited to one occasion or emergency, but many are

descriptive of a sequence of events which has been often realized. The vagueness and indefiniteness which might seem to attach to such predictions, and by making their fulfilment more uncertain to detract from their impressiveness and value, are precluded by the fact that, while the whole prediction frequently admits of this extensive application, it includes allusions to particular events, which can hardly be mistaken. Thus in some parts of Isaiah, there are prophetic pictures of the sieges of Jerusalem, which cannot be exclusively applied to any one event of that kind, but the terms and images of which are borrowed partly from one and partly from another through a course of ages. This kind of prophecy, so far from being vague and unimpressive, is the clearest proof of real inspiration, because more than any other beyond the reach of ordinary human foresight. Thus the threatening against Babylon, contained in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Isaiah, if explained as a specific and exclusive prophecy of the Medo-Persian conquest, seems to represent the downfall of the city as more sudden and complete than it appears in history, and on the other hand affords a pretext, though a very insufficient one, for the assertion that it may have been composed so near the time of the events foretold as to bring them within the reach of uninspired but sagacious foresight. No such hypothesis, however, will account for the extraordinary truth of the prediction when regarded as a panorama of the fall of Babylon, not in its first inception merely, but through all its stages till its consummation.

All the predictions of Isaiah, whether general or specific, are not to be literally understood. The ground of this position is the fact, universally admitted, that the prophecies abound in metaphorical expressions. To assert that this figurative character is limited to words and clauses, or at most to single sentences, is wholly arbitrary, and at variance with the acknowledged use of parables, both in the Old and New Testament, in which important doctrines and events are presented under a tropical costume, throughout a passage sometimes of considerable length. These facts are sufficient to sustain the negative position, that the prophecies are not invariably clothed in literal expressions, or in other words are not to be always literally understood.

The prophecies of this book are not to be always understood in a figurative or spiritual sense. The contrary assumption has engendered a vast motley multitude of mystical and anagogical interpretations, sometimes superadded to the obvious sense, and sometimes substituted for it, but in either case obscuring the true import and defeating the design of the prediction. The same application of the laws of common sense and of general analogy, which shows that some predictions must be metaphorical, shows that others must be literal. To assert, without express authority, that prophecy must always and exclusively be one or the other, is as foolish as

it would be to assert the same thing of the whole conversation of an individual throughout his lifetime, or of human speech in general. No valid reason can be given for applying this exclusive canon of interpretation to the prophecies, which would not justify its application to the Iliad, the Æneid, the Divina Commedia, or the Paradise Lost, an application fruitful only in absurdities. Isaiah's prophecies are therefore not to be expounded on the general principle, that either a literal or figurative sense must be assumed wherever it is possible. We have already seen the fallacies resulting from the assumption, that whatever is possible is probable or certain. To set aside the obvious and strict sense, wherever it can be done without absurdity, is forbidden by the very nature of the difference between literal and figurative language. That which is regular and normal must at times assert its rights or it becomes anomalous. On the other hand, to claim precedence for the strict and proper sense in every case, is inconsistent with the fact that symbols, emblems, images, and tropes, are characteristic of prophetic language. In a word, the question between literal and tropical interpretation is not to be determined by the application of invariable formulas. The same remark may be applied to the vexed question with respect to types and double senses. The old extreme of constantly assuming these wherever it is possible, and the later extreme of denying their existence, may be both considered as exploded errors. That words may be naturally used with a primary and secondary reference, is clear from all analogy. That some things in the old dispensation were intended to be types of corresponding objects in the new, is clear from the New Testament. A fantastic *philotypia* is not more likely to engender error than a morbid *typophobia*, except that the first is not merely negative in its effects, and may be exercised *ad libitum*, whereas the other prides itself on never adding to the revelation, but is satisfied with taking from it. Both may exist, and both must be avoided, not by the use of nostrums and universal rules, but by the exercise of sound discretion in specific cases, guided by the obvious canon, founded on experience and analogy, that types and double senses do not constitute the staple even of prophetic language, and are therefore not to be wantonly assumed, in cases where a simpler and more obvious exposition is abundantly sufficient to meet all the requisitions of the text and context.

The question, under which of these descriptions any prophecy must be arranged, i. e. the question whether it is strictly a prediction, and if so, whether it is general or particular, literal or figurative, can only be determined by a thorough independent scrutiny of each case by itself, in reference to form and substance, text and context, without regard to arbitrary and exclusive theories, but with a due regard to the analogy of scripture in general, and of other prophecies in particular, especially of such as belong to the same writer, or at least to the same period, and apparently

relate to the same subject. This is far from being so attractive or so easy as the sweeping application of a comprehensive canon to all cases, like and unlike; but it seems to be the only process likely to afford a satisfactory result, and one main purpose of the following exposition is to prove its efficacy by a laborious and fair experiment.

In executing this design, it is essential that regard should be paid to the exterior form as well as to the substance of a passage, that rhetorical embellishments should be distinguished from didactic propositions, that prosaic and poetical peculiarities should be distinctly and correctly estimated at their real value. Experience has clearly shown, that such discrimination does not always accompany the habit of perpetually praising the sublimity and beauty of the author's style, a practice perfectly compatible with very indistinct and even false conceptions of rhetorical propriety. The characteristics of Isaiah, as a writer, appear by some to be regarded as consisting merely in the frequent occurrence of peculiar forms of speech, for which they are continually on the watch, and ever ready to imagine if they cannot find them. The favourite phenomenon of this kind with the latest writers is *paronomasia*, an intentional resemblance in the form or sound of words which are nearly related to each other in a sentence. The frequent occurrence of this figure in Isaiah is beyond a doubt; but the number of the instances has been extravagantly multiplied; in some cases, it would almost seem, for the purpose of detracting from the author's merit; sometimes with an honest but mistaken disposition to enhance it. It is an important observation of Ewald's, that a mere assonance of words is probably fortuitous, except where a similar relation can be traced between the thoughts which they express. The truth in reference to this and many other kindred topics, can be ascertained only in the way proposed above, i. e. by a due regard to the matter and the manner of each passage in itself considered. This discriminating process necessarily involves a scrupulous avoidance of two opposite extremes, which have, at different periods, and in some cases simultaneously, done much to pervert and hinder the interpretation of the book before us. The first extreme, particularly prevalent in earlier times, is that of understanding the most highly wrought descriptions, the most vivid imagery, the boldest personifications, as mere prose. This is especially exemplified in the irrational and tasteless manner of expounding apologues and parables by many of the older writers, who insist on giving a specific sense to circumstances which are significant only as parts of one harmonious whole. The other extreme, of which we have already traced the origin, is that of turning elevated prose diversified by bursts of poetry, into a regular poem or series of poems, technically so considered, and subjecting them as such to all the tests and rules of classical poetry, and even to the canons of its versification. To expound Isaiah without any reference to the perpetual recurrence of antitheses and

other parallel constructions, would be now a proof of utter incapacity. Far more indulgence would be probably extended to the no less extravagant but much less antiquated error of seeking perfect parallels in every sentence, torturing the plain sense into forced conformity with this imaginary standard, altering the text to suit it, and in short converting a natural and unstudied form, in which the Hebrew mind expressed itself without regard to rules or systems, into a rigorous scholastic scheme of prosody. The recurrence of a certain theme, refrain, or burden at nearly equal intervals—a structure natural and common in the elevated prose of various nations, for example in the sermons of the great French preachers—may be very properly compared to the strophical arrangements of the Greek dramatic style. But when, instead of an illustrative comparison, the passages thus marked are gravely classed as real strophes and antistrophes, and formally distributed among imaginary choruses of Prophets, Jews, and so forth, this pedantic affectation of confounding Hebrew prophecies with Greek plays, becomes chargeable with *wasteful and ridiculous excess*. It can only be regarded as a natural and necessary consequence of this overstrained analogy between things which occasionally coincide in form, that some of the most recent German critics do not hesitate to strike whole verses from the text of Isaiah, on the ground that they cannot be genuine because they make the strophes unequal, and that one of them winds up a comparison between prophetic and dramatic poetry with several pages of imaginary, far-fetched, or fortuitous coincidences, both of thoughts and words, between the writings of Isaiah and the Eumenides of Æschylus. The golden mean between these hurtful and irrational extremes appears to lie in the assiduous observance of the true poetical ingredients of Isaiah's style, both in themselves and in their various combinations, with a rigid abstinence from all scholastic and pedantic theories of Hebrew poetry, and all peculiar forms and methods which have sprung from them or tend to their promotion.

Under this last description may be properly included the fantastic and injurious mode of printing most translations of Isaiah since the days of Lowth, in lines analogous to those of classical and modern verse. This arrangement, into which the good taste of the Bishop was betrayed by a natural but overweening zeal for his supposed discovery of rhythm or measure in the Hebrew prophets, and which the bad taste of succeeding writers bids fair to perpetuate, is open to a number of objections. In the first place, it proceeds upon a false or at least exaggerated supposition, that Isaiah wrote in what we are accustomed to call verse. If the predominance of parallel constructions is a sufficient reason for this mode of printing, then it might be adopted with propriety in many works which all the world regards as prose, in various parts at least of Seneca, Augustin, Larochefoucauld, Pascal, Johnson, and even Macaulay. The extent to which it might be carried is exemplified

by Bishop Jebb's ingenious effort to extend Lowth's system to the Greek of the New Testament, in doing which he actually prints long extracts from the Gospels in the form of Lowth's Isaiah. Another proof of the unsoundness of the theory, when carried thus far, is the want of unity among the various practitioners, in Germany and England, with respect to the division and arrangement of the clauses, the regard due to the masoretic accents, and the rhythmical principle on which the whole must after all depend. Between some specimens of this mode of typography there seems to be scarcely any thing in common but the uneven termination of the lines. A third objection to this mode of printing is the fact, which any correct eye and ear may bring to an experimental test, that so far from enhancing the effect of the peculiar construction of Isaiah's sentences, it greatly mars it, and converts a *numerous prose* into the blankest of all blank verse, by exciting expectations which of course cannot be realized, suggesting the idea of a poetical metre in the strict sense, and then thwarting it by consecutions wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of prosody, however sonorous or euphonic in themselves. In England and America, this modern fashion seems to be already an established usage, and is even pushed so far as to require quotations from certain parts of Scripture to be printed like poetical extracts in a small type and in lines by themselves, a usage which we may expect to see extended to the rest of the Bible on the principles of Jebb. In Germany, the younger and inferior writers appear still enamoured of this wonderful discovery; but some of their more eminent interpreters, above the common average in taste, exhibit symptoms of reaction. Ewald contents himself with marking the divisions of the sentences and clauses after the manner of bars in music, while DeWette, in his excellent translation of the Bible, prints the whole like prose. This is the more significant because DeWette, in his Introduction to the Psalms, had carried out Lowth's system of parallelisms in detail, with greater minuteness and precision than any preceding writer. In the preface to his Bible, he speaks of the arrangement of the Hebrew distichs in distinct lines, as of value only to the Hebrew scholar, while Ewald says expressly that the modern custom violates the ancient usage, and mistakes for poetry the mixed or intermediate prophetic style. Partly for these and other reasons of a kindred nature, founded on what I believe to be the true characteristics of Isaiah's style, partly in order to save room for more important matters than the marking of divisions, which the simplest reader even of a version can distinguish for himself so far as they have any real value, the translation of Isaiah will be found in this work printed as prose, and in the closest union with the exposition. This is the method which has been successfully pursued by several judicious German writers of the present day, especially by Hengstenberg, as well in his Christology as in his Commentary on the Psalms, perhaps as a matter of convenience

merely, but it may be also with regard to some of the considerations which have just been stated. With respect to the translation in the present volume, this arrangement is moreover rendered necessary by the relation which it is intended to sustain to the exegetical matter which accompanies it. No attempt has here been made to give a new translation of the book, complete in itself, and suited for continuous perusal. The translation is part and parcel of the commentary, closely incorporated with it, and in some degree inseparable from it. After the study of a passage with the aid here furnished, it may no doubt be again read with advantage in this version, for the sake of which it has been not only printed in a different type, but generally placed at the beginning of the paragraph. This explanation seems to be required, as the whole form and manner of the version have been modified by this design. If meant for separate continuous perusal, it must of course have been so constructed as to be easily intelligible by itself; whereas a version introduced as a text or basis of immediate exposition, admitted of a closer approximation to the idiomatic form of the original, with all its occasional obscurity and harshness, than would probably have been endured by readers of refined taste in an independent version.

To this account of the precise relation which the version of Isaiah in this volume bears to the accompanying exposition, may be added a brief statement of the twofold object which the whole work is intended to accomplish, namely, a correct interpretation and a condensed historical synopsis of opinions with respect to it. The arduous task here undertaken is to aid the reader in determining the sense, not only by my own suggestions, but by those of others. This historical element has been introduced both as a means of exegetical improvement, and for its own sake, as an interesting chapter of the history of opinion on a highly important subject. In order to appreciate the particular results of this historical analysis, it will be proper to give some account of the materials employed. A brief and general sketch of the progress of opinion and of gradual changes in the method of interpretation having been previously given in a different connexion, it will only be necessary here to add a chronological enumeration of the works which have exerted the most lasting and extensive influence on the interpretation of Isaiah.

The first place in this enumeration is of course due to the Ancient Versions, and among these to the Greek translation commonly called the Septuagint, from the old tradition of its having been produced by seventy-two Jews at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The additional circumstances, such as the translation of the whole law by each man separately, and their entire agreement afterwards, are not found in the oldest authorities, and are now rejected as mere fables. It is even a matter of dispute among the learned, whether the whole of this

translation was executed at once or by degrees, by few or many writers, for the use of the synagogues in Egypt or as a mere literary enterprise. Against the unity of the translation is the different character of the version in different parts. The Pentateuch is commonly regarded as the best, and Daniel as the worst. The version of Isaiah is intermediate between these. It is important as the record of an ancient exegetical tradition, and on account of the use made of it in the New Testament. The writer shows a special acquaintance with the usages and products of Egypt, but is grammatically very inexact, and governed in translation by no settled principle. Hence he abounds in needless paraphrases and additions, euphemistic variations, and allusions to opinions and events of later times, although the number of these has been exaggerated by some critics. The Hebrew text used by this translator seems to have been the one now extant, but without the masoretic points. The seeming variations, used by Houbigant and Lowth as means of textual correction, are most probably the mere result of ignorance or inadvertence. The extreme opinions formerly maintained in reference to this version have been gradually exchanged for a more moderate and discriminating estimate, acknowledging its use in many cases of difficult interpretation, but denying its paramount authority in any. Besides the frequent citation of the Septuagint, occasional reference will be made to the other old Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, fragments of which have been preserved by early writers. Of these interpreters, Aquila is commonly supposed to have been distinguished by his slavish adherence to the letter of the Hebrew, Symmachus by freedom and a greater regard to the Greek idiom, while Theodotion stood in these respects between them.

Next to these versions stands the Chaldee Paraphrase or Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the date of which is much disputed, but assigned by a majority of modern critics to the time of Christ, or that immediately preceding. It derives its value partly from its high repute and influence among the Jews, partly from its intrinsic character as being on the whole a skilful and correct translation into a cognate dialect, although disfigured like the Septuagint by many arbitrary explanations, by additions to the text, and by allusions to the usages and doctrines of the later Jews. Its critical as well as exegetical adherence to the masoretic text is much more close than that of the oldest Greek translator.

The ancient Syriac version, commonly called the Peshito, on account of its simplicity and fidelity, is one of the most valuable extant. Its precise date is unknown, but it appears to have been looked upon as ancient and occasionally needing explanation, even in the days of Ephrem Syrus. It has been ascribed by different critics to a Jewish and a Christian writer, but the latter supposition is the best sustained, both by external and internal evidence.

The opinion of some writers, as to the use made by this translator of the Targum and Septuagint, appears to be regarded now as groundless, or at least exaggerated. This version, as a whole, is characterized by great exactness and a close adherence to the original expression, rendered easy by the near affinity of Syriac and Hebrew.

The Vulgate or common Latin version of Isaiah, regarded as authentic in the Church of Rome, was executed by Jerome, about the end of the fourth century, and afterwards substituted for the older Latin version, commonly called Itala, in use before, of which only fragments are now extant. This version, notwithstanding many errors and absurd interpretations, is on the whole a valuable record of ancient exegetical tradition, and of the fruit of Jerome's oriental studies. Its influence on modern exegesis, more especially within the Church of Rome, has of course been very extensive.

In these four versions we possess what may be called the exegetical tradition of the Jewish Synagogue, the Latin Church, the Greek Church, and the Syrian Church in all its branches. This, in addition to their mere antiquity, entitles them to a consideration which cannot be claimed by other versions, even though intrinsically more correct. At the same time, let it be observed, that in addition to the original defects of these translations, their text is no doubt greatly corrupted, having never been subjected to any such conservative process as the Masora or critical tradition of the Jews. This fact alone shows the folly of attempting to ascribe to either of these versions a traditional authority superior to that of the Hebrew text. From these direct and primary versions, many mediate or secondary ones were formed in early times, the exegetical authority of which is naturally far inferior, although they are occasionally useful in determining the text of their originals, and even in explaining them, while still more rarely they exhibit independent and remarkable interpretations of the Hebrew text. To some of these mediate versions, there will be found occasional references in the present work, especially to the Arabic version of the Septuagint, made at Alexandria, and printed in the third volume of the London Polyglot. A still more frequent mention will be made of an immediate Arabic version by the celebrated Jewish teacher and grammarian of the tenth century, Saadias Gaon, whose translation of the Pentateuch is found in the same Polyglot, although his version of Isaiah was not brought to light till near the end of the last century. Both in its merits and defects, it resembles the more ancient versions, but approaches still more closely to the exegesis of the rabbins. The occasional citations of this version are derived from other writers, and particularly from Gesenius.

Next to the Ancient Versions may be named the Greek and Latin Fathers who have written on Isaiah. Besides Origen and others, whose

interpretations have been wholly or in a great measure lost, there are still extant those of Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Procopius, on the whole or part of the Septuagint version of Isaiah. These are valuable, not so much for any direct aid which they afford in the interpretation of the Hebrew text, as for the light which they throw upon the prevalent theories of interpretation at a remote period, and especially upon the allegorical and mystical method of expounding the Old Testament, of which Origen, if not the inventor, was the most successful champion and practitioner. Jerome, the only Latin Father who has written on Isaiah, while he has some defects and faults in common with the Greek expounders, has the great advantage of direct acquaintance with the Hebrew text, and with the Jewish method of explaining it. The good effects of this superior knowledge, and of his untiring diligence, are greatly neutralized by haste and inadvertence, by a want of consistency and settled principles, and by a general defect of judgment. The only Fathers, of whose expositions a direct use will be made in the present work, are Chrysostom and Jerome, and of these only in the earlier chapters. All further references of the same kind are derived from other commentaries.

Of the Rabbins, several are carefully compared and often quoted. These are Solomon Jarchi, noted for his close adherence to the Targum and the Jewish tradition ; Aben Ezra, for his independent rationalistic views and philological acuteness ; David Kimchi, for his learning and good sense, and for his frequent reference to older writers. He often cites, among others, his brother Moses, and his father, Joseph Kimchi. The Michlal Jophi of Solomon Ben Melech, with the additional notes of Jacob Abendana, is chiefly a selection of the best rabbinical interpretations, particularly those of David Kimchi. The opinions of Abarbenel and other rabbins are occasionally cited on the authority of other writers.

Of the Reformers, the two greatest are kept constantly in view, throughout the exposition. Luther's translation will be always valued, not only for its author's sake, but for its own. Though often inexact and paraphrastical, it almost always gives the true sense, and often gives it with a vigour and felicity of phrase, never attained in like degree by the more accurate and learned versions of the present day. Calvin still towers above all interpreters, in large commanding views of revelation in its whole connexion, with extraordinary insight into the logical relations of a passage, even where its individual expressions were not fully understood. These qualities, together with his fixed belief of fundamental doctrines, his eminent soundness of judgment, and his freedom from all tendency to paradox, pedantic affectation, or fanciful conceit, place him more completely on a level with the very best interpreters of our day, than almost any intervening writer. Of the other Reformers, only occasional citations will be met with, such as Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Fagius.

As a representative of the old school of orthodox interpreters, we may take the annotated version of Junius and Tremellius, distinguished by learning, ingenuity, and exegetical acumen, but disfigured by unnatural and forced constructions, in which the Hebrew idiom is often sacrificed to some paradoxical novelty. Less frequent reference will be made to other writers of the same school and period, who were not accessible directly, or whose influence on later writers has been less considerable.

The honours due to the original and independent founder of a school may be justly claimed by John Cocceius, whose opinions gave occasion to protracted controversies in the Church of Holland. The description usually given of him, that he finds Christ every where in the Old Testament, is hardly expressive of his peculiar character, as set forth in his work upon Isaiah. A more exact description would be, that he finds the Church and the events of Church history throughout the prophecies, not as a mystical or secondary meaning, but as the proper and direct one. Of this system many striking specimens will be presented in the exposition.

The description of Cocceius, which has been already quoted, is commonly accompanied by one of Grotius, as his exegetical opposite, who finds Christ nowhere. Here again the portrait is by no means an exact one, at least as he appears in his brief notes on Isaiah. He probably professes to find Christ predicted there as often as Cocceius does, but with this difference, that Grotius finds him always hidden under types, the lower or immediate sense of which is to be sought as near as may be to the date of the prediction. A comparison between these two eminent writers is enough to show the incorrectness of the common notion, that the hypothesis of types and double senses is peculiar to the stricter theologians of the old school, and the rejection of them characteristic of the more liberal interpreters. Cocceius seldom resorts to the assumption of a double sense, while Grotius seldom recognises Christ as a subject of prophecy, except where he can institute a typical relation. The grand objection to the exegesis of the latter, as exemplified in this book, is its superficial character and the skeptical tendencies which it betrays. Its shining merits are ingenious combination, happy conjecture, and abundant illustration from the Greek and Roman classics. The nearest approach to him, in all these qualities, without the least appearance of dependence, imitation, or collusion, is found in John Le Clerc, more commonly called Clericus. The likeness is the more exact because neither he nor Grotius has done justice to his own capacity and reputation in interpreting Isaiah.

The first complete exposition of Isaiah is the great work of Campegius Vitringa, Professor at Franeker, originally published in 1714. Of the preceding commentaries, every one perhaps may be described as holding up some one side of the subject while the others are neglected. But in

this work are collected all the materials which at that time were accessible, not in an undigested state, but thoroughly incorporated and arranged with a degree of judgment, skill, and taste, not easily surpassed. It is besides distinguished by a candour, dignity, and zeal for truth without the least admixture of acrimonious bigotry, which have secured for it and for its author the esteem of all succeeding writers who have read it, of whatever school or party. So complete is Vitringa's exposition even now, that nothing more would be required to supply the public wants but the additional results of more profound and extensive philological investigation during the last century, were it not for two defects which the work, with all its varied and transcendent merit, does exhibit. The first is a want of condensation, a prolixity, which, although not without advantages to readers who have leisure to secure them, is entirely unsuited to the tastes and habits of the present age. The other is too strong a leaning to the mystical and allegorical interpretation of the plainest prophecies, arising from a mistaken deference for the old exegetical canon, that the prophecies must be made to mean as much as possible. To this must be added the erroneous hypothesis, not yet exploded, that every prophecy must be specific, and must have its fulfilment in a certain period of history, to determine which recourse must frequently be had to fanciful or forced interpretation.

Nearly contemporary with Vitringa was the learned German Pietist, John Henry Michaelis, Professor at Halle, who, in conjunction with his brother, published there in 1720 a Hebrew Bible with marginal annotations. Those on the first part of Isaiah are by no means equal to the notes of C. B. Michaelis on the Minor Prophets in the same volume. The former are more meager and contain less independent exposition, leaning chiefly upon some preceding writers and especially Sebastian Schmid. These notes, however, have considerable value on account of their references to parallel passages, less numerous than those of many other writers, but selected with great care, and with a constant view to the elucidation of the text. Occasionally also an original interpretation here presents itself. The whole work is characterized by orthodox belief and a devout spirit.

Independently of both these works, though some years later, appeared the Exposition of Isaiah by John Gill, a Baptist minister in London. Though designed for the doctrinal and practical improvement of the English reader, it is still distinguished from other books of that class by its erudition in a single province, that of talmudic and rabbinic literature. In this department Gill draws directly from his own resources, which are here extensive, while in other matters he contents himself with gathering and combining, often whimsically, the opinions of preceding writers, and especially of those contained in the Critici Sacri and in Pool's Synopsis. His original suggestions are but few and generally founded on his own peculiar views of the

Apocalypse, not as an independent prophecy, but as a key to those of the Old Testament.

Before either of the works last mentioned, and nearly contemporary with Vitringa, appeared a Commentary on Isaiah by Dr. William Lowth, prebendary of Winchester, which is usually printed, with his other expositions of the Prophets, as a part of Bishop Patrick's Commentary on the Bible. The work on Isaiah has exerted little influence on later writers, the less perhaps because eclipsed by the brilliant success of the Translation, published, more than half a century afterwards, by the author's son, Robert Lowth, successively Bishop of Limerick, St. David's, Oxford, and London, universally acknowledged to be one of the most accomplished scholars and elegant writers of his age or nation. The influence of Lowth's Isaiah has already been described, so far as it can be regarded as injurious to the cause of sound interpretation or enlightened criticism. Its good effect has been to raise the estimation of Isaiah as a writer of extraordinary genius, and to introduce a method of expounding him, more in accordance with the principles of taste, than some adopted by preceding writers. Besides his work upon Isaiah, he contributed to this end by his lectures, as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, de Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum, which have been frequently republished on the continent, and still exert a salutary influence on the German critics. In his criticism of the Hebrew text, he follows the exploded system of Cappellus, Houbigant, and others, who assumed the masoretic text to be as faulty as it could be without losing its identity, and seem to make it the great object of their criticism to change it as extensively as possible. Many of Lowth's favourite interpretations, being founded upon critical conjecture, are now worthless. The style of his English version, which excited universal admiration when it first appeared, has, in the course of nearly seventy years, become less pleasing to the cultivated ear, partly because a taste has been revived for that antique simplicity which Lowth's contemporaries looked upon as barbarous, and of which a far superior specimen is furnished in the common version. Among Lowth's greatest merits, in the exposition and illustration of Isaiah, must be mentioned his familiarity with classical models, often suggesting admirable parallels, and his just views, arising from a highly cultivated taste, in reference to the structure of the prophecies, and the true import of prophetic imagery.

Almost simultaneous with the first appearance of Lowth's Isaiah was the publication of a German version, with Notes for the Unlearned, by John David Michaelis (a nephew of John Henry before mentioned), Professor at Göttingen, and for many years the acknowledged leader of the German Orientalists. His interpretations in this work are often novel and ingenious, but as often paradoxical and fanciful. His version, although frequently felicitous, is marred by a perpetual affectation of colloquial and modern

phraseology, for which he sometimes apologizes on the ground that the original expression would not have sounded well in German. He agrees with Lowth in his contempt for the masoretic text, which he is constantly attempting to correct; but is far below him in refinement of taste and in a just appreciation of the literary merits of his author. With respect to more important matters, he may be said to occupy the turning point between the old and new school of interpreters. While on the one hand, he retains the customary forms of speech and, at least negatively, recognises the divine authority and inspiration of the Prophet, he carries his affectation of independence and free-thinking, in the details of his interpretation, so far that the transition appears natural and easy to the avowed unbelief of his pupils and successors. Besides the one already mentioned, occasional reference is made to other works of the same author.

The German edition of Lowth's Isaiah, with additional notes, by Koppe, a colleague of Michaelis at Göttingen, deserves attention, as the work in which the extravagant doctrines of the modern criticism with respect to the unity, integrity, and genuineness of the prophecies, were first propounded and applied to the writings of Isaiah. The opposite doctrines were maintained, in all their strictness, by a contemporary Swiss Professor, Kocher, a disciple and adherent of the orthodox Dutch school, in a book expressly written against Lowth.

Passing over the comparatively unimportant works of Vogel, Cube, Hensler, and the annotated Latin versions of Dathe and Doederlein, occasionally cited in the present volume, we may mention as the next important link in the *catena* of interpretation, the famous *Scholia* of the younger Rosenmüller, for many years Oriental Professor at Leipzig. The part relating to Isaiah appeared first in 1791; but the publication and republication of the several parts extend through a period of more than forty years. As a whole, the work is distinguished by a critical acquaintance both with Hebrew and the cognate dialects, and an industrious use of the ancient versions, the rabbinical interpreters, and the later writers, particularly Grotius and Vitringa, whole paragraphs from whom are often copied almost verbatim and without express acknowledgment. From its comprehensive plan and the resources of the writer, this work may be considered as an adaptation of Vitringa to the circumstances of a later period, including however an entire change of exegetical and doctrinal opinions. Without any of the eager zeal and party-spirit, which occasioned the excesses of Koppe and Eichhorn, Rosenmüller equally repudiates the doctrine of prophetic inspiration in the strict sense, and rejects whatever would imply or involve it. The unsoundness of his principles in this respect has given less offence and alarm to readers of a different school, because accompanied by so much calmness and apparent candour, sometimes amounting to a neutral apathy,

no more conducive to correct results than the opposite extreme of partiality and prejudice. This very spirit of indifference, together with the plan of compilation upon which the Scholia are constructed, added perhaps to an original infirmity of judgment, make the author's own opinions and conclusions the least valuable part of this extensive and laborious work. In the abridged edition, which appeared not long before his death (1835), many opinions of Gesenius are adopted, some of which Gesenius in the mean time had himself abandoned. The acknowledgment of Messianic prophecies, which Rosenmüller, in his later writings, seems to make, does not extend to prophecies of Christ, but merely to vague and for the most part groundless expectations of a Messiah by the ancient prophets.

An epoch in the history of the interpretation is commonly supposed to be marked by the appearance of the Philological, Critical, and Historical Commentary of Gesenius (Leipzig, 1821). This distinction is not founded upon any new principle or even method of interpretation which the author introduced, but on his great celebrity, authority, and influence, as a grammarian and lexicographer. Nothing is more characteristic of the work than the extreme predilection of the writer for the purely philological and archaeological portions of his task, and the disproportionate amount of space and labour lavished on them. The evidence of learning and acuteness thus afforded cannot be questioned, but it is often furnished at the cost of other more important qualities. The ablest portions of the work have sometimes the appearance of *excursus* or detached disquisitions upon certain questions of antiquities or lexicography. Even in this chosen field, successful as Gesenius has been, later writers have detected some infirmities and failures. Of these the most important is the needless multiplication of distinct senses and the gratuitous attenuation of the meaning in some words of common occurrence. The merit of Gesenius consists much more in diligent investigation and perspicuous arrangement than in a masterly application of the principles established and exemplified in the best Greek lexicons. His proneness to mistake distinct applications of a word, and accessory ideas suggested by the context, for different meanings of the word itself, is recognised in the occasional correction of the fault by his American translator (see for example Heb. Lex. p. 148), to whom the public would have been indebted for a much more frequent use of the same method. If any apology is needed for the frequent deviations, in the following exposition, from Gesenius's decisions, it is afforded by the rule which he professes to have followed in his own use of the cognate dialects: *ultra lexica sapere.* (Preface to Isaiah, p. vi.) With respect to candour and impartiality, Gesenius occupies the same ground with Rosenmüller, that is to say, he is above suspicion as to any question not connected, more or less directly, with his fundamental error, that there can be no prophetic foresight. Another

point of similarity between them is their seeming hesitancy and instability of judgment, as exhibited in frequent changes of opinion upon minor points, without a statement of sufficient reasons. The many variations which may be traced in the writings of Gesenius, from his early Lexicons and Commentary on Isaiah to his great Thesaurus, are no doubt proofs of intellectual progress and untiring diligence; but it is still true, that in many cases opposite conclusions seem to have been drawn from precisely the same premises. The Commentary on Isaiah never reappeared, but the accompanying version was reprinted, with a few notes, in 1829. This translation is a spirited and faithful reproduction of the sense of the original, and for the most part of its characteristic form, but not without unnecessary paraphrases and gratuitous departures from the Hebrew idiom. In these respects, and in simplicity of diction, it has been much improved by DeWette, whose translation of Isaiah (contained in his version of the Bible, Heidelberg, 1839) is avowedly founded upon that of Gesenius. The same relation to the Commentary is sustained by Maurer's notes for students (in the first volume of his *Commentarius Criticus in Vet. Test.* Leipzig, 1835), which exhibit in a clear and compact form the substance of Gesenius, with occasional specimens of independent and ingenious exposition.

A very different position is assumed by Hitzig, whose work upon Isaiah (Heidelberg, 1833) seems intended to refute that of Gesenius wherever a dissent was possible, always excepting the sacred fundamental principle of unbelief in which they are united. This polemical design of Hitzig's work has led to many strained and paradoxical interpretations, but at the same time to a remarkable display of exegetical invention and philological acuteness, both in the application of the principles of Ewald's Grammar where it varies from Gesenius, and in original solutions of grammatical and other problems. In some points Hitzig may be said to have receded to the ground of Eichhorn, as for instance in the wildness of his critical conjectures, not so much in reference to words or letters as to larger passages, and also in his leaning to the old idea of predictions *ex eventu*, or historical allusions clothed in a prophetical costume. The metaphysical obscurity of Hitzig's style, in certain cases, may be either the result of individual peculiarity, or symptomatic of the general progress in the German mind from common-sense rationalism or deism to the more transcendental forms of unbelief. Another characteristic of this writer is his undisguised contempt, if not for Isaiah in particular, for Judaism and its faith in general. In point of taste, he is remarkable at once for high pretensions and for gross defects.

Hendewerk's commentary on Isaiah, (Königsberg, vol. 1, 1838, vol. 2, 1843) though indicative of scholarship and talent, has a less marked and independent character than that of Hitzig, and exhibits in a great degree the faults and merits of a juvenile performance. The author's reading seems to

have been limited to modern writers, and the controversial attitude which he is constantly assuming with respect to Hengstenberg or Hitzig, while it makes his exposition less intelligible, unless compared with that of his opponents, also impairs the reader's confidence in his impartiality and candour. His original suggestions are in many cases striking and in some truly valuable, as will appear from the examples cited in the exposition.

A place is due, in this part of the chronological succession, to two works on Isaiah in the English language. The first is by the Rev. Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, (3 vols. 8vo., Boston, 1840,) well known by previous publications on the Gospels and Epistles, and by a later work on Job. His exposition of Isaiah comprehends a large part of the valuable substance of Vitringa, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, with occasional reference to the older writers, as contained in Pool's Synopsis and the Critici Sacri. The great fault of the work is not its want of matter, but of matter well digested and condensed. Particular and even disproportionate attention has been paid to archaeological illustration, especially as furnished by the modern travellers. Practical observations are admitted, but without sufficient uniformity or any settled method. The author's views of inspiration in general, and of the inspiration of Isaiah in particular, are sound, but not entirely consistent with the deference occasionally paid to neological interpreters, in cases where heir judgments are, in fact though not in form, determined by a false assumption, which no one more decidedly rejects than Mr. Barnes. The New Translation, which accompanies the Commentary, seems to be wholly independent of it, and can hardly be considered an improvement, either on the common version, or on that of Lowth.

Some of the same remarks are applicable to the work of Dr. Henderson, (London, 1840,) in which there are appearances of greater haste and less laborious effort, but at the same time of a more extended reading, and a more independent exegetical judgment. The English author, though familiar with the latest German writers who preceded him, is not deterred by their example or authority from the avowal of his doctrinal belief, or from a proper use of analogy in the interpretation of the Prophet. Further description of these two works is rendered unnecessary by the frequency with which they are quoted or referred to in the Commentary.

Ewald's exposition of Isaiah, contained in his collective work upon the Hebrew Prophets, (Stuttgart, 1841,) derives great authority from his acknowledged eminence in Germany, as a profound philosophical grammarian. His attention has been given almost exclusively to the chronological arrangement of the parts and the translation of the text. The latter has great value, not only as containing the results of Ewald's philological researches, but also on account of its intrinsic qualities, and more especially

its faithful exhibition of the form of the original in its simplicity. In this respect it is a great advance on all preceding versions. The Commentary is extremely meager, and remarkable, like most of Ewald's writings, for the absence of all reference to other modern writers or opinions. The liberties taken with the text, though not very numerous, are sometimes very violent and arbitrary. The sweeping criticism, on which his chronological arrangement rests, will be considered in another place. From the rationalistic school of Rosenmüller and Gesenius, Ewald differs in regarding Isaiah as inspired, which admission really extends, however, only to a kind of vague, poetical, anticipation, wholly exclusive of distinct prophetic foresight of the distant future, in rejecting which, as a thing impossible or not susceptible of proof, he coincides with the preceding writers.

Umbreit's practical Commentary on Isaiah (Hamburg, 1842) is little more than a declamatory paraphrase, composed in what an English reader would regard as very questionable taste. The real value of the work consists in a translation of Isaiah, and occasional notes on different questions of philology and criticism. On such points the author coincides for the most part with Gesenius, while in his general views of prophecy he seems to approach nearer to Ewald, with whom he frequently concurs in making that a vague anticipation which the other writers take as a specific prophecy. At the same time, he differs from this whole class of interpreters, in frequently alluding to the Saviour and the new dispensation as the subjects of prediction, but in what sense it is hard to ascertain, the rather as he practically holds the modern doctrine, that distinct prediction of the distant future is sufficient to disprove the genuineness of a passage.

Knobel's Isaiah (Leipzig, 1843) is exceedingly convenient as a condensed synopsis of the principal interpretations. In the expression of his own views, the author shows his strict adherence to the modern school of criticism and exegesis. His critical decisions, with respect to some portions of the book, are very arbitrary, and the detailed proofs, by which he sustains them, in a high degree extravagant. In rejecting the hypothesis of inspiration, and in asserting the mere human character and origin of the prophecies, he is uncommonly explicit and decided, both in this work and in one which he had previously published upon prophecy in general. On the whole, with the exception of a few good exegetical suggestions, he may be looked upon as having retrograded to the ground of the old neologists from that assumed by Ewald and Umbreit.

It is gratifying to be able to conclude this list of German writers with a few names, belonging to a very different school, and connected with a powerful reaction in favour of old principles, as being perfectly consistent with the valuable fruits of late improvements and discoveries. The way of this important movement, so far as Isaiah is concerned, was opened, not by regular

interpreters of this book, but by Hengstenberg in his Christology (1829), followedby Kleinert in his volume on the genuineness of Isaiah's prophecies (1829), and still more recently by Hävernick in his Introduction to the Old Testament (1844). An application of the same essential principles to the direct interpretation of Isaiah has been made by Drechsler, Professor at Erlangen, the first volume of whose Commentary (Erlangen, 1845) reached me too late to allow the present use of any part of it except the Introduction, to which reference is made below. Besides the exegetical works already mentioned, occasional references will be found to others illustrative of certain passages or certain topics. As most of these are too well known to need description, it will be sufficient here to name, as authorities in natural history and geography the Hierozoicon of Bochart and the Biblical Researches of Robinson and Smith.

It only remains to speak of the arrangement and division of the book before proceeding to expound it. The detailed examination of particular questions under this head will be found in the exposition itself, and for the most part in the special introductions to the several chapters. All that is here intended is a general statement of the case, preparatory to these more minute discussions. The progress of opinion upon this part of the subject has been closely connected with the succession of exegetical and critical hypotheses already mentioned. The same extremes, reactions, compromises, may be traced substantially in both. The older writers commonly assumed that the book was arranged in chronological order by the author himself. Thus Jerome says expressly, that the prophecies belonging to the four reigns follow one another regularly, without mixture or confusion. J. H. Michaelis regards the first verse of the first, sixth, and seventh chapters, and the twenty-eighth verse of the fourteenth chapter, as the dividing marks of the four reigns. This supposition of a strict chronological arrangement, although rather taken for granted than determined by investigation, is by no means so absurd as some have represented it. It rests on immemorial tradition, and the analogy of the other books, the few exceptions tending rather to confirm the rule. The principal objections to it are, that the [illegible]ter is evidently later than the second; that the sixth, containing the account of Isaiah's ordination to his office, must be the first in point of date; and that the seventeenth chapter relates to the first years of the reign of Ahaz, whereas ch. 14: 28 is assigned to the year in which he died.

These objections, though by no means insurmountable, as will be seen hereafter, led Vitringa to relinquish the hypothesis of strict chronological arrangement by the author himself, for that of arrangement by another hand (perhaps by the *men of Hezekiah* mentioned Prov. 25: 1), in the order of subjects, those discourses being placed together whose contents are

most alike. He accordingly divides Isaiah into five books, after the manner of the Pentateuch and Psalter, the first (ch. I—XII) containing prophecies directed against Judah and Israel, the second (ch. XIII–XXIII) against certain foreign powers, the third (ch. XXIV–XXXV) against the enemies and unworthy members of the church, the fourth (ch. XL–XLVIII) relating chiefly to the Babylonish exile and deliverance from it, the fifth (ch. XLIX–LXVI) to the person and reign of the Messiah, while ch. XXXVI–XXXIX are distinguished from the rest as being purely historical. The titles in ch. 1 : 1. 2: 1. 7: 1. 13 : 1. 14: 28 etc. he regards as genuine, except that the names of the four kings were added to the first by the compiler, in order to convert what was at first the title of the first chapter only into a general description of the whole book.

This ingenious hypothesis still leaves it unexplained why certain series were separated from each other, for example why ch. XIII–XXIII are interposed between ch. I–XII and ch. XXIV–XXXV. This led Koppe, whom Gesenius describes as the pioneer of the modern criticism, to reject that part of Vitringa's theory which supposes the book to have received its present form in the reign of Hezekiah, while he carries out to an absurd extreme the general hypothesis of compilation and re-arrangement by a later hand. According to Koppe and Augusti, the book, as we now have it, is in perfect confusion, and its actual arrangement wholly without authority. To confirm and explain this, Eichhorn and Bertholdt assume the existence of several distinct collections of Isaiah's writings, to each of which additions were gradually made, until the whole assumed its present form.

The same general view is taken of the matter by Hitzig and Ewald, but with this distinction, that the former thinks the frame-work or substratum of the original collections still remains, and needs only to be freed from subsequent interpolations, while the latter sticks more closely to the earlier idea, that the whole is in confusion, partly as he supposes from the loss of many prophecies no longer extant, and can be even partially restored to its original condition, only by critically reconstructing it under the guidance of internal evidence. Ewald accordingly abandons the traditional arrangement altogether, and exhibits the *disjecta membra* in an order of his own. The critical value of the diagnosis, which controls this process, may be estimated from a single principle, assumed if not avowed throughout it, namely, that passages which treat of the same subject, or resemble one another strongly in expression, *must* be placed together as component parts of one continuous composition. The absurdity of this assumption might be rendered palpable by simply applying it to any classical or modern author, who has practised a variety of styles but with a frequent recurrence of the same ideas, for example, Horace, Goethe, Moore, or Byron. The practical value of the method may be best

shown by a comparative statement of its actual results in the hands of two contemporary writers, Ewald and Hendewerk, both of whom have followed this eccentric method in the printing of their commentaries, to the great annoyance of the reader, even when assisted by an index. Without attending to the larger divisions or *cycles* introduced by either, a simple exhibition of the order in which the first chapters are arranged by these two writers, will be amply sufficient for our present purpose.

Hendewerk's arrangement is as follows. Ch. 6.—Chs. 1–5.—Ch. 7 (vs. 1–9.)—Ch. 17 (vs. 1–14.)—Ch. 7 (vs. 10–25.)—Chs. 8, 9.—Ch. 10 (vs. 1–27.)—Ch. 14 (vs. 24–27.)—Ch. 10 (vs. 28–34.)—Chs. 11, 12.—Ch. 14 (vs. 28–32.)—Chs. 15, 16.—Chs. 18, 19.—Ch. 21 (vs. 11–17.)—Ch. 23.—Chs. 28, 29.—Ch. 20.—Chs. 31, 32.—Ch. 22.—Ch. 33.—Chs. 36–39.—Chs. 24–27.—Chs. 34, 35.—Ch. 13.—Ch. 14 (vs. 1–23.)—Ch. 21 (vs. 1–10.)—Chs. 40–66.

Ewald's arrangement is as follows. Ch. 6.—Chs. 2–4.—Ch. 5 (vs. 1–25.)—Ch. 9. (vs. 7–20.)—Ch. 10 (vs. 1–4.)—Ch. 5 (vs. 26–30.)—Ch. 17 (vs. 1–11.)—Chs. 7, 8.—Ch. 9 (vs. 1–6.)—Ch. 14 (vs. 25–32.)—Chs. 15, 16.—Ch. 21 (vs. 11–17.)—Ch. 23.—Ch. 1.—Ch. 22.—Chs. 28–32.—Ch. 20.—Ch. 10 (vs. 5–34.)—Ch. 11.—Ch. 17 (vs. 12–18.)—Ch. 18.—Ch. 14 (vs. 24–27,)—Ch. 33.—Ch. 37 (vs. 22–35.)—Ch. 19.—Ch. 21 (vs. 1–10.)—Ch. 13.—Ch. 14 (vs. 1–23.)—Chs. 40–66.—Chs. 34, 35.—Ch. 24.—Ch. 25 (vs. 6–11.)—Ch. 25 (vs. 1–5.)—Ch. 25 (v. 12.)—Chs. 26, 27.—Ch. 12 is rejected as of later origin, but without determining its date. These arrangements, and particularly that of Ewald, may be reckoned not only the latest but the last achievement of the *higher criticism*. "The force of nature can no further go." We need look for no invention beyond this, unless it be that of reading the book backwards, or shuffling the chapters like a pack of cards.

Long before this, Gesenius had recoiled from the extremes to which the higher criticism tended, and attempted to occupy a middle ground, by blending the hypotheses of J. H. Michaelis and Vitringa, or in other words assuming a regard both to chronological order and to the affinity of subjects, at the same time holding fast to the favourite idea of successive additions and distinct compilations. He accordingly assumes four parts or books. The first (ch. I–XII) consists of prophecies belonging to the earliest period of Isaiah's ministry, with the exception of a few interpolations. The sixth chapter should stand first, according to the Jewish tradition as recorded by Jarchi and Aben Ezra. The first chapter is somewhat later than the second, third, and fourth. The seventh, though authentic, was probably not written by Isaiah. The eleventh and twelfth may also be spurious, but were early added to the tenth. This book he regards as the original collection, and the first verse as its

original title or inscription. The second book (ch. XIII–XXIII) consists of prophecies against foreign nations, excepting ch. XXII, which he supposes to have found its way here from having been early joined with ch. XXI. A characteristic feature of this book is the use of *burden*, as a title or inscription, which he thinks may be certainly ascribed to the compiler. The third book (ch. XXIV–XXXV) contains a series of genuine prophecies belonging to the reign of Hezekiah (ch. XXVIII–XXXIII), with two other series of later date, placed by the hand of a compiler at the beginning (ch. XXIV–XXVII) and the end (ch. XXXIV, XXXV) of this collection, while it was further augmented by a historical appendix (ch. XXXVI–XXXIX), in which Isaiah makes a prominent figure. The fourth and last book (ch. XL–XLVI), as Gesenius thinks, was added to the others long after the captivity.

Here, as in other cases previously mentioned, Gesenius differs from his predecessors in the *higher criticism*, only in degree, refusing to go with them in the application of their principles, but holding fast the principles themselves. If, on the one hand, he is right in assuming, upon mere conjecture, several different collections of the writings of Isaiah formed successively, and in rejecting, upon mere internal evidence, the parts which do not suit his purpose or his theory, then is it utterly impossible to give any definite reason for refusing our assent to the more thorough application of the same process by the bolder hand of Ewald. If, on the other hand, Gesenius is correct in drawing back from the legitimate results of such a theory, then is it utterly impossible to find a safe or definite position, without receding further and relinquishing the theory itself. This additional reaction has not failed to take place in the progress of the controversy. It is most distinctly marked and ably justified in Hävernick's Introduction to Isaiah, where the author lays it down, not as a makeshift or a desperate return to old opinions without ground or reason, but as the natural result of philological and critical induction, that the writings of Isaiah, as now extant, form a compact, homogeneous, and well-ordered whole, proceeding, in the main, if not in all its parts, from the hand of the original author. Whoever has been called to work his way through the extravagant and endless theories of the 'higher criticism,' without those early prepossessions in its favour which grow with the growth of almost every German scholar, far from finding this new doctrine strange or arbitrary, must experience a feeling of relief at thus landing from the ocean of conjecture on the *terra firma* of historical tradition, analogical reasoning, and common sense. The advantages of such a ground can be appreciated far more justly after such experience than before it, because then there might be a misgiving lest some one of the many possibilities proposed as substitutes for immemorial tradition might prove true; but now the reader, having found by actual experiment, not only that these

ways do not lead him right, but that they lead him nowhere, falls back with strong assurance, not by any means upon all the minor articles of the ancient creed, which he is still bound and determined to subject to critical investigation, but on the general presumption, which exists in all such cases, that the truth of what is obvious to common sense and has been held from the beginning, instead of being the exception is the rule, to which the flaws, that may be really discovered by a microscopic criticism, are mere exceptions.

That Hävernick especially has not been governed by a love of novelty or opposition is apparent from the fact of his retaining in its substance Gesenius's division and arrangement of the book, while he rejects the gratuitous assumptions, held by that eminent interpreter in common with his predecessors. According to Hävernick, the whole book consists of five connected but distinguishable *groups*, or series of prophecies. The first group (ch. I–XII) contains Isaiah's earliest prophecies, arranged in two series, easily distinguished by internal marks. The first six chapters have a general character, without certain reference to any particular historical occasion, which accounts for the endless difference of opinion, as to the precise date of their composition. The remaining six have reference to particular occasions, which are not left to conjecture but distinctly stated. They embrace the principal events under Ahaz, and illustrate the relation of the Prophet to them. The sixth chapter, though descriptive of the Prophet's ordination, holds its proper place, as an addendum to the foregoing prophecies, designed to justify their dominant tone of threatening and reproof. The second group (ch. XIII–XXIII) contains a series of prophecies against certain foreign powers, showing the relation of the heathen world to the theocracy, and followed by a sort of appendix (ch. XXIV–XXVII), summing up the foregoing prophecies and showing the results of their fulfilment to the end of time. He maintains the genuineness of all the prophecies in this division and the correctness of their actual position. The apparent exception in ch. XXII he accounts for, by supposing that Judah is there represented as reduced by gross iniquity to the condition of a heathen state. Another explanation, no less natural, and more complete, because it accounts for the remarkable prophecy against an individual in the last part of the chapter, is afforded by the supposition, that Judah is there considered as subject to a foreign and probably a heathen influence, viz. that of Shebna. (See the details below, p. 386.) Hävernick's third group (ch. XXVIII–XXXIII) contains prophecies relating to a particular period of Hezekiah's reign, with a more general prospective sequel (ch. XXXIV, XXXV), as in the second. Here again he examines and rejects the various arguments adduced by modern critics to disprove the genuineness of certain parts. The fourth group (ch. XXXVI–XXXIX) describes in historical form the influence exerted by the Prophet at a later period of the reign

of Hezekiah. Regarding this and the parallel part of Second Kings as collateral derivatives from a historical writing of Isaiah, Hävernick is led by the mention, in ch. 37 : 38, of an event which happened after the supposed death of Isaiah, to ascribe that verse and the insertion of these chapters to a somewhat later hand. He maintains, however, that so far from being inappropriate, they constitute a necessary link between the third group and the fifth (ch. XL–LXVI), in which the whole result of his prophetic ministrations to the end of time is vividly depicted.

The critical and philological arguments of Hävernick, in this part of his work, are eminently learned and ingenious, highly original and yet conservative of ancient and invaluable truth. A reference to them is the more important here because they came into my hands too late to influence the expositions of the present volume, the coincidence between them, as to principle if not in all particular conclusions, being only the more satisfactory and striking upon that account. The same remark applies, in some degree, to Drechsler's Introduction, which may be considered as a further movement in the same direction, not occasioned by the other, but the fruit of independent labour in the same field and under the same influence. It is certainly an interesting and instructive fact, that in two such cases, the conviction of the unity, integrity, and uncorrupted genuineness of the book before us, even as to its arrangement and the nexus of the parts, should have been reached without collusion, by a thorough sifting of the very arguments alleged against it by the ablest critics of the past and present generation. Drechsler's idea of Isaiah as a whole differs from Hävernick's, in going further from the modern theory, retaining less of its substratum, the hypothesis of different collections, and ascribing to the book, as we possess it, a more absolute and perfect unity. Drechsler dismisses the whole question with respect to the precise date of particular passages, as equally insoluble and unimportant; directs attention to the fact that throughout the book the only editor, compiler, or arranger, of whom any trace can be discerned, is one who exercised the rights of an author; draws from this and other marks of an internal kind, a confirmation of the old opinion, that the form and the contents of the collection are, so far as we can hope to ascertain, from one and the same hand; and thenceforth assumes it as a principle or maxim, that whatever may have been the date of any passage as originally uttered, we have no need or authority to trace it further back than its reduction to its present shape by the original author.

With respect to the divisions of the book, his theory may seem at first sight artificial, but is really distinguished by simplicity as well as ingenuity. He sets out by assuming two great *crises* or conjunctures in Isaiah's ministry, about which all his prophecies may be arranged. The first is the invasion in the reign of Ahaz, the second the invasion in the reign of Hezekiah. These he

regards as the centres of two great prophetic schemes or systems, forming one harmonious whole, but between themselves distinguished by the prevalence of threatening and reproof in one, of promise and consolation in the other. To each of these great critical events in the history corresponds a central point or focus in the prophecy, from which in both directions we may trace a regular connexion in the book, stretching back into the past and forward into the future, in the way of preparation on the one hand and completion on the other. The focus of the first great prophetic scheme he fixes in the seventh chapter, that of the other in the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh. The sixth is a direct preparation for the seventh; the fifth for the sixth; the second, third, and fourth, for the fifth; the first is a general introduction to the whole. Then on the other side, the promises and threatenings of the seventh chapter are repeated, amplified, and varied, first with respect to Judah and Israel in ch. VIII–XII, then with respect to foreign powers in ch. XIII–XXIII, and lastly in a general summing up and application to all times and places in ch. XXIV–XXVII, which closes the first system. The other central prophecy, in ch. XXXVI and XXXVII, is likewise introduced by a preparatory series (ch. XXVIII–XXXV), all relating to Sennacherib's invasion, and on the other hand carried out, first historically (ch. XXXVIII, XXXIX), then prophetically (ch. XL–XLVI) to the end of time.

However fanciful or German this hypothesis may seem, it cannot be attentively considered without giving rise to this reflection, that a book affording the materials and conditions even for a fanciful device, of which unity and symmetry are essential elements, cannot well be a farrago of discordant parts, produced at random and combined by chance. The opposite hypothesis, if once assumed, can be applied with ease to any case, however clear the signs of unity may be, for the details of proof are all involved in the primary assumption; but it is not quite so easy to maintain the hypothesis of harmony where harmony does not exist. It requires little ingenuity or learning to discover and exaggerate appearances of discord even where is agreement; but to create the appearance of agreement in the midst of discord is beyond the reach of any sophistry or eloquence except the most consummate. The truth, however, seems to be, that Drechsler's theory, however fanciful it may appear, especially as stated by himself, is but another exhibition of the truth maintained by Hävernick, to wit, that the book before us is, in form as well as substance, the original and genuine production of Isaiah.

The view which has now been taken of the progress of opinion, with respect to the arrangement and division of the book before us, first its downward progress from a firm traditional belief to the extreme of a lawless and irrational skepticism, and then its upward course by dint of argument to an enlightened and confirmed historical assurance, makes it almost impossible

to close without a glance at the ulterior stages which may yet remain of this restorative process. Considering the principle on which it has been thus far carried on, the proved unsoundness of the contrary hypothesis, and the analogy of all like cases, it might plausibly be stated, as the probable result of this return to experience and common sense, that men whose eyes have thus been opened will eventually throw to the moles and to the bats the cherished figment, upon which a large part of their errors have been built, to wit, the groundless assumption, that the sacred writings of the Jews were passed from hand to hand by private circulation and transcription like the Greek and Roman classics, accidentally collected into volumes, mixed together, mutilated, magnified by forgery or ignorant interpolation, and at last sent down to us, to be the subject of empirical decisions without number or agreement. Or if this be gone already, it may be the next step to discard the notion, not monopolized by any class or school of critics, that the several parts of such a book as that before us were, and must have been, delivered as set speeches or occasional discourses, then reduced to writing one by one, and put together by degrees, or even by a later hand and in a distant age. On this gratuitous assumption rests a large part of the most perplexing difficulties which attend the critical interpretation of Isaiah, and which all would disappear if we could see sufficient reason to conclude, that the book is a continuous production of a single mind, at one great effort, long protracted, it may be, but not entirely suspended, or renewed from time to time upon occasion. The mention of distinct events and dates no more establishes the fact here questioned, than the sweep of Paul's chronology, in his epistle to the churches of Galatia, proves that it was written piecemeal from the time of his conversion. All analogy, both scriptural and general, without some countervailing reason for believing otherwise, would favour the conclusion that a book like that before us was produced by a continuous effort. But besides this negative presumption, we have one distinct example of the very thing proposed, or rather two, for it is matter of record that the Prophet Jeremiah twice reduced to writing, by divine command, the prophecies of many years, (see Jer. 36: 2, 4, 28, 32,) or rather of his whole preceding ministry. If this be possible in one case, it is possible in others. If we have no difficulty in supposing that Jeremiah's constant inspiration was sufficient to ensure the truth of such a record, or that he was specially inspired for the very purpose, we need have none in supposing that Isaiah, in the last years of his ministry, recorded the whole series of his prophecies, and left them upon everlasting record, as we have them now. To us it matters little whether he recalled exactly the precise words uttered upon each occasion, or received by a new revelation such a summary as God was pleased to substitute instead of it. Our concern is

not with prophecies now lost, whether written or oral, but with those now extant and recorded *for our learning*. It is these, and only these, that we interpret, it is only these that can command our faith. The supposition now suggested, while it would preclude a thousand petty questions gendered by the neological hypothesis, would also, when combined with the traditional devotion of the Jews to the preservation of their scriptures, furnish a solid ground for the belief, that what Isaiah wrote three thousand years ago we read to-day, without resorting to the needless supposition of a miracle, or shutting out the possibility of minor deviations from the autograph in every extant manuscript. All that we needed we should have, to wit, a rational assurance that the book, as a book, without descending to enumerate its letters, is precisely what it was, in form and substance, when originally written.

If this supposition were assumed as the basis of our exposition, it would materially modify its form, in some respects, by putting an end to the accustomed method of division into prophecies with separate dates, and introducing the same method which is practised with respect to Paul's epistles, or the undivided prophecies, like that of Hosea. The conventional division into verses and chapters (the latter wholly modern and in several instances absurd) might be retained as a convenient mode of reference; but the exegetical division of the first part of Isaiah would no longer be historical or critical, but merely analytical and logical, as in the present universal mode of dealing with the last twenty-seven chapters of the book. In the exposition of the prophecies which occupy the present volume, the usual distinctive plan has been adopted, partly in deference to established custom and the authority of other writers, partly because the ideas just expressed were not assumed *a priori*, as an arbitrary basis of interpretation, but deduced from it *a posteriori*, as its actual result. In the mean time, it will be observed that various opportunities have been embraced, to check and counteract the tendency to needless or excessive subdivision.

The arrangement of the Commentary is as follows. The usual division into chapters is retained, as being universally familiar and in general convenient. The analysis of these divisions, and other preliminary statements and discussions, are prefixed as special introductions to the chapters. The literal translation, sometimes combined with an explanatory paraphrase, is followed by the necessary comments and the statement of the different opinions. In the order of the topics, some regard has been had to their comparative importance, but without attempting to secure a perfect uniformity in this respect, which, if it were attainable, would probably add nothing to the force or clearness of the exposition.

The prophecies expounded in the present volume may be considered

introductory, in various respects, to the remainder of the book, not only because earlier in date, and relating for the most part to a nearer futurity, but also as affording the only satisfactory data, upon which the exposition of the rest can be founded. The Later Prophecies, extending from the fortieth chapter to the end, are abundantly sufficient, both in quantity and quality, to constitute the subject of another volume.

COMMENTARY.

CHAPTER I.

The design of this chapter is to show the connexion between the sins and sufferings of God's people, and the necessity of further judgments, as means of purification and deliverance.

The popular corruption is first exhibited as the effect of alienation from God, and as the cause of national calamities, vs. 2–9. It is then exhibited as coexisting with punctilious exactness in religious duties, and as rendering them worthless, vs. 10–20. It is finally exhibited in twofold contrast, first with a former state of things, and then with one still future, to be brought about by the destruction of the wicked, and especially of wicked rulers, vs. 21–31.

The first part of the chapter describes the sin and then the suffering of the people. The former is characterized as filial ingratitude, stupid inconsideration, habitual transgression, contempt of God, and alienation from him, vs. 2–4. The suffering is first represented by the figure of disease and wounds, and then in literal terms as the effect of an invasion, by which the nation was left desolate, and only saved by God's regard for his elect from the total destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, vs. 5–9.

The second part is connected with the first by the double allusion to Sodom and Gomorrah, with which one closes and the other opens. In this part the Prophet shows the utter inefficacy of religious rites to counteract the natural effect of their iniquities, and then exhorts them to the use of the true remedy. Under the former head, addressing them as similar in character to Sodom and Gomorrah, he describes their sacrifices as abundant and exact, but not acceptable; their attendance at the temple as punctual, and yet insulting; their bloodless offerings as abhorrent, and their holy days as wearisome and hateful on account of their iniquities; their very prayers as useless, because their hands were stained with blood, vs. 10–15. As a necessary means of restoration to God's favour, he exhorts them to forsake their evil courses and to exercise benevolence and justice, assuring them that God was willing to forgive them and restore the advantages which they had forfeited by sin, but at the same time resolved to punish the impenitent transgressor, vs. 16–20.

The transition from the second to the third part is abrupt, and introduced by a pathetic exclamation. In this part the Prophet compares Israel as it is with what it has been and with what it shall be. In the former comparison, he employs two metaphors, each followed by a literal explanation of its meaning; that of a faithful wife become a harlot, and that of adulterated wine and silver, both expressive of a moral deterioration, with special reference to magistrates and rulers, vs. 21–23. In the other comparison, the coming judgments are presented in the twofold aspect of purification and deliverance to the church, and of destruction to its wicked members. The Prophet sees the leading men of Israel destroyed, first as oppressors, to make room for righteous rulers and thus save the state, then as idolaters consumed by that in which they trusted for protection, vs. 24–31.

This chapter is referred by Grotius and Cocceius to the reign of Uzziah, by Lowth and De Wette to the reign of Jotham, by Gesenius and Ewald to the reign of Ahaz, by Jarchi and Vitringa to the reign of Hezekiah. This disagreement has arisen from assuming that it must be a prediction in the strict sense, and have reference to one event or series of events exclusively, while in the prophecy itself there are no certain indications of the period referred to. The only points which seem to furnish any data for determining the question, are the invasion mentioned in v. 7, and the idolatry referred to in vs. 28–31. But the former is almost equally applicable to the Syrian invasion under Ahaz and the Assyrian under Hezekiah. And the idolatry is mentioned in connexion with a punctilious regard to the forms of the Mosaic ritual. At the same time, it is evident that the chapter contains one continuous coherent composition. It is probable, therefore, that this prophecy belongs to the class already mentioned (in the Introduction) as exhibiting a sequence of events, or providential scheme, which might be realized in more than one emergency; not so much a prediction as a prophetic lesson with respect to the effects which certain causes must infallibly produce. Such a discourse would be peculiarly appropriate as an introduction to the prophecies which follow; and its seeming inconsistences are all accounted for, by simply supposing that it was written for this purpose about the time of Sennacherib's invasion in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, and that in it the Prophet takes a general survey of the changes which the church had undergone since the beginning of his public ministry.

V. 1. This is a general title of the whole book or one of its larger divisions (ch. 1–39 or 1–12), defining its character, author, subject, and date. *The Vision* (supernatural perception, inspiration, revelation, prophecy, here put collectively for *Prophecies*) *of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw* (perceived, received by inspiration) *concerning Judah* (the kingdom of the two tribes, which adhered to the theocracy after the revolt of Jero-

boam) *and Jerusalem* (its capital, the chosen seat of the true religion), *in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of Judah.*—The Septuagint renders עַל *against;* but as all the prophecies are not of an unfavourable character, it is better to retain the wider sense *concerning.*—Aben Ezra and Abarbenel regard this as the title of the first chapter only, and to meet the objection that a single prophecy would not have been referred to four successive reigns, instead of *which he saw* read *who saw* (i. e. was a seer) *in the days of Uzziah*, etc. But the tenses of חָזָה are not thus absolutely used, and the same words occur in ch. 2: 1, where the proposed construction is impossible.—Vitringa's supposition that the sentence originally consisted of the first clause only, and that the verb was added at a later date to make it applicable as a general title, is entirely gratuitous, and opens the door to endless license of conjecture. Hendewerk goes further, and calls in question the antiquity and genuineness of the whole verse, but without the least authority. According to ancient and oriental usage it was probably prefixed by Isaiah himself to a partial or complete collection of his prophecies. To the objection that חָזוֹן is singular, the answer is, that it is used collectively because it has no plural, and appears as the title of this same book or another in 2 Chr. 32: 32. To the objection that the prophecies are not all *concerning Judah and Jerusalem*, the answer is, a potiori fit denominatio, to which may be added that the prophecies relating to the ten tribes and to foreign powers owe their place in this collection to their bearing, more or less direct, upon the interests of Judah. To the objection that the first chapter has no other title, we may answer that it needs no other, partly because it is sufficiently distinguished from what follows by the title of the second, partly because it is not so much the first in a series of prophecies as a general preface. With respect to the names *Isaiah* and *Amoz*, and the chronology of this verse, see the Introduction.

V. 2. The Prophet first describes the moral state of Judah, vs. 2–4, and then the miseries arising from it, vs. 5–9. To the former he invites attention by summoning the universe to hear the Lord's complaint against his people, who are first charged with filial ingratitude. *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth*, as witnesses and judges, and as being less insensible yourselves than men, *for Jehovah speaks*, not man. *Sons I have reared and brought up*, literally made great and made high, *and they*, with emphasis on the pronoun which is otherwise superfluous, *even they have revolted from me*, or rebelled against me, not merely in a general sense by sinning, but in a special sense by violating that peculiar covenant which bound God to his people. It is in reference to this bond and to the conjugal relation which the Scriptures represent God as sustaining to his church or people, that its constituent members are here called his *children.*—Vitringa and others un

derstand *heaven and earth* as meaning *angels and men;* but although these may be included, it is plain that the direct address is to the frame of nature, as in Deut. 32 : 1, from which the form of expression is borrowed.—Knobel and other recent writers exclude the idea of bearing witness altogether, and suppose *heaven and earth* to be called upon to listen, simply because Jehovah is the speaker. But the two ideas are entirely compatible, and the first is recommended by the analogy of Deut. 30 : 19, and by its poetical effect.—Cocceius takes גִּדַּלְתִּי in the sense of *bringing up*, but רוֹמַמְתִּי in that of *exalting* to peculiar privileges, which disturbs the metaphor, and violates the usage of the two verbs, which are elsewhere joined as simple synonymes. (See ch. 23 : 7. Ezek. 31 : 4.) Both terms are so chosen as to be applicable, in a lower sense, to children, and in a higher sense, to nations.—The English Bible and many other versions read *Jehovah has spoken*, which seems to refer to a previous revelation, or to indicate a mere repetition of his words, whereas he is himself introduced as speaking. The preterite may be here used to express the present, for the purpose of suggesting that he did not thus speak for the first time. Compare Heb. 1 : 1.

V. 3. Having tacitly compared the insensible Jews with the inanimate creation, he now explicitly compares them with the brutes, selecting for that purpose two which were especially familiar as domesticated animals, subjected to man's power and dependent on him for subsistence, and at the same time as proverbially stupid, inferiority to which must therefore be peculiarly disgraceful. *The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib* or feeding place. *Israel*, the chosen people, as a whole, without regard to those who had seceded from it, *doth not know, my people doth not consider*, pay attention or take notice. Like the ox and the ass, Israel had a master, upon whom he was dependent, and to whom he owed obedience; but, unlike them, he did not recognize and would not serve his rightful sovereign and the author of his mercies.—The Septuagint supplies *me* after *know* and *consider* (*με οὐκ ἔγνω . . . . με οὐ συνῆκεν*). The Vulgate, followed by Michaelis, Lowth, and others, supplies *me* after the first verb, but leaves the other indefinite. Gesenius, De Wette, and Hendewerk supply *him*, referring to *owner* and *master*. Clericus, Ewald, and Umbreit take the verbs in the absolute and general sense of having knowledge and being considerate, which is justified by usage, but gives less point and precision to the sentence.

V. 4. As the foregoing verses render prominent the false position of Israel with respect to God, considered first as a father and then as a master (comp. Mal. 1 : 6), so this brings into view their moral state in general, resulting from that alienation, and still represented as inseparable from it. The Prophet speaks again in his own person, and expresses wonder, pity, and

indignation at the state to which his people had reduced themselves. *Ah, sinful nation*, literally *nation sinning*, i. e. habitually, which is the force here of the active participle, *people heavy with iniquity*, weighed down by guilt as an oppressive burden, *a seed of evil-doers*, i. e. the offspring of wicked parents, *sons corrupting themselves*, i. e. doing worse than their fathers, in which sense the same verb is used Judges 2: 19. (Calvin: filii degeneres.) The *evil-doers* are of course not the Patriarchs or Fathers of the nation, but the intervening wicked generations. As the first clause tells us what they were, so the second tells us what they did, by what acts they had merited the character just given. *They have forsaken Jehovah*, a phrase descriptive of iniquity in general, but peculiarly expressive of the breach of covenant obligations. *They have treated with contempt the Holy One of Israel*, a title almost peculiar to Isaiah, and expressing a twofold aggravation of their sin; first, that he was infinitely excellent; and then, that he was theirs, their own peculiar God. *They are alienated back again.* The verb denotes estrangement from God, the adverb retrocession or backsliding into a former state.—By a *seed of evil-doers* most writers understand a race or generation of evil-doers, and by *children corrupting* (their ways or themselves, as Aben Ezra explains it) nothing more than wicked men. Gesenius and Henderson render מַשְׁחִיתִים *corrupt*, Barnes *corrupting others*. The sense of *mischievous, destructive*, is given by Luther, and the vague one of *wicked* by the Vulgate. The other explanation, which supposes an allusion to the parents, takes זֶרַע and בָּנִים in their proper meaning, makes the parallelism of the clauses more complete, and converts a tautology into a climax.—The sense of *blaspheming* given to נָאַץ by the Vulgate and Luther, and that of *provoking to anger* by the Septuagint, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and others, are rejected by the modern lexicographers for that of *despising* or treating with contempt. The last two are combined by Junius (contemtim irritaverunt) and the old French Version (ils ont irrité par mépris).—The Niphal form נָזֹרוּ is by most writers treated as simply equivalent in meaning to the Kal—'they have departed;' but the usage of the participles active and passive (Ps. 69: 9) in the sense of *strange* and *estranged* is in favour of the interpretation given by Aquila and Theodotion, *ἀπηλλοτριώθησαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.*

V. 5. To the description of their moral state, beginning and ending with apostasy from God, the Prophet now adds a description of the consequences, vs. 5–9. This he introduces by an expostulation on their mad perseverance in transgression, notwithstanding the extremities to which it had reduced them. *Whereupon*, i. e. on what part of the body, *can ye be stricken*, smitten, punished, *any more*, that *ye add revolt*, departure or apostasy from God, i. e. revolt more and more? Already *the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint.*—The same sense is attained, but in a less striking form, by

reading, with Hitzig, *why*, to what purpose, *will ye be smitten any more? why continue to revolt?* If their object was to make themselves miserable, it was already accomplished.—Calvin, followed by the English version and others, gives a different turn to the interrogation: *Why should ye be smitten any more?* of what use is it? *ye will revolt more and more.* But the reason thus assigned for their ceasing to be smitten is wholly different from that given in the last clause and amplified in the following verse, viz. that they were already faint and covered with wounds. The Vulgate version (super quo percutiemini?) is retained by Luther, Lowth, Gesenius, and others. The very same metaphor occurs more than once in classical poetry. Lowth quotes examples from Euripides and Ovid (vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum).—Hendewerk supposes the people to be asked where they can be smitten with effect, i. e. what kind of punishment will do them good; but this is forced, and does not suit the context. Ewald repeats *whereupon* before the second verb: 'upon what untried transgression building will ye still revolt?' which is needless and unnatural.—Instead of *the whole head, the whole heart*, Winer and Hitzig render *every head* and *every heart*, because the nouns have not the article. But see ch. 9: 11. Ps. 111: 1. The omission of the article is one of the most familiar licenses of poetry. The context too requires that the words should be applied to the head and heart of the body mentioned in v. 6, viz. the body politic.—The head and heart do not denote different ranks (Hendewerk), or the inward and outward state of the community (Umbreit), but are mentioned as well-known and important parts of the body, to which the church or nation had been likened.—Gesenius explains לָחְלִי to mean *in sickness*, Ewald (inclined) *to sickness*, Knobel (belonging) *to sickness*, Clericus (given up) *to sickness*, Rosenmüller (abiit) *in morbum*. The general sense is plain from the parallel term דַּוָּי *faint* or languid from disease.

V. 6. The idea suggested at the beginning of v. 5, that there was no more room for further strokes, is now carried out with great particularity. *From the sole of the foot and* (i. e. even) *to the head* (a common scriptural expression for the body in its whole extent) *there is not in it* (the people, or in him i. e. Judah, considered as a body) *a sound place; (it is) wound and bruise* (*μώλωψ*, vibex, the tumour produced by stripes) *and fresh stroke.* The wounds are then described as not only grievous but neglected. *They have not been pressed, and they have not been bound* or bandaged, *and it has not been mollified with ointment*, all familiar processes of ancient surgery.—Calvin argues that the figures in this verse and the one preceding cannot refer to moral corruption, since the Prophet himself afterwards explains them as descriptive of external sufferings. But he seems to have intended to keep up before his readers the connexion between suffering and sin, and therefore

to have chosen terms suited to excite associations both of pain and corruption.—The last verb, which is singular and feminine, is supposed by Junius and J. H. Michaelis to agree with the nouns distributively, as the others do collectively: 'none of them is mollified with ointment.' Ewald and Umbreit connect it with the last noun exclusively. All the verbs are rendered in the singular by Cocceius and Lowth, all in the plural by Vitringa and J. D. Michaelis. The most probable solution is that proposed by Knobel, who takes רֻכְּכָה indefinitely, 'it has not been softened,' i. e. no one has softened, like the Latin *ventum est* for 'some one came.' This construction, although foreign from our idiom, is not uncommon in Hebrew.—מַכָּה טְרִיָּה is not a *running* or *putrefying sore* (Eng. Vers. Barnes), but a recently inflicted stroke.—The singular nouns may be regarded as collectives, or, with better effect, as denoting that the body was one wound, &c.—The suffix in בּוֹ cannot refer to גְּוִיָּה understood (Henderson), which would require בָּהּ.—מְתֹם may be an abstract meaning *soundness* (LXX. *ὁλοκληρία*), but is more probably a noun of place from תָּמַם.

V. 7. Thus far the sufferings of the people have been represented by strong figures, giving no intimation of their actual form, or of the outward causes which produced them. But now the Prophet brings distinctly into view foreign invasion as the instrument of vengeance, and describes the country as already desolated by it. The absence of verbs in the first clause gives great rapidity and life to the description. *Your land* (including town and country, which are afterwards distinctly mentioned) *a waste! Your towns* (including cities and villages of every size) *burnt with fire! Your ground* (including its produce), i. e. as to your ground, *before you* (in your presence, but beyond your reach) *strangers* (*are*) *devouring* it, *and a waste* (it is a waste) *like the overthrow of strangers*, i. e. as foreign foes are wont to waste a country, in which they have no interest, and for which they have no pity. (Vulg. sicut in vastitate hostili.)—As זָרִים often includes the idea of strangers to God and the true religion, and as מַהְפֵּכָה in every other instance means the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Hitzig and Ewald adopt Kimchi's explanation of this clause, as containing an allusion to that event, which is the great historical type of total destruction on account of sin, often referred to elsewhere, and in this very context, two verses below. This exposition, though ingenious, is unnecessary, and against it lies almost the whole weight of exegetical authority.—Saadias explains זָרִים not as a plural but a singular noun derived from זָרַם *to flow* or *overflow*, in which he is followed by Döderlein and Lowth ('as if destroyed by an inundation.') But no such noun occurs elsewhere, and it is most improbable that two nouns, wholly different in meaning yet coincident in form, would be used in this one sentence.

V. 8. The extent of the desolation is expressed by comparing the church or nation to a watch-shed in a field or vineyard, far from other habitations, and forsaken after the ingathering. *And the daughter of Zion*, i. e. the people of Zion or Jerusalem, considered as the capital of Judah, and therefore representing the whole nation, *is left*, not forsaken, but left over or behind as a survivor, *like a booth*, a temporary covert of leaves and branches, *in a vineyard, like a lodge in a melon-field, like a watched city*, i. e. watched by friends and foes, besieged and garrisoned, and therefore insulated, cut off from all communication with the country.—Interpreters, almost without exception, explain *daughter of Zion* to mean the city of Jerusalem, and suppose the extent of desolation to be indicated by the metropolis alone remaining unsubdued. But on this supposition they are forced to explain how a besieged city could be *like* a besieged city, either by saying that Jerusalem only suffered *as if* she were besieged (Ewald); or by taking the כ as a *caph veritatis* expressing not resemblance but identity, 'like a besieged city as she is' (Gesen. ad loc. Henderson); or by reading 'so is the besieged city' (Gesen. Lex. Man.); or by gratuitously taking עִיר נְצוּרָה in the sense of 'turris custodiae' or watch-tower (Tingstad. Hitzig. Gesen. Thes.). If, as is commonly supposed, *daughter of Zion* primarily signifies the people of Zion or Jerusalem, and the city only by a transfer of the figure, it is better to retain the former meaning in a case where departure from it is not only needless but creates a difficulty in the exposition. According to Hengstenberg (Comm. on Psalm 9: 15), *daughter of Zion* means the *daughter Zion*, as *city of Rome* means the *city Rome*. But even granting this, the church or nation may at least as naturally be called a *daughter*, i. e. virgin or young woman, as a city. That Jerusalem is not called the *daughter of Zion* from its local situation on that mountain, is clear from the analogous phrases *daughter of Tyre*, *daughter of Babyon*, where no such explanation is admissible.—The meaning *saved, preserved*, which is put upon נְצוּרָה by Koppe, Rosenmüller, Maurer, and Gesenius in his Commentary, seems inappropriate in a description of extreme desolation, but does not materially affect the interpretation of the passage.

V. 9. The idea of a desolation almost total is expressed in other words, and with an intimation that the narrow escape was owing to God's favour for the remnant according to the election of grace, who still existed in the Jewish church. *Except Jehovah of Hosts had left unto us* (or caused to remain over, to survive, for us) *a very small remnant, we should have been like Sodom, we should have resembled Gomorrah*, i. e. we should have been totally and justly destroyed.—By the *very small remnant* Knobel understands the city of Jerusalem, compared with the whole land and all its cities; Clericus the small number of surviving Jews. But that the verse has reference

to quality as well as quantity, is evident from Rom. 9 : 29, where Paul makes use of it, not as an illustration, but as an argument to show that mere connexion with the church could not save men from the wrath of God. The citation would have been irrelevant if this phrase denoted merely a small number of survivors, and not a minority of true believers in the midst of the prevailing unbelief.—Clericus explains Jehovah of Hosts to mean the God of Battles ; but it rather means the Sovereign Ruler of "heaven and earth and all the host of them," i. e. all their inhabitants (Gen. 2 : 1).—Lowth and Barnes translate כְּמַעַט *soon*, as in Ps. 81 : 15 ; but the usual translation agrees better with the context and with Paul's quotation.

V. 10. Having assigned the corruption of the people as the cause of their calamities, the Prophet now guards against the error of supposing that the sin thus visited was that of neglecting the external duties of religion, which were in fact punctiliously performed, but unavailing because joined with the practice of iniquity, vs. 10–15. This part of the chapter is connected with what goes before by repeating the allusion to Sodom and Gomorrah. Having just said that God's sparing mercy had alone prevented their resembling Sodom and Gomorrah in condition, he now reminds them that they do resemble Sodom and Gomorrah in iniquity. The reference is not to particular vices, but to general character, as Jerusalem, when reproached for her iniquities, 'is spiritually called Sodom' (Rev. 11 : 8). The comparison is here made by the form of address. *Hear the word of Jehovah, ye judges* (or rulers) *of Sodom, give ear to the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.* Word and law both denote the revelation of God's will as a rule of faith and duty. The particular exhibition of it meant, is that which follows, and to which this verse invites attention like that frequent exhortation of our Saviour, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*—Junius, J. D. Michaelis, and the later Germans, take תּוֹרָה in the general sense of doctrine or instruction, which, though favoured by its etymology, is not sustained by usage. Knobel, with more probability, supposes an allusion to the ritual or sacrificial law ; but there is no need either of enlarging or restricting the meaning of the term.—The collocation of the words is not intended to suggest that the rulers and the people were as much alike as Sodom and Gomorrah (Calvin), but to produce a rhythmical effect. The sense is that the rulers and people of Judah were as guilty as those of Sodom and Gomorrah.

V. 11. Resuming the form of interrogation and expostulation, he teaches them that God had no need of sacrifices on his own account, and that even those sacrifices which he had required might become offensive to him. *For what* (for what purpose, to what end, of what use) *is the multitude of your*

sacrifices to me (i. e. offered *to me*, or of what use *to me*)? *saith Jehovah. I am full* (i. e. sated, I have had enough, I desire no more) *of burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts* (fattened for the altar), *and the blood of bullocks and lambs and he-goats I desire not* (or delight not in). Male animals are mentioned, as the only ones admitted in the עֹלָה or burnt-offering; the fat and blood, as the parts in which the sacrifice essentially consisted, the one being always burnt upon the altar, and the other sprinkled or poured out around it.—Hendewerk and Henderson suppose an allusion to the excessive multiplication of sacrifices; but this, if alluded to at all, is not the prominent idea, as the context relates wholly to the spirit and conduct of the offerers themselves.—Some German interpreters affect to see an inconsistency between such passages as this and the law requiring sacrifices. But these expressions must of course be interpreted by what follows, and especially by the last clause of v. 13.—Bochart explains מְרִיאִים as denoting a species of wild ox; but wild beasts were not received in sacrifice, and this word simply suggests the idea of careful preparation and assiduous compliance with the ritual. Aben Ezra restricts it to the larger cattle, Jarchi to the smaller; but it means fed or fattened beasts of either kind.

V. 12. What had just been said of the offerings themselves, is now said of attendance at the temple to present them. *When you come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts*, not merely to frequent them, but to trample on them, as a gesture of contempt? The courts here meant are the enclosures around Solomon's temple, for the priests, worshippers, and victims. The interrogative form implies negation. Such appearance, such attendance, God had not required, although it was their duty to frequent his courts.—Coccceius takes כִּי in its ordinary sense, without a material change of meaning: 'that ye come, &c., who hath required this at your hands?' Junius makes the first clause a distinct interrogation (quod advenitis, an ut appareatis in conspectu meo?). Ewald sees in the expression *at your hand*, an allusion to the sense of *power*, in which יָד is sometimes used; but the expression, in its proper sense, is natural and common after verbs of giving or demanding.—Hitzig supposes the trampling mentioned to be that of the victims, as if he had said, Who hath required you to profane my courts by the feet of cattle? But the word appears to be applied to the worshippers themselves in a twofold sense, which cannot be expressed by any single word in English. They were bound to *tread* his courts, but not to *trample* them. Vitringa lays the emphasis on *your*: Who hath required it at *your* hands, at the hands of such as you? Umbreit strangely thinks the passive verb emphatic: when you come to *be seen* and not to *see*. The emphasis is really on *this*. Who hath required this, this sort of attendance, at your hands? One manuscript agrees with the Peshito

in reading לִרְאוֹת *to see;* but the common reading is no doubt the true one, פָּנַי being used adverbially for the full form אֶל or אֵת פָּנַי, which is elsewhere construed with the same passive verb (Exod. 23 : 17. 34 : 23, 24).

V. 13. What he said before of animal sacrifices and of attendance at the temple to present them, is now extended to bloodless offerings, such as incense and the מִנְחָה or meal-offering, as well as to the observance of sacred times, and followed by a brief intimation of the sense in which they were all unacceptable to God, viz. when combined with the practice of iniquity. The interrogative form is here exchanged for that of direct prohibition. *Ye shall not add* (i. e. continue) *to bring a vain offering* (that is, a useless one, because hypocritical and impious). *Incense is an abomination to me: (so are) new moon and sabbath, the calling of the convocation* (at those times, or at the annual feasts, which are then distinctly mentioned with the weekly and monthly ones): *I cannot bear iniquity and holy day* (abstinence from labour, religious observance), meaning of course, I cannot bear them together. This last clause is a key to the preceding verses. It was not religious observance in itself, but its combination with iniquity, that God abhorred. Aben Ezra: לא אוכל לסבול און עם עצרה. J. H. Michaelis: ferre non possum pravitatem et ferias, quæ vos conjungitis. So Cocceius, J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Ewald, Henderson, &c. Other constructions, inconsistent with the Masoretic accents, but substantially affording the same sense, are those of Rosenmüller ('as for new moon, sabbath &c., I cannot bear iniquity' &c.) and Umbreit ('new moon and sabbath, iniquity and holy day, I cannot bear'). Another, varying the sense as well as the construction, is that of Calvin (solennes indictiones non potero—vana res est—nec conventum) copied by Vitringa, and, with some modification, by the English Version, Clericus, and Barnes ('it is iniquity—even the solemn closing meeting'), which violates both syntax and accentuation. Clericus and Gesenius give to *vain oblation* the specific sense of *false* or *hypocritical;* J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, and Ewald, that of *sinful;* Cocceius that of *presumptuous* (temerarium); but all these seem to be included or implied in the old and common version *vain* or worthless. (LXX. *μάταιον.* Vulg. frustra. Luther, vergeblich.) Cocceius and Ewald construe the second member of the sentence thus: 'it (the meal-offering) is abominable incense to me!' which is very harsh. The modern lexicographers (Gesenius, Winer, Fürst) make convocation or assembly the primary idea of עֲצָרָה; but all agree that it is used in application to times of religious observance.

V. 14. The very rites ordained by God himself, and once acceptable to him, had, through the sin of those who used them, become irksome and disgusting. *Your new moons* (an emphatic repetition, as if he had said, Yes,

your new moons) *and your convocations* (sabbaths and yearly feasts) *my soul hateth* (not a mere periphrasis for *I hate*, but an emphatic phrase denoting cordial hatred, q. d. odi ex animo), *they have become a burden on me* (implying that they were not so at first), *I am weary of bearing* (or have wearied myself bearing them).—Lowth's version *months* is too indefinite to represent חדשים, which denotes the beginnings of the lunar months, observed as sacred times under the law of Moses (Num. 28 : 11. 10 : 10). Kocher supposes they are mentioned here again because they had been peculiarly abused; but Henderson explains the repetition better as a rhetorical epanalepsis, resuming and continuing the enumeration in another form. Hengstenberg has shown (Christol. vol. 3. p. 87) that מועדים is applied in Scripture only to the sabbath, passover, pentecost, day of atonement, and feast of tabernacles. The common version of the second clause (*they are a trouble unto me*) is too vague. The noun should have its specific sense of *burden, load*, the preposition its proper local sense of *on*, and the verb with לְ its usual force, as signifying not mere existence but a change of state, in which sense it is thrice used in this very chapter (vs. 21, 22, 31). The last particular is well expressed by the Septuagint (ἐγενήθητέ μοι) and Vulgate (facta sunt mihi), and the other two by Calvin (superfuerunt mihi loco oneris), Vitringa (incumbunt mihi instar oneris), Lowth (they are a burthen upon me), and Gesenius (sie sind mir zur Last); but neither of these versions gives the full force of the clause in all its parts. The Septuagint, the Chaldee Paraphrase, and Symmachus take נשא in the sense of *forgiving*, which it has in some connexions; but the common meaning agrees better with the parallel expression, *load* or *burden*.

V. 15. Not only ceremonial observances but even prayer was rendered useless by the sins of those who offered it. *And in your spreading* (when you spread) *your hands* (or stretch them out towards heaven as a gesture of entreaty) *I will hide mine eyes from you* (avert my face, refuse to see or hear, not only in ordinary but) *also when ye multiply prayer* (by fervent importunity in time of danger) *I am not hearing* (or about to hear, the participle bringing the act nearer to the present than the future would do). *Your hands are full of blood* (literally *bloods*, the form commonly used when the reference is to bloodshed or the guilt of murder). Thus the Prophet comes back to the point from which he set out, the iniquity of Israel as the cause of his calamities, but with this difference, that at first he viewed sin in its higher aspect, as committed against God, whereas in this place its injurious effects on men are rendered prominent.—By *multiplying prayer* Henderson understands the *βαττολογία* or vain repetition condemned by Christ as a customary error of his times; but this would make the threatening less impressive. The force of גַּם as here used (*not only this but*, or

nay more) may be considered as included in the old English *yea* of the common version, for which Lowth and Henderson have substituted *even*. The latter also takes כִּי in the sense of *though*, without effect upon the meaning of the sentence, and suggests that the preterite at the end of the verse denotes habitual action; but it simply denotes previous action, or that their hands were already full of blood. Under *blood* or murder Calvin supposes all sins of violence and gross injustice to be comprehended; but although the mention of the highest crime against the person may suggest the others, they can hardly be included in the meaning of the word.—Junius and Clericus translate דָּמִים *murders* (caedibus plenae); but the literal translation is at once more exact and more expressive. It is a strange opinion mentioned by Fabricius (Diss. Phil. Theol. p. 329) that the blood here meant is the blood of the victims hypocritically offered.—For the form פְּרֻשֵׂכֶם see Nordheimer, §§ 101. 2. a. 476.

V. 16. Having shown the insufficiency of ceremonial rites and even of more spiritual duties to avert or cure the evils which the people had brought upon themselves by their iniquities, he exhorts them to abandon these and urges reformation, not as the *causa qua* but as a *causa sine qua non* of deliverance and restoration to God's favour. *Wash you* (רָחֲצוּ a word appropriated to ablution of the body, as distinguished from all other washings), *purify yourselves* (in a moral or figurative sense, as appears from what follows). *Remove the evil of your doings from before mine eyes* (out of my sight, which could only be done by putting an end to them, an idea literally expressed in the last clause), *cease to do evil*.—Luther, Gesenius, and most of the late writers render רַע as an adjective, *your evil doings;* but it is better to retain the abstract form of the original, with Ewald, Lowth, Vitringa, and the ancient versions.—In some of the older versions מַעַלְלֵיכֶם is loosely and variously rendered. Thus the LXX. have *souls*, the Vulgate *thoughts*, Calvin *desires*, Luther *your evil nature*. The meaning of the term may now be looked upon as settled.—Some have understood *from before mine eyes* as an exhortation to reform not only in the sight of man but in the sight of God; and others as implying that their sins had been committed to God's face, that is to say, with presumptuous boldness. But the true meaning seems to be the obvious and simple one expressed above. Knobel imagines that the idea of sin as a pollution had its origin in the ablutions of the law; but it is perfectly familiar and intelligible wherever conscience is at all enlightened.—Aben Ezra explains הִזַּכּוּ as the Hithpael of זָכָה, to which Hitzig and Henderson object that this species is wanting in all other verbs beginning with that letter, and that according to analogy it would be הִזְדַּכּוּ. They explain it therefore as the Niphal of זָכַךְ; but

Gesenius (in his Lexicon) objects that this would have the accent on the penult. Compare Nordheimer § 77. 1. c.

V. 17. The negative exhortation is now followed by a positive one. Ceasing to do evil was not enough, or rather was not possible, without beginning to do good. *Learn to do good*, implying that they never yet had known what it was. This general expression is explained by several specifications, showing how they were to do good. *Seek judgment*, i. e. justice; not in the abstract, but in act; not for yourselves, but for others; be not content with abstinence from wrong, but seek opportunities of doing justice, especially to those who cannot right themselves. *Redress wrong, judge the fatherless*, i. e. act as a judge for his benefit, or more specifically, do him justice; *befriend the widow*, take her part, espouse her cause. Orphans and widows are continually spoken of in Scripture as special objects of divine compassion, and as representing the whole class of helpless innocents.—By *learning* to do good, Musculus and Hitzig understand forming the habit or accustoming one's self; but the phrase appears to have a more emphatic meaning.—Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Ewald, and Knobel, take חָמוּץ in the active sense of an oppressor, or a proud and wicked man, and understand the Prophet as exhorting his readers to conduct or guide such, i. e. to reclaim them from their evil courses. The Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Rabbins, make חָמוּץ a passive participle, and the exhortation one to rescue the oppressed (ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον, subvenite oppresso), in which they are followed by Luther, Calvin, Cocceius, Rosenmüller, Henderson, and Umbreit. Vitringa adopts Bochart's derivation of the word from חָמַץ to *ferment* (emendate quod corruptum est); but Maurer comes the nearest to the truth in his translation (aequum facite iniquum). The form of the word seems to identify it as the infinitive of חמץ i. q. חמס to be violent, to do violence, to injure. Thus understood the phrase forms a link between the general expression *seek justice* and the more specific one *do justice to the orphan*. The common version of the last clause (*plead for the widow*) seems to apply too exclusively to advocates, as distinguished from judges.

V. 18. Having shown that the cause of their ill success in seeking God was in themselves, and pointed out the only means by which the evil could be remedied, he now invites them to determine by experiment on which side the fault of their destruction lay, promising pardon and deliverance to the penitent and threatening total ruin to the disobedient, vs. 18–20.—This verse contains an invitation to discuss the question whether God was willing or unwilling to show mercy, implying that reason as well as justice was on his side, and asserting his power and his willingness to pardon the most

aggravated sins. *Come now* (a common formula of exhortation) *and let us reason* (argue, or discuss the case) *together* (the form of the verb denoting a reciprocal action), *saith Jehovah, Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow, though they be red as crimson they shall be as wool*, i. e. clean white wool. Guilt being regarded as a stain, its removal denotes restoration to purity. The implied conclusion of the *reasoning* is that God's willingness to pardon threw the blame of their destruction on themselves.—Gesenius understands this verse as a threatening that God would *contend* with them in the way of vengeance, and blot out their sins by condign punishment; but this is inconsistent with the reciprocal meaning of the verb. Umbreit regards the last clause as a threatening that their sins, however deeply coloured or disguised, should be discoloured, i. e. brought to light; an explanation inconsistent with the natural and scriptural usage of *white* and *red* to signify innocence and guilt, especially that of murder. J. D. Michaelis and Augusti make the verbs in the last clause interrogative: 'Shall they be white as snow?' i. e. can I so regard them? implying that God would estimate them rightly and reward them justly. This, in the absence of the interrogative particle, is gratuitous and arbitrary. Clericus understands the first clause as a proposition to submit to punishment (tum agite, nos castigari patiamur, ait enim Jehova); but although the verb might be a simple passive, this construction arbitrarily supposes two speakers in the verse, and supplies *for* after the first verb, besides making the two clauses inconsistent; for if they were pardoned, why submit to punishment?—According to Kimchi, the word translated *crimson* is a stronger one than that translated *scarlet;* but the two are commonly combined to denote one colour, and are here separated only as poetical equivalents.

V. 19. The unconditional promise is now qualified and yet enlarged. If obedient, they should not only escape punishment but be highly favoured. *If ye consent* to my terms, *and hear* my commands, implying obedience, *the good of the land*, its choicest products, *ye shall eat*, instead of seeing them devoured by strangers.—Luther and others understand *consent and hear* as a hendiadys for *consent to hear* (wollt ihr mir gehorchen); but this is forbidden by the parallel expression in the next verse, where *refuse and rebel* cannot mean *refuse to rebel*, but each verb has its independent meaning. LXX. ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου. Vulg. si volueritis et audieritis. So Gesenius, Ewald, etc.

V. 20. This is the converse of the nineteenth verse, a threat corresponding to the promise. *And if ye refuse* to comply with my conditions, *and rebel*, continue to resist my authority, *by the sword* of the enemy *shall ye be eaten.* This is no human menace but a sure prediction, *for the mouth of*

Jehovah speaks, not man's. Or the sense may be, *the mouth of Jehovah has spoken* or ordained it. (Targ. Jon. מֵימְרָא דְיְיָ גְזַר כֵּן, the word of Jehovah has so decreed.)—According to Gesenius, תְּאֻכְּלוּ literally means *ye shall be caused to be devoured by the sword*, i. e. I cause the sword to devour you. But, as Hitzig observes, the passive causative, according to analogy, would mean *ye shall be caused to devour*, and so he renders it (so müsset ihr das Schwerdt verzehren). But in every other case, where such a metaphor occurs, the sword is not said to be eaten but to eat. (See Deut. 32: 42. Isai. 34: 6. 2 Sam. 2: 26.) The truth is that אָכַל is nowhere else a causative at all, but a simple passive, or at most an intensive passive of אָכַל. (See Exodus 3: 2. Neh. 2: 3. 13.)

V. 21. Here the Prophet seems to pause for a reply, and on receiving no response to the promises and invitations of the foregoing context, bursts forth into a sudden exclamation at the change which Israel has undergone, which he then describes both in figurative and literal expressions, vs. 21–23. In the verse before us he contrasts her former state, as the chaste bride of Jehovah, with her present pollution, the ancient home of justice with the present haunt of cruelty and violence. *How has she become an harlot* (faithless to her covenant with Jehovah), *the faithful city* (קִרְיָה, *πόλις*, including the ideas of a city and a state, *urbs et civitas*, the body politic, the church, of which Jerusalem was the centre and metropolis), *full of justice* (i. e. once full), *righteousness lodged* (i. e. habitually, had its home, resided) *in it, and now murderers*, as the worst class of violent wrong-doers, whose name suggests though it does not properly include all others.—Kimchi and Knobel suppose a particular allusion to the introduction of idolatry, a forsaking of Jehovah the true husband for paramours or idols. But although this specific application of the figure occurs elsewhere, and is extended by Hosea into allegory, there seems to be no reason for restricting the expressions here used to idolatry, although it may be included.—The particle at the beginning of the verse is properly interrogative, but like the English *how* is also used to express surprise. 'How has she become?' i. e. how could she possibly become? how strange that she should become!—For the form בְּלָאֲתִי see Ges. Heb. Gr. § 93. 2. Ewald, § 406. For the tense of הָיְתָה, Nordh. § 967. 1. *b*.

V. 22. The change, which had just been represented under the figure of adultery, is now expressed by that of adulteration, first of silver, then of wine. *Thy silver* (addressing the unfaithful church or city) *is become dross* (alloy, base metal), *thy wine weakened* (literally *cut, mutilated*) *with water*. Compare the words of Martial, *scelus est jugulare Falernum*. The essential idea seems to be that of impairing strength.—The Septuagint applies this

text in a literal sense to dishonest arts in the sale of wines and the exchange of money. *Οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι.* But this interpretation, besides its unworthiness and incongruity, is set aside by the Prophet's own explanation of his figures, in the next verse.

V. 23. The same idea is now expressed in literal terms, and with special application to magistrates and rulers. They who were bound officially to suppress disorder and protect the helpless, were themselves greedy of gain, rebellious against God, and tyrannical towards man. *Thy rulers are rebels and fellows of thieves* (not merely like them or belonging to the same class, but accomplices, partakers of their sin), *every one of them loving a bribe* (the participle denoting present and habitual action) *and pursuing rewards* (שֹׁחַד compensations. LXX. *ἀνταπόδομα.* Symm. *ἀμοιβάς*). *The fatherless* (as being unable to reward them, or as an object of cupidity to others) *they judge not, and the cause of the widow cometh not unto them*, or before them; they will not hear it; they will not act as judges for their benefit. They are not simply unjust judges, they are no judges at all, they will not act as such, except when they can profit by it. (J. D. Michaelis: dem Waisen halten sie kein Gericht.) *Rulers* and *rebels* is a sufficient approximation to the alleged paronomasia in שָׂרַיִךְ סוֹרְרִים, a gratuitous and vain attempt to copy which is made by Gesenius (deine Vorgesetzten sind widersetzlich) and Ewald (deine Herren sind Narren!).—Knobel supposes the rebellion here meant to be that of which Judah was guilty in becoming dependent upon Assyria (comp. ch. 30: 1). But there is nothing to restrict the application of the terms, which simply mean that instead of suppressing rebellion they were rebels themselves.

V. 24. To this description of the general corruption the Prophet now adds a promise of purgation, which is at the same time a threatening of sorer judgments, as the appointed means by which the church was to be restored to her original condition, vs. 24–31.—In this verse, the destruction of God's enemies is represented as a necessary satisfaction to his justice. *Therefore*, because the very fountains of justice have thus become corrupt, *saith the Lord*, the word properly so rendered, *Jehovah of Hosts*, the eternal Sovereign, *the mighty one of Israel*, the almighty God who is the God of Israel, *Ah*, an interjection expressing both displeasure and concern, *I will comfort myself*, ease or relieve myself, *of my adversaries*, literally, *from them*, i. e. by ridding myself of them, *and I will avenge myself of mine enemies*, not foreign foes, of whom there is no mention in the context, but the enemies of God among the Jews themselves.—Cocceius understands by אבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל the *champion* or *hero of Israel*, and Knobel the *mightiest in Israel*; but the first word seems clearly to denote an attribute of God, and the second his

relation to his people. Henderson translates the phrase, *Protector of Israel;* but this idea, though implied, is not expressed. The latest versions follow Junius and Tremellius in giving to נְאֻם its proper form as a passive participle used as a noun, like the Latin *dictum*, and applied exclusively to divine communications. Henderson: *Hence the announcement of the Lord.* So Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit.

V. 25. The mingled promise and threatening is repeated under one of the figures used in v. 22. The adulterated silver must be purified by the separation of its impure particles. *And I will turn my hand upon thee*, i. e. take thee in hand, address myself to thy case, *and will purge out thy dross like purity* itself, i. e. most purely, thoroughly, *and will take away all thine alloy*, tin, lead, or other base metal found in combination with the precious ores.—Luther, Junius and Tremellius render עַל *against*, and make the first clause wholly minatory in its import. But although to *turn the hand* has elsewhere an unfavourable sense (Ps. 81 : 15. Amos 1 : 8), it does not of itself express it, but simply means to take in hand, address one's self to any thing, make it the object of attention. (J. D. Michaelis: in Arbeit nehmen.) It appears to have been used in this place to convey both a promise and a threatening, which run together through this whole context. Augusti and the later Germans use the ambiguous term *gegen* which has both a hostile and a local meaning.—The Targum of Jonathan, followed by Kimchi, Schmidius, J. D. Michaelis, and the latest Germans, makes כַּבּר a noun meaning potash or the vegetable alkali used in the smelting of metals. Henderson: *as with potash.* The usual sense of *purity* is retained by Luther (auf's lauterste), the English Version (purely), Gesenius (rein), and Barnes (wholly). The particle is taken in a local sense by the Septuagint (εἰς καθαρόν), Vulgate (ad purum), Cocceius (ad puritatem), Calvin and Vitringa (ad liquidum), and the clause is paraphrased, as expressing restoration to a state of purity, by Junius (ut justae puritati restituam te), and Augusti (bis es rein wird). But this is at variance with the usage of the particle.—The conjectural emendations of Clericus (כִּבּר like a furnace), Secker and Lowth (בְּכוּר in the furnace) are perfectly gratuitous.

V. 26. Here again the figurative promise is succeeded by a literal one of restoration to a former state of purity, to be effected not by the conversion of the wicked rulers but by filling their places with better men. *And I will restore*, bring back, cause to return, *thy judges*, rulers, *as at first*, in the earliest and best days of the commonwealth, *and thy counsellors*, ministers of state, *as in the beginning, after which it shall be called to thee*, a Hebrew idiom for *thou shalt be called*, i. e. deservedly, with truth, *City of Righteousness, a Faithful State.* There is here a twofold allusion to v. 21. She

who from being a faithful wife had become an adulteress or harlot, should again be what she was; and justice which once dwelt in her should return to its old home.—It is an ingenious but superfluous conjecture of Vitringa, that Jerusalem was anciently called צֶדֶק as well as שָׁלֵם (Gen. 14: 18), since the same king bore the name of מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק (king of righteousness) and מֶלֶךְ שָׁלֵם (king of peace), and a later king (Jos. 10: 1) was called אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק (lord of righteousness). The meaning of the last clause would then be that the city should again deserve its ancient name, which is substantially its meaning now, even without supposing an allusion so refined and far-fetched.

V. 27. Thus far the promise to God's faithful people and the threatening to his enemies among them had been intermingled, or so expressed as to involve each other. Thus the promise of purification to the silver involved a threatening of destruction to the dross. But now the two elements of the prediction are exhibited distinctly, and first the promise to the church. *Zion*, the chosen people, as a whole, here considered as consisting of believers only, *shall be redeemed*, delivered from destruction, *in judgment*, i. e. in the exercise of justice upon God's part, *and her converts*, those of her who *return* to God by true repentance, *in righteousness*, here used as an equivalent to justice.—Gesenius and the other modern Germans adopt the explanation given in the Targum, which assumes *in judgment and in righteousness* to mean by the practice of righteousness on the part of the people. Calvin regards the same words as expressive of God's rectitude, which would not suffer the innocent to perish with the guilty. But neither of these interpretations is so natural in this connexion as that which understands the verse to mean that the very same events, by which the divine justice was to manifest itself in the destruction of the wicked, should be the occasion and the means of deliverance to Zion or the true people of God.—The Septuagint, Peshito, and Luther, understand by שביה *her captivity* or *captives* (as if from שבה), Calvin and others *her returning* captives (qui reducentur ad eam); but the great majority of writers, old and new, take the word in a spiritual sense, which it frequently has elsewhere. See for example ch. 6: 10.

V. 28. The other element is now brought out, viz. the destruction of the wicked, which was to be simultaneous and coincident with the deliverance promised to God's people in the verse preceding. *And the breaking*, crushing, utter ruin, *of apostates*, revolters, deserters from Jehovah, *and sinners*, is or shall be *together*, i. e. at the same time with Zion's redemption, *and the forsakers of Jehovah*, an equivalent expression to *apostates* in the first clause, *shall cease*, come to an end, be totally destroyed. The terms of this verse are appropriate to all kinds of sin, but seem to be peculiarly de-

scriptive of idolatry, as defection or desertion from the true God to idols, and thus prepare the way for the remainder of the chapter, in which that class of transgressors are made prominent.—Umbreit supplies no verb in the first clause, but reads it as an exclamation: 'Ruin to apostates and sinners all together!' which is extremely harsh without a preposition before the nouns. Ewald, more grammatically, 'Ruin of the evil-doers and sinners altogether!' But the only natural construction is the common one.—Some writers understand *together* as expressing the simultaneous destruction of the two classes mentioned here, apostates and sinners, or of these considered as one class and the forsakers of Jehovah as another. But the expression is far more emphatic, and agrees far better with the context, if we understand it as connecting this destruction with the deliverance in v. 27, and as being a final repetition of the truth stated in so many forms, that the same judgments which destroyed the wicked should redeem the righteous, or in other words, that the purification of the church could be effected only by the excision of her wicked members.—Junius differs from all others in supposing the metaphor of v. 25 to be here resumed. 'And the fragments (שֶׁבֶר) of apostates, and of sinners likewise, and of those who forsake Jehovah, shall fail or be utterly destroyed.'

V. 29. From the final destruction of idolaters the Prophet now reverts to their present security and confidence in idols, which he tells them shall be put to shame and disappointed. *For they shall be ashamed of the oaks* or terebinths *which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens which ye have chosen* as places of idolatrous worship.—Paulus and Hitzig think that nothing more is here predicted than the loss of the fine pleasure-grounds in which the wealthy Jews delighted. But why should this part of their property be specified in threatening them with total destruction? And why should they be *ashamed* of these favourite possessions and *confounded* on account of them? As these are terms constantly employed to express the frustration of religious trust, and as groves and gardens are continually spoken of as chosen scenes of idol-worship (see, for example, ch. 65: 3. 66: 17. Ezek. 6: 13. Hos. 4: 13), there can be little doubt that the common opinion is the true one, namely, that both this verse and the one preceding have particular allusion to idolatry.—Vitringa understands the first clause thus: *they* (the Jews of a future generation) *shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye* (the contemporaries of the Prophet) *have desired*. It is much more natural however to regard it as an instance of *enallage personae* (Gesen. § 134. 3), or to construe the first verb indefinitely, *they*, i. e. men in general, people, or the like, *shall be ashamed*, etc., which construction is adopted by all the recent German writers (Gesenius: zu Schanden wird man, u. s. w.)—Knobel renders כִּי at the beginning *so that*, which is

wholly unnecessary, as the verse gives a reason for the way in which the Prophet had spoken of persons now secure and flourishing, and the proper meaning of the particle is therefore perfectly appropriate.—Lowth renders אֵילִים *ilexes*, Gesenius and the other Germans *Terebinthen*, which is no doubt botanically accurate; but in English *oak* may be retained as more poetical, and as the tree which, together with the terebinth, composes almost all the groves of Palestine.—The preposition before *oaks* and *gardens* may imply removal *from* them, but is more probably a mere connective of the verb with the object or occasion of the action, like the *of* and *for* in English.

V. 30. The mention of trees and gardens, as places of idolatrous worship, suggests a beautiful comparison, under which the destruction of the idolaters is again set forth. They who choose trees and gardens, in preference to God's appointed place of worship, shall themselves be like trees and gardens, but in the most alarming sense. *For*, in answer to the tacit question why they should be ashamed and confounded for their oaks and gardens, *ye* yourselves *shall be like an oak* or terebinth, *fading*, decaying, in *its leaf* or as to *its leaf, and like a garden which has no water*, a lively emblem, to an oriental reader, of entire desolation.—Some writers understand the Prophet to allude to the terebinth when dead, on the ground that it never sheds its leaves when living; but according to Robinson and Smith (Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 15), the terebinth or "*butm* is not an evergreen, as is often represented; its small feathered lancet-shaped leaves fall in the autumn and are renewed in the spring."—Both here and in the foregoing verse, Knobel supposes there is special allusion to the gardens in the valley of Hinnom, where Ahaz sacrificed to Moloch (2 Chr. 28: 3. Isai. 30: 33, compared with ch. 22: 7), and a prediction of their being wasted by the enemy; but this, to say the least, is not a necessary exposition of the Prophet's general expressions.—For the construction of נֹבֵלֶת עָלֶהָ, see Gesenius § 116. 3.

V. 31. This verse contains a closing threat of sudden, total, instantaneous destruction to the Jewish idolaters, to be occasioned by the very things which they preferred to God, and in which they confided. *And the strong*, the mighty man, alluding no doubt to the unjust rulers of the previous context, *shall become tow*, an exceedingly inflammable substance, *and his work*, his idols, often spoken of in Scripture as the work of men's hands, shall become *a spark*, the means and occasion of destruction to their worshippers, *and they shall burn both of them together*, and there shall *shall be no one quenching* or to quench them.—All the ancient versions treat חֹסֶן as an abstract, meaning *strength*, which agrees well with its form, resembling that of an infinitive or verbal noun. But even in that case, the abstract must be used for a concrete, i. e. *strength* for *strong*, which last is the sense given to

the word itself by all the modern writers. Calvin and others understand by the *strong one* the idol viewed as a protector or a tutelary god, and by פָּעֳלוֹ his *maker* and worshipper, an interpretation which agrees in sense with the one given above, but inverts the terms, making the idol to be burnt by the idolater and not vice versa. But why should the worshipper burn himself with his idol? A far more coherent and impressive sense is yielded by the other exposition.—Gesenius, Hitzig, and Hendewerk suppose the *work* (פֹּעַל as in Jer. 22: 13), by which the strong man is consumed, to be his conduct in general, Junius his efforts to resist God, Vitringa his contrivances and means of safety. But the frequent mention of idols as the work of men's hands, and the prominence given to idolatry in the immediately preceding context, seem to justify Ewald, Umbreit, and Knobel, in attributing to פֹּעַל that specific meaning here, and in understanding the whole verse as a prediction that the very gods, in whom the strong men of Jerusalem now trusted, should involve their worshippers and makers with themselves in total, instantaneous, irrecoverable ruin.

CHAPTERS II, III, IV.

These chapters constitute the second prophecy, the two grand themes of which are the reign of the Messiah and intervening judgments on the Jews for their iniquities. The first and greatest of these subjects occupies the smallest space, but stands both at the opening and the close of the whole prophecy. Considered in relation to its subject, it may therefore be conveniently divided into three unequal parts. In the first, the Prophet foretells the future exaltation of the church and the accession of the gentiles, ch. 2: 1–4. In the second, he sets forth the actual condition of the church and its inevitable consequences, ch. 2: 5—4: 1. In the third, he reverts to its pure, safe, and glorious condition under the Messiah, ch. 4: 2–6. The division of the chapters is peculiarly unfortunate, the last verse of the second and the first of the fourth being both dissevered from their proper context. The notion that these chapters contain a series of detached predictions (Koppe, Eichhorn, Bertholdt) is now universally rejected even by the Germans, who consider the three chapters, if not the fifth (Hitzig), as forming one unbroken prophecy. As the state of things which it describes could scarcely have existed in the prosperous reigns of Uzziah and Jotham or in

the pious reign of Hezekiah, it is referred with much probability to the reign of Ahaz (Ges. Ew. Hn. etc.), when Judah was dependent on a foreign power and corrupted by its intercourse with heathenism. The particular grounds of this conclusion will appear in the course of the interpretation.

CHAPTER II.

This chapter contains an introductory prediction of the reign of the Messiah, and the first part of a threatening against Judah.

After a title similar to that in ch. 1 : 1, the Prophet sees the church, at some distant period, exalted and conspicuous, and the nations resorting to it for instruction in the true religion, as a consequence of which he sees war cease and universal peace prevail, vs. 2–4.

These verses are found, with very little variation, in the fourth chapter of Micah (vs. 1–3), to explain which some suppose, that a motto or quotation has been accidentally transferred from the margin to the text of Isaiah (Justi, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Credner) ; others, that both Prophets quote from Joel (Vogel, Hitzig, Ewald) ; others, that both quote from an older writer now unknown (Koppe, Rosenmüller, Maurer, De Wette, Knobel) ; others, that Micah quotes from Isaiah (Vitringa, Lowth, Beckhaus, Umbreit) ; others, that Isaiah quotes from Micah (J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Hendewerk, Henderson). This diversity of judgment may at least suffice to show how vain conjecture is in such a case. The close connexion of the passage with the context, as it stands in Micah, somewhat favours the conclusion that Isaiah took the text or theme of his prediction from the younger though contemporary prophet. The verbal variations may be best explained, however, by supposing that they both adopted a traditional prediction current among the people in their day, or that both received the words directly from the Holy Spirit. So long as we have reason to regard both places as authentic and inspired, it matters little what is the literary history of either.

At the close of this prediction, whether borrowed or original, the Prophet suddenly reverts to the condition of the church in his own times, so different from that which had been just foretold, and begins a description of the present guilt and future punishment of Judah, which extends not only through this chapter but the next, including the first verse of the fourth. The part contained in the remainder of this chapter may be subdivided into two unequal portions, one containing a description of the sin, the other a prediction of the punishment.

The first begins with an exhortation to the Jews themselves to walk in that light which the gentiles were so eagerly to seek hereafter, v. 5. The

Prophet then explains this exhortation by describing three great evils which the foreign alliances of Judah had engendered, namely, superstitious practices and occult arts; unbelieving dependence upon foreign wealth and power; and idolatry itself, vs. 6–8.

The rest of the chapter has respect to the punishment of these great sins. This is first described generally as humiliation, such as they deserved who humbled themselves to idols, and such as tended to the exclusive exaltation of Jehovah, both by contrast and by the display of his natural and moral attributes, vs. 9–11. This general threatening is then amplified in a detailed enumeration of exalted objects which should be brought low, ending again with a prediction of Jehovah's exaltation in the same words as before, so as to form a kind of choral or strophical arrangement, vs. 12–17. The destruction or rather the rejection of idols, as contemptible and useless, is then explicitly foretold, as an accompanying circumstance of men's flight from the avenging presence of Jehovah, vs. 18–21. Here again the strophical arrangement reappears in the precisely similar conclusions of the nineteenth and twenty-first verses, so that the twenty-second is as clearly unconnected with this chapter in form, as it is closely connected with the next in sense.

V. 1. This is the title of the second prophecy, ch. 2–4. *The word*, revelation or divine communication, *which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw*, perceived, received by inspiration, *concerning Judah and Jerusalem*. As *word* is here a synonyme of *vision* in ch. 1 : 1, there is no need of rendering דָּבָר *what, thing*, or *things* (Lu. Cler. Henders.), or חָזָה *prophesied* or *was revealed* (Targ. Low. Ges.), in order to avoid the supposed incongruity of seeing a word. For the technical use of *word* and *vision* in the sense of prophecy, see 1 Sam. 3 : 1. Jer. 18 : 18.—The Septuagint, which renders עַל *against* in ch. 1 : 1, renders it here *concerning*, and on this distinction, which is wholly arbitrary, Cyril gravely comments.—Hendewerk's assertion that the titles, in which חזה and חזון occur, are by a later hand, is perfectly gratuitous.

V. 2. The prophecy begins with an abrupt prediction of the exaltation of the church, the confluence of nations to it, and a general pacification as the consequence, vs. 2–4. In this verse the Prophet sees the church permanently placed in a conspicuous position, so as to be a source of attraction to surrounding nations. To express this idea, he makes use of terms which are strictly applicable only to the local habitation of the church under the old economy. Instead of saying, in modern phraseology, that the church, as a society, shall become conspicuous and attract all nations, he represents the mountain upon which the temple stood as being raised and fixed above the other mountains, so as to be visible in all directions. *And it shall be*

(happen, come to pass, a prefatory formula of constant use in prophecy) *in the end* (or latter part) *of the days* (i. e. hereafter) *the mountain of Jehovah's house* (i. e. mount Zion, in the widest sense, including mount Moriah where the temple stood) *shall be established* (permanently fixed) *in the head of the mountains* (i. e. above them), *and exalted from* (away from and by implication *more than* or *higher than*) *the hills* (a poetical equivalent to mountains), *and the nations shall flow unto it.*—The use of the present tense in rendering this verse (Ges. Hitz. Hdwk.) is inconsistent with the phrase בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, which requires the future proper (Ew. Hn.). That phrase, according to the Rabbins, always means the days of the Messiah; according to Lightfoot, the end of the old dispensation. In itself it is indefinite.—The sense of נָכוֹן here is not *prepared* (Vulg.) but *fixed*, established, rendered permanently visible (LXX. ἔσται ἐμφανής).—It was not to be established *on the top* of the mountains (Vulg. Vitr. De W. Umbr.), but either *at the head* (Hitz. Ew.) or simply *high among* the mountains, which idea is expressed by other words in the parallel clause, and by the same words in 1 Kings 21 : 10, 12. That mount Zion should be taken up and carried by the other hills (J. D. Mich.) is neither the literal nor figurative meaning of the Prophet's words.—The verb in the last clause is always used to signify a confluence of nations.

V. 3. This confluence of nations is described more fully, and its motive stated in their own words, namely, a desire to be instructed in the true religion, of which Jerusalem or Zion, under the old dispensation, was the sole depository. *And many nations shall go* (set out, put themselves in motion) *and shall say* (to one another), *Go ye* (as a formula of exhortation, where the English idiom requires *come*), *and we will ascend* (or *let us ascend*, for which the Hebrew has no other form) *to the mountain of Jehovah* (where his house is, where he dwells), *to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways* (the ways in which he requires us to walk), *and we will go in his paths* (a synonymous expression). *For out of Zion shall go forth law* (the true religion, as a rule of duty), *and the word of Jehovah* (the true religion, as a revelation) *from Jerusalem.* These last words may be either the words of the gentiles, telling why they looked to Zion as a source of saving knowledge, or the words of the Prophet, telling why the truth must be thus diffused, namely, because it had been given to the church for this very purpose. Cyril's idea that the clause relates to the taking away of God's word from the Jewish church (καταλέλοιπε τὴν Σιών) is wholly inconsistent with the context.—Compare John 4 : 22. Luke 24 : 47.—The common version *many people* conveys to a modern ear the wrong sense *many persons*, and was only used for want of such a plural form as *peoples*, which, though employed by Lowth and others, has never become current, and was certainly not so when the Bible was translated, as appears from the circum-

locution used instead of it in Gen. 25 : 23. The plural form is here essential to the meaning.—*Go* is not here used as the opposite of *come*, but as denoting active motion (Vitr. movebunt se. J. D. Mich. werden sich aufmachen).—The word *ascend* is not used in reference to an alleged Jewish notion that the Holy Land was physically higher than all other countries, nor simply to the natural site of Jerusalem, nor even to its moral elevation as the seat of the true religion, but to the new elevation and conspicuous position just ascribed to it.—The subjunctive construction *that he may teach* (Lu. Vitr. Ges. Ew. etc.) is rather paraphrastical and exegetical than simply expressive of the sense of the original, which implies hope as well as purpose.—The preposition before *ways* is not to be omitted as a mere connective, 'teach us his ways' (Ges. Hn. Um.); nor taken in a local sense, 'out of his ways' (Knobel); but either partitively, 'some of his ways' (Vitr.), or as denoting the subject of instruction, 'concerning his ways,' which is the usual explanation.—The substitution of *doctrine* or *instruction* for *law* (J. D. Mich. Hitz. Hendew. De W. Ew.) is contrary to usage, and weakens the expression.

V. 4. He who appeared in the preceding verses as the lawgiver and teacher of the nations, is now represented as an arbiter or umpire, ending their disputes by a pacific intervention, as a necessary consequence of which war ceases, the very knowledge of the art is lost, and its implements applied to other uses. This prediction was not fulfilled in the general peace under Augustus, which was only temporary; nor is it now fulfilled. The event is suspended on a previous condition, viz. the confluence of the nations to the church, which has not yet taken place; a strong inducement to diffuse the gospel, which, in the meantime, is peaceful in its spirit, tendency, and actual effect, wherever and so far as it exerts its influence without obstruction. *And he shall judge* (or arbitrate) *between the nations, and decide for* (or respecting) *many peoples. And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.* To the figure in the last clause Lowth quotes a beautiful parallel in Martial's epigram entitled *Falx ex ense*:

> Pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus:
> Agricolae nunc sum, militis ante fui.

The image here presented is reversed by Joel (3 : 10), and by Virgil and Ovid (Æn. 7 : 635. Georg. 1 : 506. Ov. Fast. 1 : 697).—The question whether אִתִּים means ploughshares (Vulg. Lu. Low.), coulters (Rosen. Hn. Kn.) spades (Dutch Vs.), hoes or mattocks (Ges. Hitz. Ew. Um.), is of no exegetical importance, as the whole idea meant to be expressed is the con-

version of martial weapons into implements of husbandry. *Hook*, in old English, is a crooked knife, such as a *sickle*, which is not however here meant (LXX. Vulg. Lu.), but a knife for pruning vines.—Not *learning war* is something more than not continuing to practise it (Calv.), and signifies their ceasing to know how to practise it. To *judge* is here not to *rule* (Calv. Vitr.) which is too vague, nor to *punish* (Cocc.) which is too specific, but to *arbitrate* or act as umpire (Cler. Ges. etc.), as appears from the effect described, and also from the use of the preposition בֵּין, meaning not merely *among*, with reference to the sphere of jurisdiction, but *between*, with reference to contending parties. The parallel verb does not here mean to *rebuke* (Jun. Eng. Vs.) nor to *convince* of the truth in general (Calv. Cocc. Vitr.) or of the evil of war in particular (Hendew.), but is used as a poetical equivalent to יָצַב, which is used in this sense with the same preposition Ezek. 34 : 17.—On the use of the present tense in rendering this verse (Ges. De W. Ew.) vide supra ad v. 2.

V. 5. From this distant prospect of the calling of the gentiles, the Prophet now reverts to his own times and countrymen, and calls upon them not to be behind the nations in the use of their distinguishing advantages. If even the heathen were one day to be enlightened, surely they who were already in possession of the light ought to make use of it. *O house of Jacob* (family of Israel, the church or chosen people) *come ye* (literally, *go ye*, as in v. 3) *and we will go* (or *let us walk*, including himself in the exhortation) *in the light of Jehovah* (in the path of truth and duty upon which the light of revelation shines). To regard these as the words of the Jews themselves (Targ. 'they of the house of Jacob shall say, etc.), or of the gentiles to the Jews (Jarchi), or to one another (Sanctius), is forced and arbitrary in a high degree. The *light* is mentioned, not in allusion to the illumination of the court of the women at the feast of tabernacles (Deyling. Obs. Sacr. ii. p. 221), but as a common designation of the Scriptures and of Christ himself. (Prov. 6 : 23. Ps. 119 : 105. Isai. 51 : 4. Acts 26 : 23. 2 Cor. 4 : 4.)

V. 6. The exhortation in v. 5 implied that the Jews were not actually walking in God's light, but were alienated from him, a fact which is now explicitly asserted and the reason of it given, viz. illicit intercourse with foreign nations, as evinced by the adoption of their superstitious practices, reliance on their martial and pecuniary aid, and last but worst of all, the worship of their idols. In this verse, the first of these effects is ascribed to intercourse with those eastern countries, which are always represented by the ancients as the cradle of the occult arts and sciences. As if he had said, I thus exhort, O Lord, thy chosen people, *because thou hast forsaken thy people, because they are replenished from the East and* (full of) *soothsayers*

like the Philistines, and with the children of strangers they abound.—The various renderings of כִּי by *therefore* (Eng. Vs.), *verily* (Low.), *surely* (Henders.), *but* (Hendew. Ew.), etc., all arise from misconception or neglect of the connexion, which requires the common meaning *for*, *because* (Sept Vulg. Ges. Hitz. Um. Bar.). Abarbenel supposes these words to be addressed to the ten tribes, 'thou, O house of Jacob, hast forsaken thy people' Judah. Others suppose them to be addressed to Judah, but in this sense, 'thou, O house of Jacob, hast forsaken thy nation,' i. e. thy national honour, religion, and allegiance (Saad. J. D. Mich. Hitz.). This last is a forced construction, and the other is at variance with the context, while both are inconsistent with the usage of the verb, which is constantly used to denote God's alienation from his people and especially his giving them up to their enemies (Judg. 6 : 13. 2 Kings 21 : 14. Jer. 7 : 29. 23 : 33).—*Filled* cannot mean *inspired* as in Micah 3 : 8 (Vitr.), for even there the idea is suggested by the context.—J. D. Michaelis thinks מֵקֶדֶם here synonymous with קָדִים the east wind, 'full of the east wind,' i. e. of delusion (Job. 15 : 2), which is wholly arbitrary. All the ancient versions supply *as* before this word, and two of them explain the phrase to mean *as of old* (Sept. *ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*. Vulg. sicut olim) ; but all modern writers give it the local sense of *east*, applied somewhat indefinitely to the countries east of Palestine, especially those watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. Some read *they are full of the east*, i. e. of its people or its superstitions (Calv. Ges. Ros. Hitz. De W. Hn. Um.) ; others *more than the east* (Lu. Dutch Vs.) ; but the true sense is no doubt *from the east* (Cler. ex oriente. Ewald, vom Morgenlande her), denoting not mere influence or imitation, but an actual influx of diviners from that quarter.—Whether the root of עֹנְנִים be עַיִן an eye (Vitr.), עָנָן a cloud (Ros.), or עָנַן to cover (Ges.), it clearly denotes the practitioners of occult arts. Henderson treats it as a finite verb (they practise magic) ; the English Version supplies *are ;* but the construction which connects it with the verb of the preceding clause, so that he first says *whence* they are filled and then *wherewith*, agrees best with the mention of repletion or abundance both before and after. The Philistines are here mentioned rather by way of comparison than as an actual source of the corruption. That the Jews were familiar with their superstitions may be learned from 1 Sam. 6 : 2. 2 Kings 1 : 2.—The last verb does not mean *they clap their hands* in applause, derision, or joy (Calv. Vitr. Eng. Vs. they please themselves), nor *they strike hands* in agreement or alliance (Ges. Ros. De W. Hg. Hk. Hn. Um.), but *they abound*, as in Syriac, and in 1 Kings 20 : 10 (J. H. Mich. Cler. Eng. Vers. marg. Ewald). The causative sense *multiply* (Lowth) does not suit the parallelism so exactly. The Septuagint and Targum apply the clause to alliances by marriage with the heathen.—By *children of strangers* we are not to understand the fruits, i. e. doctrines and

practices of strangers (Vitr.), nor is it merely an expression of contempt, as Lowth and Gesenius seem to intimate by rendering it *strange* or *spurious brood*. It rather means strangers themselves, not strange gods or their children, i. e. worshippers (J. D. Mich.), but foreigners considered as descendants of a strange stock, and therefore as aliens from the commonwealth of Israel.—The conjectural emendations of the text by reading קסם for קדם (Brent.), בידי for בילדי (Hitz.), and יה for ובשיחה (Houbigant), are wholly unnecessary.—For the form וְנַעֲשָׂתָה, see Ges. Heb. Gr. § 44. 2. 2.

V. 7. The second proof of undue intercourse with heathen nations, which the Prophet mentions, is the influx of foreign money and of foreign troops, with which he represents the land as filled. *And his land* (referring to the singular noun *people* in v. 6) *is filled with silver and gold, and there is no end to his treasures; and his land is filled with horses, and there is no end to his chariots.*—The common interpretation makes this verse descriptive of domestic wealth and luxury. But these would hardly have been placed between the superstitions and the idols, with which Judah had been flooded from abroad. Besides, this interpretation fails to account for gold and silver being here combined with horses and chariots. Hitzig supposes the latter to be mentioned only as articles of luxury; but as such they are never mentioned elsewhere, not even in the case of Absalom and Naaman to which he appeals, both of whom were military chiefs as well as nobles. Even the chariots of the peaceful Solomon were probably designed for martial show. The horses and chariots of the Old Testament are horses and chariots of war. The common riding animals were mules and asses, the latter of which, as contrasted with the horse, are emblematic of peace (Zech. 9:9. Matth. 21:7). But on the supposition that the verse has reference to undue dependence upon foreign powers, the money and the armies of the latter would be naturally named together. Thus understood, this verse affords no proof that the prophecy belongs to the prosperous reign of Uzziah or Jotham, since it merely represents the land as flooded with foreign gold and foreign troops, a description rather applicable to the reign of Ahaz. The form of expression, too, suggests the idea of a recent acquisition, as the strict sense of the verb is not *it is full* (E. V. Ges. Hn.), nor even *it is filled*, but *it was* or *has been filled* (LXX. Vulg. Hg. Ew. Kn.).—There is no need of explaining the words *no end* as expressing an insatiable desire (Calv.), or as the boastful language of the people (Vitr.), since the natural hyperbole employed by the Prophet is one by which no reader can be puzzled or deceived. The intimate connexion of this verse with that before it is disturbed by omitting *and* at the beginning (Ges. Hg. Um.), nor is there any need of rendering it *also* (E. V.), *yea* (Hn.), or *so that* (Hk. Ew.), either here or in the middle of the sentence.

V. 8. The third and greatest evil flowing from this intercourse with foreign nations was idolatry itself, which was usually introduced under the cloak of mere political alliances (see e. g. 2 Kings 16: 10). Here as elsewhere the terms used to describe it are contemptuous in a high degree. *And his land is filled with idols* (properly *nonentities*, 'gods which yet are no gods,' Jer. 2: 11; 'for we know that an idol is nothing in the world,' 1 Cor. 8: 4), *to the work of their hands they bow down, to that which their fingers have made*, one of the great absurdities charged by the Prophets on idolaters, "as if that could be a god to them which was not only a creature but their own creature" (Matthew Henry).—For *idols* the Septuagint has *abominations* (βδελγμάτων), but the true sense of the Hebrew term is that expressed by Clericus, *diis nihili*.—For *their hands, their fingers*, the Hebrew has *his hands, his fingers*, an enallage which does not obscure the sense and is retained in the last clause by Cocceius and Clericus (digiti ipsius). Vitringa has *digiti cujusque*. J. D. Michaelis makes the verb singular (jeder betet). Barnes has *his hands*, but *their fingers*.

V. 9. Here the Prophet passes from the sin to its punishment, or rather simultaneously alludes to both, the verbs in the first clause being naturally applicable as well to voluntary humiliation in sin as to compulsory humiliation in punishment, while the verb in the last clause would suggest of course to a Jewish reader the twofold idea of pardoning and lifting up. They who bowed themselves to idols should be bowed down by the mighty hand of God, instead of being raised up from their wilful self-abasement by the pardon of their sins. The relative futures denote not only succession in time but the relation of cause and effect. *And so* (by this means, for this reason) *the mean man* (not in the modern but the old sense of inferior, low in rank) *is bowed down, and the great man is brought low, and do not thou* (O Lord) *forgive them*. This prayer, for such it is, may be understood as expressing, not so much the Prophet's own desire, as the certainty of the event, arising from the righteousness of God. There is no need therefore of departing from the uniform usage of the future with אַל as a negative imperative, by rendering it *thou dost not* (Ges. Hg.), *wilt not* (Lu. Vitr. Low. Hn.), *canst not* (J. D. Mich. De W. Hk.) or *mayest not forgive* (Um. Kn.). The strict translation is as old as the Vulgate (ne demittas) and as late as Ewald (vergib ihnen nicht).—Whether אִישׁ and אָדָם, as is commonly supposed, denote a difference in rank or estimation, like the Greek *ἀνήρ* and *ἄνθρωπος*, the Latin *vir* and *homo*, and the German *Mann* and *Mensch*, when in antithesis, is a question of no moment, because even if they are synonymous, denoting simply *man and man, this man and that man, one man and another* (Hg. Hk. Kn.), their combination here must be intended to describe men of all sorts, or men in general.—On the relative futures, see Ges. Heb. Gr. § 152. 4. *c*. On the construction with אַל, Nordheimer §§ 996. 1065.

V. 10. Instead of simply predicting that their sinful course should be interrupted by a terrible manifestation of God's presence, the Prophet views him as already come or near at hand, and addressing the people as an individual, or singling out one of their number, exhorts him to take refuge under ground or in the rocks, an advice peculiarly significant in Palestine, a country full of caves, often used, if not originally made, for this very purpose (1 Sam. 13: 6. 14: 11. Judg. 6: 2). *Go into the rock and hide thee in the dust, from before the terror of Jehovah and from the glory of his majesty.* The nouns in the last clause differ, according to their derivation, very much as *sublimity* and *beauty* do in English, and express in combination the idea of sublime beauty or beautiful sublimity. The tone of this address is not sarcastic (Glassius) but terrific.—By the *terror of Jehovah* seems to be intended not the feeling of fear which he inspires (E. V. *for fear of the Lord*) but some terrible manifestation of his presence. The preposition, therefore, should not be taken in the vague sense of *for, on account of* (Jun. Cocc. E. V. Vitr.), but in its proper local sense of *from* (Low. Hn.), *before* (J. D. Mich. Ges. Hk. Ew. Um.), or *from before*.—The force and beauty of the passage are impaired by converting the imperative into a future (Targ.), or the singular imperative into a plural (Sept. Pesh. Hg.).—Lowth, on the authority of the Septuagint, Arabic, and a single manuscript, supplies the words *when he ariseth to strike the earth with terror*, from the last clause of the nineteenth and twenty-first verses.

V. 11. As the Prophet, in the preceding verse, views the terror of Jehovah as approaching, so here he views it as already past, and describes the effect which it has wrought. *The eyes of the loftiness of man* (i. e. his haughty looks) *are cast down, and the height* (or pride) *of men is brought low, and Jehovah alone is exalted in that day*, not only in fact, but in the estimation of his creatures, as the passive form here used may intimate.—*Man* and *men*, the same words that occur in v. 9, are variously rendered here by repeating the same noun (Sept. Pesh. Lu. Calv. Vitr. Hn.) by using two equivalents (Lowth, *men and mortals*, Ewald, *men and people*) or by an antithesis (Vulg. hominis, virorum).—The verb in the first clause agrees in form with the nearest antecedent, or the whole phrase may be regarded as the subject (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 145. 1), as in Ewald's version of it by a triple compound (Hochmuthsaugen).

V. 12. The general threatening of humiliation is now applied specifically to a variety of lofty objects in which the people might be supposed to delight and trust, vs. 12–16. This enumeration is connected with what goes before, by an explanation of the phrase used at the close of the eleventh

verse. I say that day, *for there is a day to Jehovah of Hosts* (i. e. an appointed time for the manifestation of his power) *upon* (or against) *every thing high and lofty, and upon every thing exalted, and it comes* (or shall come) *down.*—The common construction, *for the day of Jehovah is* or *shall be* (Sept. Vulg. Calv. E. V. Vitr. Low. Bar.), does not account for the use of the conjunction or the preposition, the former of which refers to the last words of the verse preceding, and the latter denotes the relation of possession: there is a day to Jehovah, i. e. *he has a day* (Ewald), *has it appointed* (Cocc. Jun. J. D. Mich.), has it in reserve, or less exactly, *holds a day* (Hitzig) or *holds a judgment-day* (Gesenius).—The specific sense of עַל, *against* (Jun. Cler. Vitr. Low. Bar. Hen.), may be considered as included in the wider one of *on.*—The version *every one* (Sept. Jun. E.V.) restricts the phrase too much to persons, which is only a part of the idea conveyed by the expression *every thing* (Lu. Cocc. Vitr. J. D. Mich. Ges. etc.). To refer one clause to persons and the other to things (Calv. Barn.) is wholly arbitrary.—The same objection may be made to the common version of גֵּאֶה by *proud*, instead of its primary and comprehensive sense of *high* (Ewald. Gesen. in Lex.).—The translation of שָׁפֵל as an adjective, implying that the day of Jehovah was against *high and low* (Calv. in Comm. Cocc. J. D. Mich.), is inconsistent with the usage of the word, and not so well suited to the parallel clause, in which lofty things alone are threatened with humiliation.

V. 13. To convey the idea of lofty and imposing objects, the Prophet makes use, not of symbols, but of specimens, selected from among the things of this class most familiar to his readers, beginning with the two noblest species of forest-trees. *And on all the cedars of Lebanon* (or the White Mountain, the chain dividing Palestine from Syria), *and on all the oaks of Bashan* (now called El Bethenyeh, a mountainous district, east of Jordan, famous of old for its pastures and oak-forests).—Cedars and oaks are supposed by some to be here named, as emblems of *great men* in general (Targ. Jerome. Vitr. Low. Ges.), or of the great men of Syria and Israel distinctively (Grotius); but this is not in keeping with the subsequent context, in which some things are mentioned, which cannot be understood as emblems, but only as samples of their several classes. The application of the terms to the oak and cedar wood used in the buildings erected by Uzziah and Jotham, (Knobel) is equally at variance with the context and good taste. That they do not refer to the actual prostration of the forests of Palestine or the neighbouring countries by a tempest (Ros. Ew.), may be inferred from the impossibility of so explaining all the analogous expressions which follow.—On the trees and places mentioned in this verse, see Robinson's Palestine, vol. iii. p. 440, and Appendix, p. 158.

V. 14. The mention of Lebanon and Bashan in v. 13 now leads to that of mountains in general, as lofty objects in themselves, and therefore helping to complete the general conception of high things, which the Prophet threatens with humiliation. *And upon all the high mountains and upon all the elevated hills.*—For reasons given under the preceding verse, this cannot be regarded as a threatening against states and governments (Lowth), or against the mountaineers of Palestine (Oecolampadius, Musculus), or against the fortresses erected by Jotham in the highlands of Judah (Knobel), or against the fastnesses to which they had recourse in times of danger (Barnes), but must be explained as an additional specification of the general statement in v. 12, that *every high thing* should be humbled.

V. 15. To trees and hills he now adds walls and towers, as a third class of objects with which the ideas of loftiness and strength are commonly associated. *And upon every high tower and upon every fenced wall*, literally, *cut off*, i. e. rendered inaccessible by being *fortified*.—Lowth and others suppose these to be named as symbols of military strength, while Knobel supposes an allusion to the fortifications built by Jotham and Uzziah, and Hitzig assumes a transition just at this point from emblematical to literal expressions; all which is more or less at variance with the context.

V. 16. The Prophet now concludes his catalogue of lofty and conspicuous objects by adding, first, as a specific item, maritime vessels of the largest class, and then a general expression, summing up the whole in one descriptive phrase, as things attractive and imposing to the eye. *And upon all ships of Tarshish* (such as were built to navigate the whole length of the Mediterranean sea) *and upon all images* (i. e. visible objects) *of desire*, or rather admiration and delight.—It is a very old opinion that *Tarshish* means the *sea*, and ships of Tarshish sea-faring vessels (Sept. *πλοίον θαλάσσης*. Luther, Schiffe im Meer. Cocceius, naves oceani) as distinguished from mere coast or river craft (Piscator). From the earliest times, however, it has also been explained as the name of a place, either Tarsus in Cilicia (Josephus. Targ. on Chron.) or Cilicia itself (Hartmann), or Carthage (*Καχηδῶν* Sept. alibi), or a port in Ethiopia (Hensler), or Africa in general (אפריקא Targ. on Jer. and Kings), or a port in India (Jerome on Jer. 10: 9. Arabic Vs. I Kings ch. 10) or, which is now the common opinion, *Tartessus*, a Phenician settlement in the south-west of Spain, between the mouths of the Baetis or Guadalquivir, sometimes put for the extreme west (Ps. 72: 10). As the principal maritime trade, with which the Hebrews were acquainted, was to this region, *ships of Tarshish* would suggest the idea of the largest class of vessels, justly included in this catalogue of lofty and imposing objects. To suppose a direct allusion either to commercial

wealth or naval strength (Lowth al.) is inconsistent with the context, although these ideas would of course be suggested by association. Most writers understand the last clause, like the first, as a specific addition to the foregoing catalogue, denoting some particular object or class of objects, such as pictures (E. V. Gill ‘ pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, of angels, saints, etc.’) statues, (J. H. Mich. Döderlein. Ros.), lofty images or obelisks (Ewald), palaces (Targ. Jon.), tapestry (Calv.), ships (Sept. *αν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους*. Henderson ‘all the vessels of delightful appearance’) or their decorated sterns, ‘ pictae carinae’ (Vitr. J. D. Mich. Hg.) or their gay flags and streamers (Gesenius in Thesauro). But this indefinite diversity of explanation, as well as the general form of the expression, makes it probable that this clause, notwithstanding the parallelism, was intended as a general expression for such lofty and imposing objects as had just been enumerated, —‘ cedars, oaks, mountains, hills, towers, walls, ships, and in short, all attractive and majestic objects’ (Vulg. omne quod visu pulchrum est. Ges. ad loc. De W. Hk. Um. Bar.). Even Lowth’s translation, *every lovely work of art*, is, on this hypothesis, too much restricted. The interpretation which has now been given is confirmed by the use of the analogous prosaic phrase כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּה to close and sum up an enumeration of particulars. Knobel, to whom we are indebted for this illustration, cites as examples 2 Chron. 32: 27. 36: 10. Nah. 2: 10.—For an argument in favour of regarding Tarshish as the name of Carthage, see Murray’s Encyclopaedia of Geography, Book I. ch. 1. § 4. According to Abulfeda, the Arabic geographer, Tunis was anciently called *Tarsis*.

V. 17. This verse, by repeating the terms of v. 11, brings us back from details to the general proposition which they were designed to illustrate and enforce, and at the same time has the effect of a strophical arrangement, in which the same burden or chorus recurs at stated intervals. *And* (thus, by this means, or in this way) *shall the loftiness of man be cast down, and the pride of men be brought low, and Jehovah alone be exalted in that day.* Or, retaining the form of the first two verbs, which are not passive but neuter, and exchanging the future for the present, the sentence may be thus translated. *So sinks the loftiness of man and bows the pride of men, and Jehovah alone is exalted in that day.*—For the syntax of the first clause, vide supra ad v. 11. Cf. Ewald’s Heb. Gr. § 567. Gesenius, § 144.

V. 18. To the humiliation of all lofty things the Prophet now adds the entire disappearance of their idols. *And the idols* (as for the idols) *the whole shall pass away.*—The construction *he shall utterly abolish* or *cause to disappear* (Calv. E. V. Bar.) is at variance with the usage of the verb as an intransitive. To make it agree with the plural noun, *the idols shall ut-*

terly pass away (E. V. marg., Low. De W. Hk. Hn.), or the verb itself impersonal, *it is past, gone*, or *all over with the idols* (Aug. Ges. Um.), are unusual and harsh constructions. It is best to take כָּלִיל not as an adverb but a noun meaning *the whole* and agreeing regularly with the verb (Ros. Maur. Hg. Ew.). The omission of the article or suffix (הַכָּלִיל or כְּלִילָם) may be resolved into the poetical usage of employing indefinite for definite expressions (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 2. 4); but Knobel accounts for it still better by suggesting that the full phrase would have been כְּלִיל הָאֱלִילִים (like כְּלִיל הָעִיר Judg. 20: 40), but the second noun is placed absolutely at the beginning of the sentence for the sake of emphasis—'the idols, the whole shall pass away,' instead of 'the whole of the idols shall pass away.'—The brevity of this verse, consisting of a single clause, has been commonly regarded as highly emphatic and, as Hitzig thinks, sarcastic. But Hendewerk supposes what was once the first clause of this verse to have been accidentally transferred to that before it. The eighteenth verse, in his translation, stands as follows —'Jehovah alone is exalted in that day, and the idols are all gone.' This conjecture, though ingenious, is entirely unsupported by external evidence, and certainly not favoured by the analogy of v. 11, where the same three members are combined as in v. 17.

V. 19. This verse differs from the tenth only by substituting a direct prediction for a warning or exhortation, and by adding the design of God's terrible appearance. *And they* (the idolaters, or men indefinitely) *shall enter into the caves of the rocks and into the holes of the earth, from before the terror of Jehovah and the glory of his majesty in his arising* (i. e. when he arises) *to terrify the earth.* The first word rendered *earth* is the same that was translated *dust* in v. 10, but even there it signifies the solid surface rather than the crumbling particles which we call dust. The most exact translation would perhaps be *ground.*—God is said to *arise* when he addresses himself to any thing, especially after a season of apparent inaction.—The transitive meaning of the last verb, though unusual, is here required by the context, and is perhaps the primary and proper one (see Gesen. Thes. s. v.).—The paronomasia in לַעֲרֹץ הָאָרֶץ has been imitated by Calvin, not in his version but his notes (ad terram terrendam), and by Gesenius (wenn er sich *erhebt* und die Erde *bebt*).

V. 20. This is an amplification of v. 18, explaining how the idols were to disappear, viz. by being thrown away in haste, terror, shame, and desperate contempt, by those who had worshipped them and trusted in them, as a means of facilitating their escape from the avenging presence of Jehovah. *In that day shall man cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold* (here named as the most splendid and expensive, in order to make the act of throwing them away still more significant) *which they have made* (an

indefinite construction, equivalent in meaning to *which have been made*) *for him to worship, to the moles and to the bats* (a proverbial expression for contemptuous rejection).—This last clause has by some been connected immediately with what precedes, *to bow down to moles and bats*, i. e. to crouch for concealment in their dark and filthy hiding-places (Luzzatto), or to worship images as blind as moles and bats (Jerome), or to worship moles and bats themselves (Sept. Targ. Vulg. ut adoraret talpas et vespertiliones), thus exchanging one form of idolatry for another still more disgusting (Grotius). But as the context relates not to the moral deterioration of idolaters but to their terror and despair, it is commonly agreed that this clause is to be construed with the verb *shall cast*, and the words immediately preceding to be read as a parenthesis. The idols made for them to worship they shall cast to the moles and bats, not to idolaters still blinder than themselves (Glassius), but to literal moles and bats, or the spots which they frequent, i. e. dark and filthy places (Knobel, in die Rumpelkammer).—The word לחפר, as it stands in all editions and most manuscripts, is the infinitive of חָפַר, *to dig*, preceded by a preposition and followed by a plural noun meaning *holes* (to dig holes, Kimchi) or *rats* (to the digging of rats, Ges. s. v.). But as five manuscripts make these two words one; as several instances of long words erroneously divided occur elsewhere (1 Chron. 34: 6. Jer. 46: 20. Lam. 4: 3); and as the next word is also an unusually long one with the very same particle prefixed; most modern writers are agreed that the true reading is לחפרפרות (Theodotion ἀφιορφερώθ) a plural noun derived, by doubling two radicals, from חָפַר, *to dig*, and here used as the name of an animal, probably the *mole* (Jerome. Hk. Hn. Ew.); for although moles are not found, like bats, in dark recesses, they may be mentioned for that very reason to denote that the idolaters should cast away their idols, not only before setting out, but on the way (Hn. Ew.). More probably, however, moles and bats are put together on account of their defect of sight. On either supposition, it is needless to resort to the rabbinical tradition or the Arabic analogy for other meanings, such as *rats* (Ges. Maur. De W.) or *sparrows* (Hg.) or *nocturnal birds* (Aben Ezra).—The sense of אדם is *man* in a collective sense, not distributively *a man* (E. V. Low. Bar.), the article being prefixed to universal terms, in various languages, where we omit it (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 107. 1).—The phrase *they have made for him* is commonly explained as a sudden enallage or change of number, really meaning *they have made for themselves* (Ges. De W. Hk. Hn.). Others suppose an abrupt transition from a collective to a distributive construction, *which they have made* each one *for himself* (E. V. Ros.). Others refer the plural to the artificers or idol-makers (Hg. Kn.). Others cut the knot by making the verb singular (Um.) or by omitting לו (Low. Bar.), as do one or two

manuscripts. The simplest construction is to take the verb indefinitely, and to make לוֹ mean not *for himself* (Ewald, die man sich machte) but *for him*, referring to *man*, the subject of the sentence. The best translation of this clause is given in an old French version (qu'on lui aura faites).—The same version renders a preceding phrase *the idols made of his silver*, and the same construction is adopted by Umbreit (die Götzen seines Silbers). But the suffix really belongs to the governing noun (Hk.), or rather to the whole complex phrase (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 119. 3), and the expression is perfectly equivalent in meaning to *his silver idols* which is given in some versions (Hn. Ew.).—The use of the present tense in rendering this verse (Ges. Hg. De W. Hk. Um.) does not agree so well with the expression *in that day* as the old and common future form retained by Ewald (vide supra, ad v. 11). —On the proverbial sense of *giving to the bats*, as applied to desolated families and houses, see Roberts's Oriental Illustrations.

V. 21. Continuing the sentence, he declares the end for which they should throw away their idols, namely, to save themselves, casting them off as worthless incumbrances in order the more quickly to take refuge in the rocks. *To go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the fissures of the cliffs* (or crags) *from before the terror of Jehovah, and from the glory of his majesty, in his arising to terrify the earth*, or as Lowth more poetically renders it, *to strike the earth with terror*.—The translation *going, in going, when they go* (Vitr. Ges. Hk. Hn.), as if the acts were simultaneous, rests on a forced construction and leaves out of view the very end for which they are described as throwing away their idols, to express which the infinitive must have its proper meaning (Hg. Bs. Ew. Um. Kn.).—The substitution of *flee* (Hg.) or *creep* (Ges. Hk. De W.) for *go* or *enter* is allowable in paraphrase but not in strict translation.—The English phrases *ragged rocks* (E. V.) and *craggy rocks* (Low. Bs.) depart too much from the form of the original, which is a simple noun, as well as from its etymological import, which is rather height than ruggedness.—The meaning of סְעִיפֵי is not *tops* (Calv. Cocc. E. V.), which is elsewhere forbidden by the context (Judg. 15 : 8, 11), but *fissures* (Sept. σχισμάς, Vulg. cavernas), answering to *clefts*, as *cliffs* to *rocks* in the other clause. The whole phrase is rendered by a compound word in the German versions of Luther (Felsklüfte), De Wette (Bergklüfte), and Hendewerk (Felsblöcke).—The final recurrence of the same *refrain* which closed the eleventh and seventeenth verses, marks the conclusion of the choral or strophical arrangement at this verse, the next beginning a new context.

V. 22. Having predicted that the people would soon lose their confidence in idols, he now shows the folly of transferring that confidence to hu-

man patrons, by a general statement of man's weakness and mortality, explained and amplified in the following chapter. *Cease ye from man* (i. e. cease to trust him or depend upon him) *whose breath is in his nostrils* (i. e. whose life is transient and precarious, with obvious allusion to Gen. 2 : 7), *for wherein is he to be accounted of* (or at what rate is he to be valued)? The interrogation forcibly implies that man's protection cannot be relied upon.—The version *is he valued* (De Wette) seems inadequate, the passive participle having very commonly the force not only of the perfect but the future participle in Latin (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 131. 1). The reference of these general expressions to Egypt (Hk. Kn.) or to any other human power in particular, disturbs the relation of this verse, as a general proposition, to the specific threatenings in the following chapter.—Some of the early Jews maliciously applied this verse to Christ, and their Christian opponents, instead of denying such a reference as foreign from the context and gratuitous, admitted it, but took the phrase *to cease from* in the sense of letting alone or ceasing to molest (as in 2 Chr. 35 : 21), and instead of בַּמֶּה, *in what*, read בָּמָה, *a high place* (Origen. Jerome : quia excelsus reputatus est ipse). This strange and forced construction is retained by some of the earlier interpreters of modern times (Oecolampadius. Lyranus. Forerius. Menochius). Even Luther's version or rather paraphrase (ihr wisset nicht wie hoch er geachtet ist) seems to presuppose it, but may possibly be founded on a misapplication of the words in their natural and proper sense. In the Septuagint this verse is wholly wanting, and Vitringa supposes the translators to have left it out, as being an unwelcome truth to kings and princes; but such a motive must have led to a much more extensive expurgation of unpalatable scriptures. It is found in the other ancient versions and its genuineness has not been disputed.—To *cease from* is to *let alone ;* in what specific sense must be determined by the context (compare 2 Chron. 35 : 21 with Prov. 23 : 4).—On the pleonastic or emphatic form, *cease for yourselves*, see Ges. Heb. Gr. § 131. 3. c.

CHAPTER III.

This chapter continues the threatenings against Judah on account of the prevailing iniquities, with special reference to female pride and luxury.

The Prophet first explains his exhortation at the close of the last chapter, by showing that God was about to take away the leading men of Judah and to let it fall into a state of anarchy, vs. 1–7. He then shows that this was the effect of sin, particularly that of wicked rulers, vs. 8–15. He

then exposes in detail the pride and luxury of the Jewish women, and threatens them not only with the loss of that in which they now delighted, but with widowhood, captivity, and degradation, v. 16—4 : 1.

The first part opens with a general prediction of the loss of what they trusted in, beginning with the necessary means of subsistence, v. 1. We have then an enumeration of the public men who were about to be removed, including civil, military, and religious functionaries, with the practitioners of certain arts, vs. 2, 3. As the effect of this removal, the government falls into incompetent hands, v. 4. This is followed by insubordination and confusion, v. 5. At length, no one is willing to accept public office, the people are wretched, and the commonwealth a ruin, vs. 6, 7.

This ruin is declared to be the consequence of sin, and the people represented as their own destroyers, vs. 8, 9. God's judgments, it is true, are not indiscriminate. The innocent shall not perish with the guilty, but the guilty must suffer, vs. 10, 11. Incompetent and faithless rulers must especially be punished, who instead of being the guardians are the spoilers of the vineyard, instead of protectors the oppressors of the poor, vs. 12–15.

As a principal cause of these prevailing evils, the Prophet now denounces female luxury and threatens it with condign punishment, privation and disgrace, vs. 16, 17. This general denunciation is then amplified at great length, in a detailed enumeration of the ornaments which were about to be taken from them and succeeded by the badges of captivity and mourning, vs. 18–24. The agency to be employed in this retribution is a disastrous war, by which the men are to be swept off and the country left desolate, vs. 25, 26. The extent of this calamity is represented by a lively exhibition of the disproportion between the male survivors and the other sex, suggesting at the same time the forlorn condition of the widows of the slain, chap. 4 : 1.

V. 1. This verse assigns as a reason for the exhortation in the one preceding, that God was about to take away from the people every ground of reliance, natural and moral. Cease ye from man, i. e. cease to trust in any human protection, *for behold* (implying a proximate futurity) *the Lord* (God considered as a sovereign) *Jehovah of Hosts* (as self-existent and eternal, and at the same time as the God of revelation and the God of his people) *is taking away* (or about to take away) *from Jerusalem and from Judah* (not only from the capital but from the whole kingdom) *the stay and the staff* (i. e. all kinds of support, and first of all) *the whole stay of bread and the whole stay of water* (the natural and necessary means of subsistence). The terms are applicable either to a general famine produced by natural causes, or to a scarcity arising from invasion or blockade, such as actually took place when Judah was overrun by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings

25 : 4. Jer. 52 : 6. 38 : 9. Lam. 4 : 4).—Instead of *the whole stay*, prose usage would require *every stay*, the form adopted by Gesenius and the later Germans. But the other construction is sustained by the analogy of *the whole head* and *the whole heart* ch. 1 : 5, and by the impossibility of expressing this idea otherwise without circumlocution, as the addition of another noun excludes the article.—The old version *stay and staff* is an approximation to the form of the original, in which a masculine and feminine form of the same noun are combined, by an idiom common in Arabic and not unknown in Hebrew (Nah. 2 : 13), to denote universality, or rather *all kinds* of the object named. This form of expression is retained in the Greek versions (Sept. *ἰσχύοντα καὶ ἰσχύοσαν*. Aqu. *ἔρεισμα καὶ ἐρεισμόν*. Symm. *στήριγμα καὶ στηριγμόν*), and the Jewish-Spanish (sustentador y sustentadora). Others imitate it merely by combining synonymes alike in form (Calv. vigorem et vim. Vitr. fulcimentum et fulturam. Hitz. Stütze und Stützpunkt. Ew. Stab und Stütze). Others simply give the sense by reading *every stay* (Ges.), *all stays of every kind* (J. D. Mich.), *one stay after another* (Hk.), etc.—The last clause is rejected as a gloss by Gesenius in his commentary, on the ground that its explanation of the first clause as denoting food and drink is inconsistent with the subsequent context which explains it to mean public men. This objection is withdrawn in the second edition of his German version, but renewed by Hitzig and Knobel, with the addition of another, viz. that water is not a stay or staff of life. The last is frivolous and the other groundless, as the last clause is not an explanation of the first, but begins a specification of particulars included in it. The stays of which they were to be deprived were first the stay of food, v. 1, and then the stay of government, vs. 2, 3.

V. 2. Next to the necessary means of subsistence, the Prophet enumerates the great men of the commonwealth, vs. 2, 3. The first clause has reference to military strength, the second to civil and religious dignities. In the second clause there is an inverse parallelism, the first and fourth terms denoting civil officers, the second and third religious ones. The omission of the article before the nouns, though not uncommon in poetry, adds much to the rapidity and life of the description. *Hero and warrior, judge and prophet, and divine and elder.*—That the first is not a generic term including all that follow (the great men, viz. the warriors, etc.) is clear from the parallelism, the terms being arranged in pairs as often elsewhere (ch. 11 : 2. 19 : 3, 6–9. 22 : 12, 13. 42 : 19).—The idea here expressed by גִּבּוֹר is not simply that of personal strength and prowess (Sept. *γίγαντα καὶ ἰσχύοντα*), but the higher one of military eminence or heroism (J. D. Mich. Ges. Hn. etc.).—The literal version of the next phrase, *man of war*, has acquired a different sense in modern English. It may here denote either a warrior of

high rank, as synonymous with גִּבּוֹר (Vitr. militia clarum) or one of ordinary rank, as distinguished from it (Cocc. ducem et militem. Kn. Oberste und Gemeine). Compare 2 Sam. 23: 8.—*Judge* may either be taken in its restricted modern sense (Hk.) or in the wider one of magistrate or ruler.—To avoid the supposed incongruity of coupling the prophet and diviner together, some take נָבִיא in the bad sense of a false or an unfaithful prophet (J. D. Mich. Ges. Hg.); others take קֹסֵם in the good sense of a scribe (Targ.), a prudent man (E. V.), or a sagacious prognosticator or adviser (Sept. Grot. Bar.); while Hendewerk refers both words to the prophet, making the first denote his office as a preacher and the second as a foreteller; all which is arbitrary, contrary to usage, and entirely superfluous. The people are threatened with the loss of all their *stays*, good or bad, true or false. *Vera et falsa a Judaeis pariter auferentur* (Jerome).—The last word in the verse is not to be taken in its primary and proper sense of *old man* (Vulg. senem), much less in the factitious one of *sage* (Low.) or *wise man* (Bs.), since all the foregoing terms are *titles* denoting rank and office, but in its secondary sense of *elder* (Sept. *πρεσβύτερον*. Lu. Aeltesten) or hereditary chief, and as such, a magistrate under the patriarchal system. It is here equivalent or parallel to *judge*, the one term denoting the functions of the office, the other the right by which it was held.—The change of the singulars in this verse for plurals (Luth. J. D. Mich.), though it does not affect the sense, weakens its expression.

V. 3. To persons of official rank and influence, the Prophet adds, in order to complete his catalogue, practitioners of those arts upon which the people set most value. As the prophet and diviner stand together in v. 2, so mechanical and magical arts are put together here. The first clause simply finishes the list of public functionaries which had been begun in the preceding verse. *The chief of fifty, and the favourite, and the counsellor, and the skilful artificer, and the expert enchanter.*—The first title is derived from the decimal arrangement of the people in the wilderness for judicial purposes (Exod. 18: 25, 26), but is afterwards used only as a military title. Hitzig and Knobel understand it here as denoting an officer of low rank, in opposition to *warrior* in the verse preceding.—The next phrase literally signifies *lifted up in countenance* (Vulg. honorabilem vultu), which is commonly understood as a description of an eminent or honourable person. But as the same words are employed to signify respect of persons or judicial partiality, the phrase may here denote one highly favoured by a sovereign, a royal favourite (2 Kings 5: 1. Lev. 9: 15. Deut. 10: 17. Job 13: 10. Mal. 2: 9), or respected, reverenced by the people (Lam. 4: 16. Deut. 18: 50). Luther translates it as a plural or collective by *respectable people* (ehrliche Leute).—The *counsellor* here meant is not a private or profes-

sional adviser, but a public counsellor or minister of state.—חָכָם is here used in what seems to be its primary sense of *skilful*, with respect to art (compare σοφός in Passow's Greek Lexicon).—The explanation of חֲרָשִׁים as denoting occult arts (Cler. Ges. Hg. Hn. Ewald, *Hexenmeister*), though countenanced by Chaldee and Syriac analogies, has no Hebrew usage to support it, and the expression of the same idea in the other clause is rather a reason for applying this to the mechanical arts, as is done by the Septuagint (σοφὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα), Luther (weise Werkleute), Vitringa (mechanicarum artium peritum), Knobel, and others. Umbreit seems to apply the term specially to the manufacture of idols, as J. D. Michaelis does to that of arms (gute Waffenschmiede). Gesenius and Hitzig may have been led to reject this old interpretation by a desire to evade the remarkable coincidence between this prophecy and the fact recorded in 2 Kings 24: 14, 16.—The last word in the verse is taken strictly, as denoting a 'whisper' or the act of whispering, by Aquila (συνετὸν ψιθυρισμῷ), Cocceius (prudentem susurrorum), and Hitzig (kundigen des Geflüsters); but in its secondary sense of incantation, with allusion to the mutterings and whisperings which formed a part of magical ceremonies, by Symmachus (ὁμιλίᾳ μυστικῇ), the Vulgate (eloquii mystici), and most modern writers. According to J. D. Michaelis and Gesenius, it specially denotes the charming of serpents. The sense of *eloquent orator* (Lu. Calv. Jun. E. V. Vitr. Low.) seems altogether arbitrary. The analogous phrase נְבוֹן דָּבָר (1 Sam. 16: 18), to which Rosenmüller refers, is itself of doubtful import and proves nothing.

V. 4. The natural consequence of the removal of the leading men must be the rise of incompetent successors, persons without capacity, experience, or principle, a change which is here ascribed to God's retributive justice. *And I will give children to be their rulers, and childish things shall govern them.* Some apply this, in a strict sense, to the weak and wicked reign of Ahaz (Ew. Hg. Hk. Kn.), others in a wider sense to the series of weak kings after Isaiah (Gro. Low.). But there is no need of restricting it to kings at all, as שַׂר denotes a ruler in general, and in v. 3 is applied to rulers of inferior rank. The most probable opinion is that the incompetent rulers are called boys or children not in respect to age but character, 'non ratione aetatis sed imprudentiae et ineptitudinis' (J. H. Mich.). Calvin, Cocceius, Lowth, and Gesenius take תַּעֲלוּלִים as a simple equivalent to נְעָרִים, and J. D. Michaelis translates it *sucklings*. Hitzig makes it qualify the verb instead of agreeing with it as its subject. 'They (the children) shall rule over them with arbitrary cruelty.' Hendewerk and Knobel give the same meaning to the noun, but retain the usual construction. 'And tyranny shall rule over them.' Most probably, however, תַּעֲלוּלִים is an abstract term used for the concrete, *puerilities* or *childishnesses* for *childish persons*, or still more con-

temptuously, *childish things* (Lu. Ew. Um.). The Targum has *weaklings* (חל שרא), the Septuagint ἐμπαίκται, the Vulgate *effoeminati*, Junius and Tremellius *facinorosi*.

V. 5. As the preceding verse describes bad government, so this describes anarchy, the suspension of all government, and a consequent disorder in the relations of society, betraying itself in mutual violence, and in the disregard of natural and artificial claims to deference. *And the people shall act tyrannically, man against man, and man against his fellow. They shall be insolent, the youth to the old man, and the mean man to the noble.* The passive construction, *the people shall be oppressed* (E. V. Low. Bs.), does not agree so well with the usage of the preposition following as the reflexive one now commonly adopted. The insertion of another verb (*man* striving *against man*, Bar.) is wholly unnecessary. The second verb is commonly explained to mean the insolence or arrogance of upstarts to their betters (Calv. insolescet. Fr. Vs. se portera arrogamment) ; but the best lexicographers give it the stronger sense of acting ferociously (Cocc. Ges. Winer. Fürst), or, to combine both ideas, with ferocious insolence. (Hitzig, stürmen. Gesenius, losstürmen. Hendewerk, wüthet. Henderson, outrage.)— The passive participles in the last clause properly signify *despised* and *honoured*, i. e. once despised, once honoured (Cler. qui antea spretus erat) ; or, according to the common idiomatic usage of passive participles, *to be despised, to be honoured*, not so much with reference to moral character as to rank and position in society. The restriction of the first clause to the rigorous exaction of debts (Clericus) is inconsistent with the context and the parallelism. On contempt of old age, as a sign of barbarism, see Lam. 4 : 16, Deut. 28 : 50. Eight manuscripts and fifteen editions read נְגַשׁ for נָגַשׂ, but all the ancient versions presuppose the common reading.

V. 6. Having predicted the removal of those qualified to govern, the rise of incompetent successors, and a consequent insubordination and confusion, the Prophet now describes this last as having reached such a height that no one is willing to hold office, or, as Matthew Henry says, "the government goes a begging." This verse, notwithstanding its length, seems to contain only the protasis or conditional clause of the sentence, in which the commonwealth is represented as a ruin, and the task of managing it pressed upon one living in retirement, on the ground that he still possesses decent raiment, a lively picture both of general anarchy and general wretchedness. *When a man shall take hold of his brother* (i. e. one man of another) *in his father's house* (at home in a private station, saying) *thou hast raiment, a ruler shalt thou be to us, and this ruin* (shall be) *under thy hand* (i. e. under thy power, control, and management). It is equally consistent with the syntax

and the usage of the words to understand the man as addressing his brother, in the proper sense, or in that of a near kinsman, of or belonging to the house of his (the speaker's) father, i. e. one of the same family (Vulg. domesticum patris sui. J. H. Mich. cognatum. Hendew. Einen von den seinen). But the offer would then seem to be simply that of headship or chieftainship over a family or house, whereas a wider meaning is required by the connexion. For *raiment* Henderson reads *an abundant wardrobe*, and explains the phrase as meaning *thou art rich*, because clothing forms a large part of oriental wealth, and the same explanation is given in substance by Clericus, Hendewerk, Barnes, and Umbreit. But Vitringa, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Knobel and others, understand the words more probably as meaning 'thou hast still a garment,' whereas we have none, implying general distress as well as anarchy. Vitringa and Lowth make לָבָה a verb, as it is elsewhere, meaning *go* or *come*, as a particle of exhortation (vide supra, ch. 2: 3), and connect שִׂמְלָה with what precedes, but in different ways. Vitringa's construction is that a man shall lay hold of his brother, *in whose paternal house there is raiment*, saying *come on* (agedum), etc. Lowth's that a man shall lay hold of his brother *by the garment*, saying *come*, etc. All other writers seem to be agreed that לָבָה is an unusual mode of writing לְךָ (see Ges. Heb. Gr. § 35).—The כִּי at the beginning has been variously rendered *for*, *because* (Sept. Targ. Vulg. Pesh.), *therefore* (Lowth), *if* (Junius), *then if* (Ros.), *then* (Lu. Ges. Bs. Kn.). Henderson uses the periphrasis *should any one*, etc. Hitzig and Ewald agree with Calvin, Vitringa, Clericus, and the English Bible in rendering it *when*, and regarding the two verses as one continuous sentence.—The word *saying* in the first clause is inserted by two manuscripts, and supplied by most versions ancient and modern.—Thirty-five manuscripts and two editions read יָדֶיךָ in the plural.

V. 7. This verse contains the reflexal of the invitation given in the one preceding. *In that day he shall lift up* (his voice in reply) *saying* I will *not be a healer, and in my house there is no bread, and there is no clothing; ye shall not make me a ruler of the people.* In that day may either mean at once, without deliberation, or continue the narrative without special emphasis. Some supply *hand* after *lift up*, as a gesture of swearing, or the name of God as in the third commandment, and understand the phrase to mean that *he shall swear* (Saad. Lu. Calv. E. V., J. D. Mich.). But the great majority of writers supply *voice*, some in the specific sense of *answering* (Sept. Vulg. Targ. Pesh. Cler.) or in the simple sense of *uttering* (Cocc. Ges. De W. Ew.), but others with more probability in that of speaking with a loud voice (Vitr. Ros.), or distinctly and with emphasis, *he shall protest* (Hn.) or *openly declare* (Low.). The Vulgate, Luther, and Ge-

senius have *I am not a healer*, but if that were the sense the verb would probably be suppressed. The meaning of the words seems to be either *I cannot*, as a confession of unfitness (Targ. Ros. De W. Hk. Um.), or *I will not*, as an expression of invincible aversion (Calv. Cocc. Cler. E. V. Low. Hn. Kn.).—The Septuagint and Clericus take חֹבֵשׁ in the sense *of prince* or *prefect*. Cocceius translates it literally *binding*, Ewald *binder*. Saadias makes it mean one who binds his head with a diadem; Montanus an executioner, like the Latin *lictor*. The true sense of *healer* is given by the Vulgate (medicus), Calvin (curator), Luther (Artzt), and most of the later versions.—There is no need of reading *for in my house* (Calv. Cler. Hn. Ew. Kn.), as the words do not directly give a reason for refusing, but simply deny the fact alleged in the request. Clericus, Lowth, and Henderson carry out their interpretation of the previous verse by supposing the excuse here given to be that he was not rich enough to clothe and feast the people as oriental chiefs are expected to do. But the whole connexion seems to show that it is a profession of great poverty, which, if true, shows more clearly the condition of the people, and if false, the general aversion to office. The last clause does not simply mean *do not make me*, but *you must not*, or *you shall not make me* a ruler. Gesenius and all the later Germans except Ewald substitute the descriptive present for the future in this verse.

V. 8. The Prophet here explains his use of the word *ruin* in reference to the commonwealth of Israel, by declaring that it had in fact destroyed itself by the offence which its iniquities had given to the holiness of God, here compared to the sensitiveness of the human eye. Do not wonder at its being called a ruin, *for Jerusalem totters and Judah falls* (or Jerusalem is tottering and Judah falling), because their *tongue and their doings* (words and deeds being put for the whole conduct) *are against Jehovah* (strictly *to* or *towards*, but in this connexion necessarily implying opposition and hostility), *to resist* (i. e. so as to resist, implying both the purpose and effect *his holy eyes* (and thereby to offend them). The Peshito seems to take these as the words of the man refusing to govern; but they are really those of the Prophet explaining his refusal or rather one of the expressions used in making the offer, as כָּשְׁלָה clearly involves an allusion to מַכְשֵׁלָה one of its derivatives. The כִּי is therefore not to be taken in the sense of *yea* (Um.), or *surely* (Calv.), but in its proper sense of *for*, *because* (Sept. Vulg. etc.). Here as in ch. 1 : 16, מַעֲלֵלִים is variously rendered *adinventiones* (Vulg.), *studia* (Calv.), *conata* (Mont.), but the only meaning justified by etymology is that of *actions*. Cocceius, who refers the whole prophecy to the times of the New Testament, understands by their resisting God's holy eyes the opposition of the Jews to the Son of God when personally present. *Totter* and *fall* are supposed by some to be in antithesis, contrasting the calamities

of Jerusalem with the worse calamities of Judah (Knobel), or the partial downfall of the kingdom under Ahaz, with its total downfal under Zedekiah (Vitringa); but they are more probably poetical equivalents, asserting the same fact, that Jerusalem and Judah, though peculiarly the Lord's, were nevertheless to fall and be destroyed for their iniquities.—The present form is adopted here, not only by the modern writers, but by the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther.—The emendation of the text by changing נֶגֶד to נֶגֶן (Low.) or עֵגֶל (J. D. Mich.), is needless and without authority.—For the orthography of נֶגֶד, see Ewald's Heb. Gr. § 30.

V. 9. As they make no secret of their depravity, and as sin and suffering are inseparably connected, they must bear the blame of their own destruction. *The expression of their countenances testifies against them, and their sin, like Sodom, they disclose, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul, for they have done evil to themselves.*—The first clause is applied to *respect of persons* or judicial partiality, by the Targum (בדריגא), Clericus (habita hominum ratio), Hitzig (ihr Ansehn der Person), and Gesenius in his Thesaurus. This construction is favoured by the usage of the phrase הִכִּיר פָּנִים (Deut. 1: 17. 16: 19. Prov. 24: 23. 28: 21); but the context seems to show that the Prophet has reference to general character and not to a specific sin, while the parallel expressions in this verse make it almost certain that the phrase relates to the expression of the countenance. Some explain it accordingly of a particular expression, such as shame (Sept.), impudence (Vulg.), obduracy (Jun.), steadfastness (Lowth), confusion (Ges.), insensibility (Ew.). But the various and even contradictory senses thus put upon the word may serve to show that it is more correctly understood, as denoting the expression of the countenance generally, by Calvin (probatio), Cocceius (adspectus), Gussetius (quod dant cognoscendum), the English Version (show), De Wette (Ausdruck), and other recent writers. The sense is not that their looks betray them, but that they make no effort at concealment, as appears from the reference to Sodom. Quod unum habebant in peccatis bonum perdunt, peccandi verecundiam (Seneca).—The expression of the same idea first in a positive and then in a negative form is not uncommon in Scripture, and is a natural if not an English idiom. Madame d'Arblay, in her Memoirs of Dr. Burney, speaks of Omiah, the Tahitian brought home by Captain Cook, as "uttering first affirmatively and then negatively all the little sentences that he attempted to pronounce." For examples involving this same verb כָּחַד, see Josh. 7: 19. 1 Sam. 3: 17, 18. The explanation of גְּמוּלָה as meaning *recompense, reward* (Vulg. Cler. E. V. Um.), is rejected by most of the modern writers, who make it correspond very nearly to the English *treat*, in the sense of doing either good or evil. 'They have treated themselves ill, or done evil to themselves' (Cocc.

sibimet ipsis male faciunt. Ewald: sie thaten sich böses). Hengstenberg maintains (Comm. on Psalm 7: 5) that the verb means properly to *do good*, and is used in a bad sense only by a kind of irony. The phrase *to their soul* may be understood strictly (Calv. E. V. Hg. De W.) or as meaning *to their life* (Cler. Ges.); but the singular form of the noun seems to imply that it is used as a periphrasis for the reflexive pronoun *to themselves*. David Kimchi says that his father derived הַכְּרֵיהֶם from הָכַר to be heard, making the ה radical; but the derivation from נָכַר is now universally adopted.

V. 10. The righteous are encouraged by the assurance that the judgments of God shall not be indiscriminate. *Say ye of the righteous that it shall be well, for the fruits of their doings they shall eat.* The object of address seems to be not the prophets or ministers of God, but the people at large or men indefinitely. The concise and elliptical first clause may be variously construed—'Say, it is right (or righteous) that (they should eat) good, that they should eat the fruit of their doings.'—'Say, it is right (or God is righteous), for it is good that they should eat,' etc.—'Say (what is) right,' i. e. pronounce just judgment. The verb is made to govern צַדִּיק directly by Vitringa (justum praedicate beatum), Lowth (pronounce ye a blessing on the righteous), Gesenius (preiset den Gerechten). The preposition *to* is supplied by the Targum, Peshito, Vulgate (dicite justo), English Version, Barnes, and Henderson. The construction most agreeable to usage is that given by Luther, J. D. Michaelis, De Wette, Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel—'Say ye of the righteous (or concerning him) that,' etc. One manuscript reads יֹאכַל in the singular, but the plural form agrees with צַדִּיק as a collective.

V. 11. This is the converse of the foregoing proposition, a threatening corresponding to the promise. *Woe unto the wicked*, (it shall be) *ill* (with him), *for the thing done by his hands shall be done to him.*—Calvin and Ewald separate לְרָשָׁע from אוֹי and connect it with רַע, 'woe (or alas)! to the wicked it is (or shall be) ill,' a construction favoured by the Masoretic accents. Kimchi makes רַע agree with רָשָׁע in the sense of an *evil wicked* man, i. e. one who is wicked both towards God and man. (See Gill ad loc.) This interpretation is adopted by Luther, Cocceius, Vitringa, Clericus, and J. H. Michaelis. De Wette, Hendewerk, and Knobel give the same construction, but take רַע in the sense of wretched, 'woe to the wicked, the unhappy.' But רַע seems evidently parallel to טוֹב in v. 10, and cannot therefore be a mere epithet. Umbreit follows the Vulgate, Clericus, etc., in giving to גְּמוּל the sense of *recompense*. Luther and Henderson explain it to mean merit or desert; Calvin, Lowth, and Gesenius, more correctly *work*.

V. 12. The Prophet now recurs to the evil of unworthy and incapable rulers, and expresses, by an exclamation, wonder and concern at the result. *My people! their oppressors are childish and women rule over them. My people! thy leaders are seducers, and the way of thy paths* (the way where thy path lies) *they swallow up* (cause to disappear, destroy).—עַמִּי is usually construed in the first clause as an absolute nominative; but by making it (as Umbreit does) an exclamation, the parallelism becomes more exact.—Gesenius and Hitzig explain נֹגְשָׂיו as a pluralis majestaticus referring to Ahaz, which is needless and arbitrary. מְתַעֲלֶיךָ is in the singular because it is used adjectively, the predicate being often in the singular when the subject is plural. (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 144. 6. *c.*) Instead of *thy guides* Luther read s*thy comforters;* others, *those who call thee happy*, which is one of the meanings of the Hebrew word, and was perhaps designed to be suggested here, but not directly as the primary idea. The paronomasia introduced into the last clause by Cocceius (qui ducunt te seducunt te), the Dutch Version (die u leyden verleyden u), and Gesenius (deine Führer verführen dich), is not found in the original.

V. 13. Though human governments might be overthrown, God still remained a sovereign and a judge, and is here represented as appearing, coming forward, or assuming his position, not only as a judge but as an advocate, or rather an accuser, in both which characters he acts at once, implying that he who brings this charge against his people has at the same time power to condemn. *Jehovah standeth up to plead, and is standing to judge the nations.* The first verb properly denotes a reflexive act, viz. that of placing or presenting himself. The participle is used to represent the scene as actually passing. The meaning of רִיב is to plead or conduct a cause for another or one's self.—Some understand the last clause to mean that the judge is still standing, that he has not yet taken his place upon the judgment-seat. According to Clericus, it represents the case as so clear that the judge decides it standing, without sitting down to hear argument or evidence. But these are needless and unnatural refinements.—Vitringa makes רִיב and דִּין synonymous, which is contrary to usage.—*Nations* here as often elsewhere means the tribes of Israel. See Gen. 49: 10. Deut. 32: 8. 33: 3, 19. 1 Kings 22: 28. Mich. 1: 2. There is no need therefore of reading עַמּוֹ for עַמִּים, as Lowth does.

V. 14. This verse describes the parties more distinctly and begins the accusation. *Jehovah will enter into judgment* (engage in litigation, both as a party and a judge) *with the elders of his people* (the heads of houses, families and tribes) *and the chiefs therof* (the hereditary chiefs of Israel, here and elsewhere treated as responsible representatives of the people).

And ye (even ye) *have consumed the vineyard* (of Jehovah, his church or chosen people), *the spoil of the poor* (that which is taken from him by violence) *is in your houses.*—Hendewerk regards the last clause as the language of the Prophet, giving a reason why God would enter into judgment with them; but it is commonly regarded as the commencement of the judge's own address, which is continued through the following verse.—The particle with which the second clause begins is not equivalent to *for* (Vulg. Lu.) or *but* (Cocc.), but connects what follows with an antecedent thought not expressed. It may here be rendered *even, and so*, or *so then* (Ges.). Lowth has *as for you*, and the pronoun is certainly emphatic, *you* from whom it could least have been expected, *you* who ought to have prevented it.—Henderson thinks that *vineyard* is here used collectively for *vineyards*, and that literal spoliation of the poor is the particular offence denounced, or one here chosen to represent the rest. But the common opinion is more probable, viz. that the Prophet here uses the same metaphor which forms the basis of his parable in ch. 5.—The proper meaning of העני is the afflicted from whatever cause; but it is commonly applied to the poor. Ewald translates rigidly *the sufferer's spoil* (des Dulders Raub).

V. 15. The Lord's address to the elders of Israel is continued in a tone of indignant expostulation. *What mean ye* (literally *what* is *to you*, equivalent in English to what have you, i. e. what right, what reason, what motive, what advantage) *that ye crush my people* (a common figure for severe oppression, Job 5: 4. Prov. 22: 22) *and grind the faces of the poor* (upon the ground, by trampling on their bodies, another strong figure for contemptuous and oppressive violence), *saith the Lord Jehovah of Hosts* (which is added to remind the accused of the sovereign authority, omniscience, and omnipotence of Him by whom the charge is brought against them).—The first verb does not mean merely to weaken (Cocc.), bruise (Calv.), or break (Vitr.), but to break in pieces, to break utterly, to *crush* (Lowth).—By the *faces* of the poor some understand their *persons* or the poor themselves, and by *grinding* them, reducing, attenuating, by exaction and oppression (Ges. Hg. Hk. Hn.). Others refer the phrase to literal injuries of the face by blows or wounds (Ew. Um.). But the simplest and most natural interpretation is that which applies it to the act of grinding the face upon the ground by trampling on the body, thus giving both the noun and verb their proper meaning, and making the parallelism more exact.—The phrase at the beginning of the verse cannot constitute an independent clause, *what mean ye?* (Barnes) but merely serves to introduce the question.

Vs. 16, 17. The Prophet here resumes the thread which had been dropped or broken at the close of v. 12, and recurs to the undue predomi-

nance of female influence, but particularly to the prevalent excess of female luxury, not only as sinful in itself, but as a chief cause of the violence and social disorder previously mentioned, and therefore to be punished by disease, widowhood, and shameful exposure. These two verses, like the sixth and seventh, form one continued sentence, the *and* at the beginning of v. 17 introducing the apodosis, for which reason, and also on account of its relation to *because* in v. 16, its full force cannot be expressed by a literal translation. *And Jehovah said* (in addition to what goes before, as if beginning a new section of the prophecy), *because the daughters of Zion* (the women of Jerusalem, with special reference to those connected with the leading men) *are lofty* (in their mien and carriage) *and walk with outstretched neck* (literally, *stretched of neck*, so as to seem taller), *and gazing* (ogling, leering, looking wantonly) *with their eyes, and with a tripping walk they walk, and with their feet they make a tinkling* (i. e. with the metallic rings or bands worn around the ankles), *therefore the Lord will make bald the crown of the daughters of Zion, and their nakedness Jehovah will uncover* (i. e. he will reduce them to a state the very opposite of their present pride and finery).—Jerome speaks of some who understood the *daughters of Zion* here to mean the souls of men. Eichhorn takes it in the geographical sense of smaller towns dependent on Jerusalem (Jos. 15: 45, 47. 2 Chron. 18: 18). But the obvious meaning is preferred by almost all interpreters.—They are described as stretching out the neck, not by bending forwards, nor by tossing the head backwards (Hn.) but by holding it high (Sept. *ὑψηλῷ τραχήλῳ*), so that the phrase corresponds to *lofty* in the clause preceding.—Above forty editions and eight manuscripts read מְשַׁקְּרוֹת, *deceiving*, i. e. by a false expression of the eyes (Cocc. mentientes oculis), or by disguising them with paint (Lowth), in allusion to the very ancient fashion (2 Kings 9: 30) oculos circumducto nigrore fucare (Cyprian de Hab. Virg.). This last sense may be put upon the common reading by deriving it from שָׁקַר i. q. Chald. סְקַר to stain or dye, which may be the ground of Luther's version, *with painted faces*. It is commonly agreed, however, that it comes from the same verb in the sense of looking, looking around, with the accessory idea here suggested by the context of immodest, wanton looks. This idea is expressed by the Septuagint (*ἐν νεύμασιν ὀφθαλμῶν*), the Vulgate (vagantes oculis), Gesenius (frech die Augen werfend), Ewald (schielender Augen), and Henderson (ogling eyes.)—The masculine suffix in רַגְלֵיהֶם is regarded by Henderson and Knobel as containing an allusion to the unfeminine conduct of these women; but the manner here described is rather childish than masculine, and this form is probably used as the primary one and originally common to both genders. (See Ges. Heb. Gr. § 119. 1).—The baldness mentioned in the last clause is variously explained as an allusion to the shaving of the heads of prisoners or captives (Knobel), or as a sign of mourning

(Rosenmüller) or as the effect of disease (Ges. Ew. etc.), and particularly of the disease which bears a name (Lev. 13 : 2) derived from the verb here used (Jun. Cocc. E. V.). Neither of these ideas is expressed, though all may be implied, in the terms of the original. For the construction of הָלוֹךְ וְטָפוֹף, see Gesen. Heb. Gr. § 126. 3. For that of נְטוּרוֹת גָּרוֹן, vide supra, ch. 1 : 4.

V. 18. Although the prediction in v. 17 implies the loss of all ornaments whatever, we have now a minute specification of the things to be taken away. This specification had a double use ; it made the judgment threatened more explicit and significant to those whom it concerned, while to others it gave some idea of the length to which extravagance in dress was carried. There is no need (as Ewald well observes) of supposing that all these articles were ever worn at once, or that the passage was designed to be descriptive of a complete dress. It is rather an enumeration of detached particulars which might or might not be combined in any individual case. As in other cases where a variety of detached particulars are enumerated simply by their names, it is now very difficult to identify some of them. This is the less to be regretted, as the main design of the enumeration was to show the prevalent extravagance in dress, an effect not wholly dependent on an exact interpretation of the several items. The interest of the passage, in its details, is not exegetical but archaeological, in which light it has been separately and elaborately discussed by learned writers, especially by Schroeder in his Commentarius philologico-criticus de vestitu mulierum Hebraearum, ad Jesai. 3 : v. 16–24, cum praefatione Alberti Schultens, Lugd. Bat. 1745. Of later date, but less authority, is Hartmann's Hebräerinn am Putztische und als Braut. Nothing more will be here attempted than to give what is now most commonly regarded as the true meaning of the terms, with a few of the more important variations in the doubtful cases.—*In that day* (the time appointed for the judgments just denounced) *the Lord will take away* (literally, cause to depart, from the daughters of Zion) *the bravery* (in the old English sense of finery) *of the ankle-bands* (the noun from which the last verb in v. 16 is derived) *and the cauls* (or caps of net-work) *and the crescents* (or little moons, metallic ornaments of that shape.)—Schroeder explains שְׁבִיסִים to mean *little suns*, corresponding to the *little moons* which follow, and derives the word as a diminutive from שֶׁמֶשׁ, with a permutation of one labial for another. This explanation is adopted by Winer, Ewald and Knobel. According to Henderson, the word means *tasselled tresses*, i. e. locks of hair braided and hanging to the feet.

V. 19. *The pendants* (literally, drops, i. e. ear-rings) *and the bracelets* (for the arm, or according to Ewald, collars for the neck, Halsbände) *and the*

veils (the word here used denoting the peculiar oriental veil, composed of two pieces hooked together below the eyes, one of which pieces is thrown back over the head, while the other hides the face). The first word in the verse is rendered by the English Version, *chains*, and in the margin, *sweet-balls*, but more correctly by the Septuagint, *κάθεμα* or pendant.

V. 20. *The caps* (or other ornamental head-dresses) and *the ankle-chains* (connecting the ankle-bands, so as to regulate the length of the step) *and the girdles, and the houses* (i. e. places or receptacles) *of breath*, (meaning probably the perfume-boxes or smelling-bottles worn by the oriental women at their girdles) *and the amulets* (the same word used above in v. 3, in the sense of *incantations*, but which seems like the Latin *fascinum* to have also signified the antidote). The first word of this verse is now commonly explained to mean *turbans*, but as these are distinctly mentioned afterwards, this term may denote an ornamental cap, or perhaps a diadem or circlet of gold or silver. (Ewald, Kronen. Eng. Vs. bonnets.) The next word is explained to mean *bracelets* by the Septuagint (*ψέλλια*) and Ewald (*Armspangen*), but by the English Version more correctly, though perhaps too vaguely, *ornaments of the leg*. For *girdles, smelling bottles, and amulets*, the English Version has *head-bands, tablets* (but in the margin, *houses of the soul*), *and ear-rings*, perhaps on account of the superstitious use which was sometimes made of these (Gen. 35 : 4).

V. 21. *The rings*, strictly signet-rings, but here put for finger-rings or rings in general, *and the nose-jewels*, a common and very ancient ornament in eastern countries, so that the version, *jewels of the face*, is unnecessary, as well as inconsistent with the derivation from נָזַם, to perforate.

V. 22. *The holiday-dresses, and the mantles and the robes and the purses.* The first word is from חָלַץ to pull off, and is almost universally explained to mean clothes that are taken off and laid aside, i. e. the best suit, holiday or gala dresses, although this general expression seems misplaced in an enumeration of minute details. The English version, *changeable suits of apparel*, though ambiguous, seems intended to express the same idea. The next two words, according to their etymology, denote wide and flowing upper garments. The English version of the last word, *crisping-pins*, supposes it to relate to the dressing of the hair. The same idea seems to be expressed by Calvin (acus) and Cocceius (acus discriminales.) The word is now commonly explained, from the Arabic analogy, to signify bags or purses probably of metal.

V. 23. *The mirrors and the tunics* (inner garments made of linen), *and the turbans* (the common oriental head-dress, from צָנַף to wrap) *and the*

veils.—The first word is explained to mean their thin transparent dresses, by the Septuagint (*διαφανῆ λαχωνικά*), Kimchi, Schroeder, Rosenmüller and Ewald (der feinen Zeuge); but most writers understand it to denote the small metallic mirrors carried about by oriental women. Instead of *turbans* (Eng. Vs. hoods) Henderson supposes צְנִיפוֹת to denote *ribands* used for binding the hair or fastening the tiara. The same writer explains the *veil* here spoken of to be the large veil covering all the other garments, and therein differing from the small veil mentioned in v. 19. The same explanation is given by Knobel (Ueberwürfe); but other writers make an opposite distinction.

V. 24. The threatening is still continued, but with a change of form, the things to be taken away being now contrasted with those which should succeed them. *And it shall be* or *happen* (equivalent in force to *then*, after all this) that *instead of perfume* (aromatic odour or the spices which afford it) *there shall be stench, and instead of a girdle a rope, and instead of braided work baldness* (or loss of hair by disease or shaving, as a sign of captivity or mourning), *and instead of a full robe a girding of sackcloth, burning instead of beauty*. The inversion of the terms in this last clause, and its brevity, add greatly to the strength of the expression.—Several of the ancient versions render מַק by *dust* (Sept. Arab. Syr.), but it strictly denotes dissolution, putrefaction, and is here used as the opposite of בֹּשֶׁם, viz. stench, not specifically that of corpses, wounds, or the disease supposed to be referred to in v. 17 (Ros. Ges. Hg. Hk. Ew.), but stench in general, or perhaps with particular allusion to the squalor of captivity or mourning.—נִקְפָּה is explained to mean a rent, rent garment, rag or rags, as signs of poverty or grief, by Calvin (laceratio), Cocceius (lacerum), Lowth (rags), and Knobel (ein Fetzen). But the meaning, *cord* or *rope*, given in the Septuagint (*σχοινίῳ ζώσῃ*) and Vulgate (pro zona funiculus), is adopted by Clericus (funis), Gesenius (einen Strick), and most modern writers.—The Septuagint explains מִקְשֶׁה to mean a *golden* ornament of the head; Vitringa a *solid* ornament of gold, perhaps from קשה *hard*. It is now explained, from an Arabic meaning of the same root, to denote *turned work*, or a shape produced by turning. (See Gesen. s. v.) The cognate מִקְשָׁה is applied to ornamental work in wood or metal, but this, perhaps in derision, to the laborious braiding of the hair, as appears from its being in antithesis to *baldness*.—Ewald reads פֶּתִי גִּיל as two words, meaning *the fulness or wideness* (from פָּתָה to open) *of an ample robe* (from גִּיל to revolve or flow around), contrasted with a tight girding of sackcloth. Gesenius makes the sense the same, but regards פְּתִיגִיל as a compound word denoting the full robe itself. The English Version (stomacher) supposes it to be a particular ornamental part of dress.—The ancient versions take כִּי as a conjunction, and connect

the last clause with the next verse, 'for instead of beauty, thy men, &c.' (Sept. Vulg.), or make it an independent clause, by treating חחת as a verb (Targ. Pesh.); but all the modern writers are agreed in making כִּי a noun, from כָּוָה, to burn, like אִי, צִי, from אָוָה, צָוָה. The *burning* mentioned is supposed to be that of the skin from long exposure, by the French Version (au lieu du beau teint le hâle), Clericus (adusta facies), and Lowth (a sun-burnt skin.) But most interpreters understand by it a *brand*, here mentioned either as a stigma of captivity, or as a self-inflicted sign of mourning. Hitzig gives the noun the general sense of *wound* or *mark;* but this is unauthorized, and weakens the expression. Sackcloth is mentioned as the coarsest kind of cloth, and also as that usually worn by mourners. The two nouns מַעֲשֶׂה and מִקְשֶׂה are in apposition, the first denoting artificial adjustment, the second its precise form.

V. 25. The Prophet now assigns as a reason for the grief predicted in v. 24, a general slaughter of the male population, the effect of which is again described in v. 26, and its extent in chap. 4: 1, which belongs more directly to this chapter than the next. In the verse before us, he first addresses Zion or Jerusalem directly, but again, as it were, turns away, and in the next verse speaks of her in the third person. *Thy men by the sword shall fall and thy strength in war.*—מְתֵךְ does not mean *thy common people*, as opposed to warriors or soldiers of distinction (Luther: dein Pöbel); nor does it simply mean *thy people* or inhabitants (Cocc. homines tui. Fr. Vs. tes gens. Lowth, thy people); but *thy men*, i. e. thy males (Vulg. viri tui. Ges. deine Männer).—The present form used by Gesenius greatly detracts from the minatory force of the future, which is retained by Hitzig, DeWette, Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit. The abstract *strength* is resolved into a concrete by the Septuagint (*ἰσχύοντες*), Vulgate, Luther, Lowth, and Gesenius; but it is better to retain the original expression, not in the military sense of forces (Hg. Hn.), but as denoting that which constitutes the *strength* of a community, its male population (Calv. robur tuum, Fr. Vs. ta force. Ewald, deine Mannschaft).

V. 26. The effect of this slaughter on the community is here described, first by representing the places of chief concourse as vocal with distress, and then by personifying the state or nation as a desolate widow seated on the ground, a sign both of mourning and of degradation. *And her gates* (those of Zion or Jerusalem) *shall lament and mourn*, and *being emptied* (or exhausted) *she shall sit upon the ground.* The gates are said to mourn, by a rhetorical substitution of the place of action for the agent (Hendewerk), or because a place filled with cries seems itself to utter them (Knobel). The meaning of נְקָתָה (which may be either the preterite or participle

passive of נָקָה is taken in its proper sense of *emptied* or *exhausted* by Junius (expurgata), Vitringa (evacuata), and Ewald (ausgeleert). This is explained to mean emptied of her strength, i. e. weakened, by Hendewerk (entkr ftet), emptied of her people, i. e. solitary, desolate, by the Vulgate (desolata), the English Version (desolate), Gesenius (verödet), Hitzig (einsam) etc. The reference of this word to her former condition seems peculiar to Clericus (quae munda erat). She is described not as *lying* (Calv. Cler.), but *sitting* on the ground, as on one of Vespasian's coins a woman is represented, in a sitting posture, leaning against a palm-tree, with the legend *Judaea Capta.*

Ch. 4: v. 1. The paucity of males in the community, resulting from this general slaughter, is now expressed by a lively figure representing seven women as earnestly soliciting one man in marriage, and that on the most disadvantageous terms, renouncing the support to which they were by law entitled. *And in that day* (then, after the judgments just predicted) *seven women*, (i. e. several, this number being often used indefinitely) *shall lay hold of one man* (earnestly accost him), *saying, we will eat our own bread and wear our own apparel, only let thy name be called upon us* (an idiomatic phrase meaning let us be called by thy name, let us be recognized as thine), *take thou away our reproach*, the 'reproach of widowhood' (Isai. 54: 4), or celibacy, or rather that of childlessness which they imply, and which was regarded with particular aversion by the Jews before the time of Christ.—This verse appears to have been severed from its natural connexion in accordance with an ancient notion that the *one man* was Christ, and the *seven women*, souls believing on him. This view of the passage may indeed have been either the cause or the effect of the usual division and arrangement of the text. Some writers think that the Prophet intended to present an accumulation of strange things, in order to show the changed condition of the people; women forsaking their natural modesty, soliciting marriage, with violent importunity, in undue proportion, and on the most disadvantageous terms. But the more probable opinion is the common one, that he simply meant to set forth by a lively figure the disproportion between the sexes introduced by a destructive war. Instead of *our own bread, our own clothe* , Cocceius would simply read *our bread, our clothes*, and understand the clause as a promise of domestic diligence. The common interpretation agrees better with the other circumstances and expressions of the verse and context. Luther gives אֶסְפָּה a subjunctive form, *that our reproach may be taken from us.* The English Version and Henderson make it an infinitive, *to take away;* Barnes a participle, *taking away;* but the imperative construction, which is given in the margin of the English Bible, and preferred by almost all translators, ancient and modern, agrees best with the absence

of a preposition, and adds to the vivacity of the address. To this verse Calvin cites a beautiful parallel from Lucan, which is copied by Grotius, and credited to him by later writers—

> Da tantum nomen inane
> Connubii: liceat tumulo scripsisse Catonis
> Marcia.

CHAPTER IV.

Besides the first verse, which has been explained already, this chapter contains a prophecy of Christ and of the future condition of the Church. The Prophet here recurs to the theme with which the prophecy opened, (ch. 2: 1–4), but with this distinction, that instead of dwelling on the influence exerted by the church upon the world, he here exhibits its internal condition under the reign of the Messiah.

He first presents to view the person by whose agency the church is to be brought into a glorious and happy state, and who is here described as a partaker both of the divine and human nature, v. 2. He then describes the character of those who are predestined to share in the promised exaltation, v. 3. He then shows the necessity, implied in these promises, of previous purgation from the defilement described in the foregoing chapters, v. 4. When this purgation is effected, God will manifest his presence gloriously throughout his church, v. 5. To these promises of purity and honour he now adds one of protection and security, with which the prophecy concludes, v. 6.

It is commonly agreed that this prediction has been only partially fulfilled, and that its complete fulfilment is to be expected, not in the literal Mount Zion or Jerusalem, but in those various assemblies or societies of true believers, which now possess in common the privileges once exclusively enjoyed by the Holy City and the chosen race of which it was the centre and metropolis.

V. 2. At this point the Prophet passes from the tone of threatening to that of promise. Having foretold a general destruction, he now intimates that some should escape it, and be rendered glorious and happy by the presence and favour of the Son of God, who is at the same time the Son of Man. *In that day* (after this destruction) *shall the Branch* (or Offspring) *of Jehovah be for honour and for glory, and the Fruit of the Earth for*

sublimity and beauty, to the escaped of Israel, literally, the *escape* or deliverance of Israel, the abstract being used for the collective concrete, meaning those who should survive these judgments.—לִ יהיה may be taken either in the sense of *being for, serving as*, or in that of *becoming*, as in ch. 1: 14, 21, 22, 31.—As צֶמַח, in its physical and proper sense, means *growth, vegetation*, or that which grows and vegetates (Gen. 19: 25. Ps. 65: 11. Hos. 8: 7. Ezek. 16: 7), it is here explained by Hitzig, Maurer and Ewald, as synonymous with *fruit of the earth*, but in its lowest sense, that of vegetable products or abundant harvests. To this interpretation, which is adopted by Gesenius in his Thesaurus, it may be objected, first, that such a subject is wholly incongruous with the predicates applied to it, honourable, glorious, sublime and beautiful; secondly, that this explanation of צֶמַח is precluded by the addition of the name Jehovah, a difficulty aggravated by the parallelism, which requires the relation between *branch* and *Jehovah* to be the same as that between *fruit* and *earth*, and as the last phrase means the offspring of the earth, so the first must mean the offspring of Jehovah, an expression which can only be applied to persons. This last objection applies also to the explanation of the phrase as meaning *spiritual gifts* in opposition to temporal or earthly gifts (Calv. Jun. Schleusner). It does not lie against that proposed by Grotius, and adopted by J. D. Michaelis, Koppe and Eichhorn, by Gesenius in his Commentary, and more recently by Knobel, which applies the phrase to the better race of Israelites who were to spring up after the return from exile. But although the sense thus put upon the word is *personal* it is not *individual*, as in every other case where צֶמַח is used figuratively elsewhere, but collective. Another objection to it is, that this better race of Israelites are the very persons here called the *escaped of Israel*, who would then be described as a beauty and a glory to themselves. Knobel evades this objection by denying that the last words of the verse have any connexion with the first clause; but his evasion is an arbitrary one, suggested by the difficulty which attends his doctrine.—The first of these objections applies also to Hendewerk's interpretation of the phrase as meaning the government or administration, (das regierende Personale des Staates).—The usage of the Hebrew word in application to an individual will be clear from the following examples. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous BRANCH, and a king shall reign and prosper" (Jer. 23: 5). "In those days and at that time will I cause the BRANCH of righteousness to grow up unto David, and he shall execute judgment" (Jer. 33: 15). Behold I will bring forth my servant the BRANCH" (Zech. 3: 8). "Behold the MAN whose name is the BRANCH" (Zech. 6: 12). The Branch is here represented as a man, a king, a righteous judge, a servant of God. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that the same person, whom Jeremiah calls the *branch* (or son) *of David*, is

called by Isaiah in the verse before us *the branch* (or son) *of Jehovah*. This view of the passage is strongly recommended by the following considerations. It is free from the difficulties which attend all others. It is the ancient Jewish interpretation found in the Chaldee Paraphrase, which explains the Branch of Jehovah as meaning his Messiah, (משיחא דיי). The parallel passages already quoted are referred to the Messiah even by Gesenius, who only hesitates to make the same admission here, because he thinks the parallel phrase, *fruit of the earth*, cannot be so applied. But no expression could in fact be more appropriate, whether it be translated *fruit of the land* and referred to his Jewish extraction (Hengstenberg), or *fruit of the earth* and referred to his human nature (Vitr. Hn.). On the latter supposition, which appears more probable, the parallel terms correspond exactly to the two parts of Paul's description (Rom. 1 : 3, 4), and to the two titles used in the New Testament in reference to Christ's two natures, Son of God and Son of Man.

V. 3. Having foretold the happiness and honour which the Son of God should one day confer upon his people, the Prophet now explains to whom the promise was intended to apply. In the preceding verse they were described by their condition as survivors of God's desolating judgments. In this they are described by their moral character, and by their eternal destination to this character and that which follows it.—*And it shall be*, happen, come to pass, *that the left in Zion and the spared in Jerusalem*, singular forms with a collective application, *shall be called holy*, literally, *holy shall be said to him*, i. e. this name shall be used in addressing him, or rather may be used with truth, implying that the persons so called should be what they seemed to be, *every one written*, enrolled, ordained, *to life, in Jerusalem.*— The omission of וְהָיָה (Lu. Ges. De W. Ew. Hn.) is a needless departure from the idiomatic form of the original. The expression may be paraphrased, *and this shall be the consequence* or *this shall follow*, preparing the mind for an event of moment. As חַיִּים may be either a plural adjective or abstract noun, some understand the phrase to mean *enrolled among the living* (Lu. Calv. Cler. E. V. Low. Bs.), others *enrolled to life* (Jun. Cocc. Vitr. J. H. Mich. J. D. Mich. Ges. Hg. De W. Ew. Um. Hn.). In either case the figure denotes not simply actual life but destination to it. For the origin and usage of the figure itself, see Ex. 30 : 12. Num. 1 : 18. Ezek. 13 : 9. Phil. 4 : 3. Rev. 3 : 5.

V. 4. This verse contains a previous condition of the promise in v. 3, which could not be fulfilled until the church was purged from the pollution brought upon it by the sins of those luxurious women and of the people generally, a work which could be effected only by the convincing and

avenging influences of the Holy Spirit. The construction is continued from the verse preceding. All this shall come to pass, *if*, (provided that, on this condition, which idea may be here expressed by *when*) *the Lord shall have washed away* (the Hebrew word denoting specially the washing of the body, and suggesting the idea of the legal ablutions) *the filth* (a very strong term, transferred from physical to moral defilement) *of the daughters of Zion* (the women before mentioned), *and the blood* (literally *bloods*, i. e. blood-shed or blood-guiltiness) *of Jerusalem* (i. e. of the people in general), *by a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning*, i. e. by the judgment and burning of the Holy Spirit, with a twofold allusion to the purifying and destroying energy of fire, or rather to its purifying by destroying, purging the whole by the destruction of a part, and thereby manifesting the divine *justice* as an active principle. The *daughters of Zion* are by some understood to be the other towns of Judah (Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Umbreit), the objection to which is not its unpoetical character (Gesenius), but its disagreement both with the immediate connexion and with the use of the same terms in ch. 3 : 16. Others understand by daughters the inhabitants in general (Sept. sons and daughters), or the female inhabitants regarded as mothers and as forming the character of their children (Hendewerk). But it is natural that in closing his prediction the Prophet should recur to those luxurious women, to whose influence much of the disorder and oppression which prevailed may have been owing. He then makes a transition from particular to general expressions. The idea does not seem to be, the uncleanness of the women and the blood-guiltiness of the men (Hk. Hn.), or the uncleanness and blood-guiltiness both of men and women (Kn.), but the uncleanness of the women and the blood-guiltiness of the people generally.—רָחַץ does not mean to *remove* (Cler. Low. Bs.), nor to *drive out* (Lu. Um.), nor to *extirpate* (Ges. Hg. Hk. Ew.), nor to *expiate* (Calv.), but simply to *wash* or *purge out* (Sept. Vulg. Cocc. E. V. Hn.), the verb being specially applied to the washing of the altar and sacrifices (2 Chr. 4 : 6. Ezek. 40 : 38). Two of these senses are combined by J. H. Michaelis (lavando ejecerit).—The word *spirit* cannot be regarded as pleonastic or simply emphatic (Hn.) without affording license to a like interpretation in all other cases. It is variously explained here as meaning *breath* (Hg. Um.), *word* (Targ. Jon. בְּמֵימְרָא דְּיָ), and *power* or *influence* (Ges. Hengstenberg, Bs., etc.). But since this is the term used in the New Testament to designate that person of the Godhead, whom the Scriptures uniformly represent as the executor of the divine purposes, and since this sense is perfectly appropriate here, the safest and most satisfactory interpretation is that which understands by it a personal spirit, or as Luther expresses it, the Spirit who shall judge and burn. Even Ewald adopts the same interpretation upon grounds, as it would seem, entirely philological. Calvin supposes *spirit of burning and*

of judgment to be equivalent in meaning to *the burning and judgment of the Spirit.* He also gives the preposition its primary meaning, as do the Seventy (*ἐν πνεύματι*), *in* (i. e. in the person of) *the Spirit.* The common explanation is *by* (i. e. by means of) or *through* (i. e. through the intervention of) *the Spirit.*—The translation of בָּעַר by consumption or extermination (Cocc. Ges. Hg. De W. Hk. Um.) is neither so precise nor so poetical as that by *burning* (Sept. Pesh. Vulg. Lu. Calv. E. V. Low. Bs. Ew.).—J. D. Michaelis translates this clause, *by the righteous zeal of the tribunals and by a destructive wind!*

V. 5. The church is not only to be purified by God's judgments, but glorified by his manifested presence, and in that state of glory kept secure by his protection. The presence of God is here denoted by the ancient symbol of a fiery cloud, and is promised to the church in its whole extent and to its several assemblies, as distinguished from the one indivisible congregation, and its one exclusive place of meeting, under the old economy. *And Jehovah will create* (implying the exercise of almighty power and the production of a new effect) *over the whole extent* (literally, *place* or *space*) *of Mount Zion* (in its widest and most spiritual sense, as appears from what follows), *and over her assemblies, a cloud by day and smoke* (i. e. a cloud of smoke), *and the brightness of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory* (previously promised, there shall be) *a covering* (or shelter).—Most of the modern versions make this the apodosis of a sentence beginning with v. 4, 'When the Lord shall have washed, etc., then will Jehovah create,' etc. (Cler. Low. Ges. Bs. Hn. Um. Kn.) But although this is grammatical and leaves the general sense unchanged, the absence of the ו at the beginning of v. 4, and its insertion here, seem to show that v. 4 is itself the apodosis of a sentence beginning with v. 3, and that a new one begins here (Calv. Cocc. Vitr. J. D. Mich. E. V. Hg. De W. Hk. Ew.). The present tense (Ges. De W. Ew. Um.) is not so well suited to the context as the future (Hg. Hk. etc.). The older writers give מָכוֹן the sense of *dwelling-place;* but the modern lexicographers explain it to mean *place* in general. כל מכון may be rendered either *whole place* or *every place* without a change of sense (vide supra, ch. 1 : 5. 3 : 1). The two appearances described in this verse are those presented by a fire at different times, a smoke by day and a flame by night. There is no need therefore of explaining עָשָׁן to mean *vapour* (Knobel), or of connecting it with what follows (Sept. Vitr. Cler. Hitzig. Hengstenberg) in violation of the Masoretic accents.—The meaning of the promise is the same whether מִקְרָאֶיהָ be explained to mean *her assemblies* (Low. Hengst. Ew. Um. Kn.) or *her places of assembly* (Lu. J. D. Mich. Ges. Hn.); but the former is the sense most agreeable to usage. —Lowth omits כל before מכון on the authority of eight manuscripts, and in-

serts it before מִקְרָאֵה on the authority of one manuscript and the Septuagint. More than forty manuscripts and nearly fifty editions read מִקְרָאֵיהּ, and almost all interpreters explain it as a plural.—In the last clause כִּי has its usual meaning and not that of *yea* (Low.), *which* (Hn.), or *so that* (Kn.).—Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, and Lee (Heb. Lex. s. v. חֻפָּה) make כָּבוֹד the subject of the last clause, 'over all, glory shall be a defence,' which is wholly inconsistent with the Masoretic pointing. Instead of *over* Kocher reads *above*, i. e. superior to all former glory, a construction which is given in the Chaldee Paraphrase, יַתִּיר מִן (more than). Some regard this as the statement of a general fact, 'over every thing glorious there is protection,' i. e. men are accustomed to protect what they value highly (Vitr. Ros. Hengst. Ew.); but the great majority of writers understand it as a prophecy or promise.—חֻפָּה is construed as a passive verb, *it is* or *shall be covered*, by the Septuagint (σκεπασθήσεται), Gesenius, Maurer, Knobel. But as this is a harsh construction, and as the Pual of חָפָה does not occur elsewhere, it is better, with Ewald, Umbreit, Hengstenberg, and the older writers, to explain it as a noun derived from חָפַה, and agreeing with the verb *is* or *shall be* understood, or, as Hitzig and Hendewerk suppose, with the same verb in the first clause of the next verse, 'For over all the glory a covering and shelter there shall be.' The sense is not affected by this last construction, but such a change in the division of the text can be justified only by necessity.

V. 6. The promise of refuge and protection is repeated or continued under the figure of a shelter from heat and rain, natural emblems for distress and danger. *And there shall be a shelter,* (properly a booth or covert of leaves and branches, to serve) *for a shadow by day* (as a protection) *from heat, and for a covert and for a hiding-place from storm and from rain.*—Instead of making סֻכָּה the subject of the sentence (E. V. De W. Hn. Um.), some regard it as the predicate referring to a subject understood. *He*, i. e. God, *shall be a shelter*, etc. (Ges. Bs.). *It*, the cloud or the protection, *shall be a shelter*, etc. (Low. Hg.).—That סֻכָּה means *the* tabernacle or temple, which it never does elsewhere, is a notion peculiar to Clericus.—זֶרֶם is not a whirlwind (Vulg.) or a hail-storm (J. D. Mich.), but an inundation (Jun. Cler. J. H. Mich.), i. e. a flood of rain, a pouring, driving rain (Luther, Wetter. Gesenius, Ungewitter).

CHAPTER V.

This chapter contains a description of the prevalent iniquities of Judah, and of the judgments which, in consequence of these, had been or were to be inflicted on the people. The form of the prophecy is peculiar, consisting of a parable and a commentary on it.

The prophet first delivers his whole message in a parabolic form, vs. 1–7. He then explains and amplifies it at great length, vs. 8–30.

The parable sets forth the peculiar privileges, obligations, guilt, and doom of Israel, under the figure of a highly favoured vineyard which, instead of good fruit, brings forth only wild grapes, and is therefore given up to desolation, vs. 1–6. The application is expressly made by the Prophet himself, v. 7.

In the remainder of the chapter, he enumerates the sins which were included in the general expressions of v. 7, and describes their punishment. In doing this, he first gives a catalogue of sins with their appropriate punishments annexed, vs. 8–24. He then describes the means used to inflict them, and the final issue, vs. 25–30.

The catalogue of sins and judgments comprehends two series of woes or denunciations. In the first, each sin is followed by its punishment, vs. 8–17. In the second, the sins follow one another in uninterrupted succession, and the punishment is reserved until the close, vs. 18–24.

In the former series, the first woe is uttered against avaricious and ambitious grasping after lands and houses, to be punished by sterility and desolation, vs. 8–10. The second woe is uttered against drunkenness, untimely mirth, and disregard of providential warnings, appropriately punished by captivity, hunger, thirst, and general mortality, vs. 11–14. To these two woes are added a general declaration of their purpose and effect, to humble man and exalt God, and a repeated threatening of general desolation as a punishment of both the sins just mentioned, vs. 15–17.

The sins denounced in the second series of woes are presumptuous and incredulous defiance of God's judgments, the deliberate confounding of moral distinctions, undue reliance upon human wisdom, and drunkenness considered as a vice of judges, and as causing the perversion of justice, vs. 18–23. To these he adds a general threatening of destruction as a necessary consequence of their forsaking God, v. 24.

In declaring the means used to effect this condign retribution, the Prophet sets before us two distinct stages or degrees of punishment. The

first, which is briefly and figuratively represented as a violent and destructive stroke of God's hand, is described as ineffectual, v. 25. To complete the work, another is provided, in the shape of an invading enemy, before whom, after a brief fluctuation, Israel disappears in total darkness, vs. 26–30.

In its general design and subject, this prophecy resembles those which go before it; but it differs remarkably from both in holding up to view exclusively the dark side of the picture, the guilt and doom of the ungodly Jews, without the cheering contrast of purgation and deliverance to be experienced from the same events by the true Israel, the Church of God. This omission, which of course must be supplied from other prophecies, is by Hitzig incorrectly represented as a reason for regarding this as the conclusion of the one preceding, to confirm which supposition he appeals to certain verbal coincidences, particularly that between v. 15 and ch. 2: 9, 17. But these, and the more general resemblance of the chapters, can only prove at most what must be true on any hypothesis, to wit, that the prophecies relate to the same subject and belong to the same period. A similar coincidence between v. 25 and ch. 9: 11, 16, 20. 10: 4, has led Ewald to interpolate the whole of that passage (from ch. 9: 5 to ch. 10: 4) between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses of this chapter; as if the same form of expression could not be employed by the same author upon different occasions, and as if such a treatment of the text did not open the door to boundless license of conjecture. With still less semblance of a reason, Hendewerk connects this chapter with the first nine verses of the seventh and the whole of the seventeenth, as making up one prophecy. The old opinion, still retained by Gesenius, Henderson, Umbreit, and Knobel, is that this chapter, if not an independent prophecy, is at least a distinct appendix to the one preceding, with which it is connected, not only in the way already mentioned, but also by the seeming allusion in the first verse to ch. 3: 14, where the Church of God is called his vineyard, a comparison which reappears in other parts of Scripture, and is carried out in several of our Saviour's parables.

This chapter, like the first, is applicable not to one event exclusively, but to a sequence of events which was repeated more than once, although its terms were never fully realized until the closing period of the Jewish history, after the true Messiah was rejected, when one ray of hope was quenched after another, until all grew dark for ever in the skies of Israel.

V. 1. The parable is given in vs. 1–6, and applied in v. 7. It is introduced in such a manner as to secure a favourable hearing from those whose conduct it condemns, and in some measure to conceal its drift until the application. The Prophet proposes to sing a song, i. e. to utter a rhythmical and figurative narrative, relating to a friend of his, his friend's own song indeed about his vineyard. In the last clause he describes the situation of

the vineyard, its favourable exposure and productive soil. *I will sing, if you please* (or let me sing, I pray you), *of my friend* (i. e. concerning him), *my friend's song of his vineyard* (i. e. concerning it). *My friend had a vineyard in a hill of great fertility* (literally *in a horn, a son of fatness*, according to the oriental idiom which applies the terms of human kindred to relations of every kind.)—The common version, *now will I sing*, seems to take נָא as an adverb of time, whereas it is a particle of entreaty, used to soften the expression of a purpose, and to give a tone of mildness and courtesy to the address.—*Sing* and *song* are used, as with us, in reference to poetry, without implying actual musical performance.—Calvin's translation, (*for my beloved*, i. e. in his name, his person, his behalf) is at variance with the usage of the particle. Grotius's (*to my beloved*) is inappropriate, as the friend is not addressed, and this is not a song of praise. Maurer's (*of my beloved*, i. e. belonging to him, like לְדָוִד a Psalm *of David*) is a form only used in titles or inscriptions. The ל has doubtless the same sense before this word as before *his vineyard*. Knobel supposes *song of my friend* also to denote a song *respecting* him, because he is not introduced as speaking till v. 3. But for that very reason, it is first called a song concerning him, and then his own song.—The cognate words יְדִידִי and דּוֹדִי are referred by some to different subjects; but their identity is plain from the possession of the vineyard being ascribed to both.—The Vulgate and Luther give to דּוֹד its usual sense of *uncle*, and Cocceius applies it to the Holy Spirit, which is altogether arbitrary. It seems to be joined with יְדִיד to vary the expression of the same idea, that of *friend*, the unusual terms being used not mystically but poetically. The Prophet must be understood as speaking of a human friend, until he explains himself.—Umbreit makes קֶרֶן govern the next phrase; *on the projection (Vorsprung) of a fat place;* but the latter is in that case too indefinite.—Clericus supposes an allusion to a horn of oil, Vitringa to the curved shape of the Holy Land; but most interpreters agree that *horn* is here used, as in various other languages, for the sharp peak of a mountain (e. g. Schreckhorn and Wetterhorn in Switzerland) or, as in Arabic, for a detached hill.—The preposition does not properly mean *on* but *in*, implying that the vineyard only occupied a part, and that this was not the summit, but the acclivity exposed to the sun, which is the best situation for a vineyard. (Apertos Bacchus amat colles. Virg. Georg. 2: 112.)

V. 2. Not only was the vineyard favourably situated, but assiduously tilled, protected from intrusion, and provided with every thing that seemed to be needed to secure an abundant vintage. *And he digged it up, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with Sorek*, mentioned elsewhere (Jer. 2: 21) as the choicest kind of vine, which either gave or owed its name to the valley of Sorek (Judg. 16. 4), *and built a tower in the midst*

of it, partly for protection from men and beasts, and partly for the pleasure and convenience of the owner, *and also a wine-vat*, to receive the juice from the wine-press immediately above, *he hewed in it*, i. e. in a rock (or *hewed* may be simply used for *excavated* in the ground, a common situation in hot countries for the *lacus*, reservoir, or wine-vat), *and he waited for it*, i. e. he allowed it time, *to make*, produce, bear, bring forth, *grapes, and it produced wild grapes*.—Instead of *he waited for it*, Umbreit reads *he hoped*, Lowth, Barnes, and Henderson, *he expected*, and the authorized version, *he looked*, in the old English sense. But the first translation, which is that of the Septuagint (ἔμεινε), is entitled to the preference, because it conveys the full sense of the Hebrew word without creating any difficulty in the subsequent application of the figure.—J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, and Rosenmüller take בְּאֻשִׁים in the sense of aconite or nightshade; a plant which does not grow in Palestine. Most modern writers approve the version of Jerome, *labrusca*, the *labrusca vitis* of Pliny, and *labrusca uva* of Columella, an acrid and unwholesome grape, contrasted with the good grape by Sedulius (1 : 29) precisely as the two are here contrasted by Isaiah :

Labruscam placidis quid adhuc praeponitis uvis?

For *he digged it up and gathered out the stones thereof*, the Septuagint has *he hedged it and walled it*, both which senses may be reconciled with etymology, although rejected by the modern lexicographers. The question is of no exegetical importance, as the words in either case denote appropriate and necessary acts for the culture or protection of the vineyard.

V. 3. Having described the advantageous situation, soil, and culture of the vineyard, and its failure to produce good fruit, he submits the case to the decision of his hearers. *And now*, not merely in a temporal but a logical sense, 'this being the case,' *oh inhabitant of Jerusalem and man of Judah*, the singular form adding greatly to the individuality and life of the expression, *judge I pray you*, pray decide or act as arbiters, *between me and my vineyard*.—To suppose, with Calvin and others, that the people are here called upon directly to condemn themselves because their guilt was so apparent, is to mar the beauty of the parable by a premature application of its figures. They are rather called upon to judge between a stranger and his vineyard, simply as such, unaware that they are thereby passing judgment on themselves. The meaning and design of the appeal are perfectly illustrated by that which Christ makes (Matt. 21: 40) in a parable analogous to this and founded on it. There as here the audience are called upon to judge in a case which they regard as foreign to their own, if not fictitious, and it is only after their decision that they are made to see its bearing on themselves. So too in Nathan's parable to David (2 Sam. 12 : 1), it was not till "David's anger was greatly kin-

dled against the man," i. e. the stranger of whom he understood the Prophet to be speaking, that "Nathan said to David, Thou art the man." A disregard of these analogies impairs both the moral force and the poetical unity and beauty of the apologue. The same thing may be said of the attempt made by the Chaldee Paraphrast, Cocceius, Vitringa, and most recently by Umbreit, to put a specific figurative sense on each part of the parable, the wall, the tower, the hedge, etc. which is not more reasonable here than it would be in explaining Esop's fables. The parable, as a whole, corresponds to its subject as a whole, but all the particulars included in the one are not separately intended to denote particulars included in the other. A lion may be a striking emblem of a hero; but it does not follow that the mane, claws, etc. of the beast must all be significant of something in the man. Nay, they cannot even be supposed to be so, without sensibly detracting from the force and beauty of the image as a whole.

V. 4. This verse shows that the parable is not yet complete, and that its application would be premature. Having called upon the Jews to act as umpires, he now submits a specific question for their arbitration. *What to do more* (i. e. what more is there to be done) *to my vineyard and I have not* (or in the English idiom, *that I have not*) *done in it* (not only *to* or *for* but *in it*, with reference to the place as well as the object of the action)? *Why did I wait for it to bear grapes and it bore wild grapes?*—Calvin and Gesenius supply *was* instead of *is* in the first clause, *what was there to do more*, i. e. what more was there to be done, or was I bound to do? But this, though grammatically unexceptionable, does not agree so well with the connexion between this verse and the next, as a question and answer. Still less exact is the English Version (followed by Lowth, Barnes, and Henderson), *what more could have been done?* The question whether God had done all that he could for the Jews, when the Scriptures were still incomplete and Christ had not yet come, however easy of solution, is a question here irrelevant, because it has relation not to something in the text but to something supplied by the interpreter, and that not only without necessity but in violation of the context; for the next verse is not an answer to the question what God *could have done* but what he *shall* or *will do*. The most simple, exact, and satisfactory translation of this first clause is that given by Cocceius (quid faciendum amplius vinae meae) and Ewald (was ist noch meinem Weinberge zu thun?)—In the last clause Calvin understands the owner of the vineyard to express surprise at his own unreasonable expectations. *Why did I expect it* (i. e. how could I expect it) *to bear grapes?* This construction not only raises a new difficulty in the application of the words to God, but is inconsistent with the context, the whole drift of which is to show that the expectation was a reasonable one. The in-

terrogation really belongs to the second member only, the first being merely introductory, or rather to the whole clause as a complex sentence. 'Why, when I waited for it to bear grapes, did it bear wild grapes?' As other examples of the same construction, Knobel refers to ch. 12: 1. 50: 2, and to Job 2: 10. 4: 2. 3: 11.

V. 5. He now proceeds to answer his own question, in a tone of pungent irony, almost amounting to a sarcasm. The reply which might naturally have been looked for was a statement of some new care, some neglected precaution, some untried mode of culture; but instead of this he threatens to destroy the vineyard, as the only expedient remaining. The rhetorical effect of this sudden turn in the discourse is heightened by the very form of the last clause, in which the simple future, as the natural expression of a purpose, is exchanged for the infinitive, denoting the bare action without specification of person, time, or number. *And now* (since you cannot tell) *I will let you know if you please* (or let me tell you) *what I am doing to my vineyard* (i. e. according to the idiomatic use of the participle, *what I am about to do*, suggesting the idea of a proximate futurity), *remove its hedge and it shall become a pasture* (literally, *a consuming*, but with special reference to cattle), *break down its wall, and it shall become a trampling-place* (i. e. it shall be overrun and trampled down).—*Remove* and *break* are not imperatives but infinitives, equivalent in meaning to *I will remove and break*, but more concise and rapid in expression. Cocceius and Vitringa suppose an ellipsis of the finite verb after the infinitive, 'removing I will remove,' 'breaking down I will break down.' This construction, in its full form, is extremely common; but against the supposition of its ever being elliptically used, there is this objection, that the repetition is designed to be emphatic, an effect which is entirely destroyed by the omission. Knobel supposes that the thorn hedge and stone wall, which are separately mentioned elsewhere, are here put together to denote a more than ordinary care bestowed on the ideal vineyard. The more common opinion is that both were actually used in the same case with a view to different kinds of depredation.—מִרְמֶס is a noun of place formed in the usual manner (Ges. Heb. Gr. § 83. 14) from the verb רָמַס, which occurs in ch. 1: 12.—On the sense *become* (instead of *be for*) vide supra, ch. 1: 14, 21, 22, 31.

V. 6. To the threatening of exposure he now adds that of desolation arising from neglect of culture, while the last clause contains a beautiful though almost imperceptible transition from the apologue to the reality. By adding to the other threats, which any human vine-dresser might have reasonably uttered, one which only God could execute, the parable at one stroke is brought to a conclusion, and the mind prepared for the ensuing

application. *And I place it* (render it) *a desolation. It shall not be pruned and it shall not be dressed, and there shall come up thorns and briers. And I will lay my commands upon the clouds from raining rain upon it*, i. e. that they rain no rain upon it. The addition of the noun *rain* is emphatic and equivalent to *any rain at all*.—The English Version *lay waste* is perhaps too strong for the original expression, which rather signifies the letting it run to waste by mere exposure and neglect.—The older versions take יֵעָדֵר in the sense of *digging* (Sept. Vulg. Luther, Calv.), but the latest writers prefer that of *dressing*, arranging, putting in order.—Gesenius and Ewald follow Cocceius in referring עָלָה to the vineyard as its subject; *it shall come up thorns and briers*, as the eye is said to *run down water* (Lam. 3: 48), and a land to *flow milk and honey* (Exod. 3: 8). The construction, though undoubtedly good Hebrew, is not so obvious as the old and common one. *To command from* or *away from* is to deter from any act by a command, in other words to *forbid* or to *command not* to do the thing in question. In this sense only can the preposition *from* be said to have a negative meaning.

V. 7. The startling menace at the close of the sixth verse would naturally prompt the question, Who is this that assumes power over clouds and rain, and what is the vineyard which he thus denounces? To this tacit question we have here the answer. As if he had said, do not wonder that the owner of the vineyard should thus speak, *for the vineyard of Jehovah of Hosts is the House of Israel*, the church, considered as a whole, *and the man of Judah is the plant of his pleasures*, or his favourite plant. *And he waited for judgment*, practical justice, as in ch. 1: 17, *and behold bloodshed, for righteousness and behold a cry*, either outcry and disturbance, or more specifically the cry of the oppressed, which last is more agreeable to usage, and at the same time more poetical and graphic.—The כִּי at the beginning has been variously rendered *but* (Lu. Ges. Hendew. Umbr.), *to wit* (Hitz.), *certainly* (Calvin), etc. But the true connexion of the verse with that before it not only admits but requires the strict sense, *for*, *because*, as given in the ancient versions, and retained by Cocceius, Ewald, and Knobel.—J. D. Michaelis and all the later Germans follow Pagninus and Montanus in translating נְטַע *plantation*. But the word is unambiguously used in that sense nowhere else, and it does not agree well with the singular term *man*. It is true that *plant* and *man* may be put for a collection of plants and men, but this should not affect the strict translation of the sentence.—The paronomasia or designed correspondence in the form and sound of the parallel expressions in the last clause has been copied by Augusti, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel. But, as Hendewerk has well observed, such imitations can even approximate to the form of the original, only by departing more or less from the strict sense of

particular expressions, a loss which can hardly be considered as made good by the mere assonance of such combinations as *Gerechtigkeit* and *Schlechtigkeit*, *Beglückung* and *Bedrückung*, *Milde* and *Unbilde*.

V. 8. Here begins a detailed specification of the sins included in the general expressions of v. 7. We have first two woes pronounced against as many sins, each followed by a threatening of appropriate punishment, and a general threatening which applies to both, vs. 8–17. The first sin thus denounced is that of ambitious and avaricious grasping after property, not merely in opposition to the peculiar institutions of the law, but to the fundamental principles of morals, connected as it always is with a neglect of charitable duties and a willingness to sacrifice the good of others. The verse before us may be understood, however, as descriptive rather of the tendency and aim of this ambitious grasping, than of its actual effects. *Woe to the joiners of house with house*, or those making house touch house, *field to field they bring together*, literally, cause them to approach, *even to a failure* (or *defect*) *of place*, i. e. until there is no room left, *and ye*, by a sudden apostrophe addressing those of whom he had been speaking, *are made* (or *left*) *to dwell by yourselves in the midst of the land*, owning all from the centre to the circumference, or simply *within its bounds*, within it. The translation *earth* is equally agreeable to usage, and expresses still more strongly the extent of their desires; but *land* is more natural and preferred by almost all interpreters. Ewald regards הוֹי as a simple exclamation (O die Haus reihen an Haus!) But this translation is inadequate, as an expression of denunciation is required by the context.

V. 9. The inordinate desire of lands and houses shall be punished with the loss of them, vs. 9, 10. And first, he threatens that the valuable houses which they coveted, and gained by fraud or violence, shall one day be left empty, an event implying the death, captivity, or degradation of their owners. *In my ears Jehovah of Hosts* is saying, as if his voice were still ringing in the Prophet's ears, *of a truth* (literally, *if not*, being part of an old formula of swearing, 'may it be so and so if,' etc; so that the negative form conveys the strongest affirmation, *surely*, *certainly*) *many houses shall become a desolation, great and good, for want of an inhabitant.*—The Septuagint and Vulgate, followed by Luther, Calvin and J. D. Michaelis, make *in my ears* the words of God himself, as if he had said 'these things are in my ears,' or 'it (the cry, v. 7) is in my ears, saith Jehovah of Hosts.' But most modern writers follow the Targum and Peshito in construing this clause according to the analogy of ch. 22 : 14 ('in my ears it was revealed by Jehovah of Hosts,' or 'Jehovah of Hosts revealed himself.')—The common version, *shall be desolate*, does not convey the whole idea, which is that of *be-*

coming, being changed into (vide supra, v. 6), and is so rendered in most versions.—The sense usually given to טוֹבִים is the specific one of *fair* or *beautiful* (Henderson, *fine;* Barnes, *splendid*). But Cocceius and Vitringa take it more correctly in the general sense of *good*, including the ideas of profit and convenience, as well as that of elegance or beauty.—By most interpreters מֵאֵין in the last clause is regarded as a synonyme or at most as an intensive form of אֵין, 'wholly without inhabitant.' But the causative meaning, 'for the want of,' 'from the absence of,' אֵין being properly a noun, affords a better sense here, as explaining how or why the houses should be desolate, and may be justified by the analogy of Jer. 19: 11. (J. D. Michaelis, 'because there will be no one to inhabit them.) Clericus, Vitringa and Hendewerk explain it to mean *so that there shall not be*, but without authority from usage.—Henderson's version of the foregoing words, *the numerous houses, the large and fine ones*, and that of Gesenius from which it is derived, seem to lay too much stress upon the adjectives.—On the form *if not*, compare ch. 14: 24. Deut. 1: 35. Ps. 131: 2.

V. 10. As the sin related both to lands and houses, so both are mentioned in denouncing punishment. The desolation of the houses was in fact to arise from the unproductiveness of the lands. Ruinous failure of crops, and a near approach to absolute sterility are threatened as a condign punishment of those who added field to field and house to house. The meaning of this verse depends not on the absolute value of the measures mentioned, but on their proportions. The last clause threatens that the seed sown, instead of being multiplied, should be reduced nine-tenths; and a similar idea is no doubt expressed by the analogous terms of the preceding clause. *For ten acres* (literally *yokes*, like the Latin *jugerum* from *jugum*) *of vineyard shall make* (produce) *one bath*, a liquid measure here put for a very small quantity of wine to be yielded by so large a quantity of land, *and the seed of a homer*, i. e. seed to the amount of a homer, or in our idiom, *a homer of seed, shall produce an ephah*, a dry measure equal to the liquid *bath*, and constituting one tenth of a *homer*, as we learn from Ezek. 45: 11–14. The English Version, followed by Lowth, translates כִּי *yea*, while Clericus and Gesenius omit it altogether. But the particle is necessary, in its usual sense, to connect this verse with the prediction in v. 9, of which it gives the ground or reason.

V. 11. The second woe is uttered against drunkenness and heartless dissipation, with its usual accompaniment of inattention to God's providential dealings, and is connected with captivity, hunger, thirst, general mortality, as its appropriate punishment, vs. 11–14. The description of the sin is contained in vs. 11, 12, and first that of drunkenness, considered not

as an occasional excess, but as a daily business, diligently prosecuted with a devotion such as would ensure success in any laudable or lawful occupation. *Woe to those rising early in the morning to pursue strong drink* (literally, *strong drink they pursue*), *delaying in the twilight* (until) *wine inflames them.*—That נֶשֶׁף does not here mean the morning twilight, but as usual the dusk of evening (Prov. 7 : 9), is plain from the preposition *in* prefixed. The idea of *continuing till night* (Vulg. Calv. Eng. Vs.) is rather implied than expressed. The allusion is not so much to the disgracefulness of drinking in the morning (Knobel, Henderson) as to their spending day and night in drinking, rising early and sitting up late. Before *wine* in the last clause the older writers supply *and* (Pesh. J. D. Mich.), *while* (Calv. Vitr.), or *so that* (Vulg. Lu. Cocc. Low. Ros.). Gesenius avoids this by a paraphrase ('sit late at night by wine inflamed'), and Ewald treats the participles in both clauses as adverbial expressions used to qualify the finite verb ('they who early in the morning run after strong drink, late in the evening are inflamed by wine'). The precise construction of the Hebrew may be thus retained—'those who, rising early in the morning, pursue strong drink ; those whom, delaying in the evening, wine inflames.' The same application of מְאַחֲרִים occurs in the parallel passage, Prov. 23 : 29–32. *Strong drink* differs from *wine* only by including all intoxicating liquors, and is here used simply as a parallel expression.—The waste of time here censured is professed and gloried in by the convivial poets of heathen antiquity. Thus Horace says of himself,

> Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici,
> Nec partem solido demere de die,
> Spernit.

The nocturnal part of the prophetic picture is still more exactly copied by Propertius,

> Sic noctem patera, sic ducam carmine, donec
> Injiciat radios in mea vina dies.

Illustrative parallels from modern poetry are needless though abundant.

V. 12. This verse completes the picture begun in v. 11, by adding riotous mirth to drunkenness. To express this idea, music is joined with wine as the source of their social enjoyment, but the last clause shows that it is not mere gayety, nor even the excess of it, that is here intended to be prominently set forth, but the folly and wickedness of merriment at certain times and under certain circumstances, especially amidst impending judgments. The general idea of music is expressed by naming several instruments belonging to the three great classes of stringed, wind, and pulsatile. The precise form and use of each cannot be ascertained, and is of no importance to the meaning of the sentence. *And the harp and the viol, the tabret*

(tambourine or small drum) *and the pipe* (or flute), *and wine* (compose) *their feasts; and the work* of *Jehovah they will not look at* (or regard), *and the operation of his hands they have not seen*, and do not see.—The Targum supplies a preposition before the first nouns and makes *feasts* the subject of the sentence: 'With harp and viol, tabret and pipe, and wine, are their feasts.' The Septuagint and Peshito, 'with harp, etc., they drink their wine.' The Vulgate supplies the preposition before *feasts*, and makes the other nouns the subject—'Harp and viol, &c., are in your feasts.' Gesenius gives the same sense, but supposes מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם to be used adverbially as in Arabic. Cocceius, Ewald, Maurer, Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Henderson, make it the nominative after the substantive verb understood. 'Harp and viol, tabret and pipe, and wine, are their feasts,' in these consist their social entertainments. Umbreit and Knobel separate the last two words from what precedes and read, 'there is harp and viol, tabret and pipe, and wine is their drink.' The general sense is not at all affected by these questions of construction. According to Ewald (Heb. Gr. § 379), with whom Hitzig and Umbreit agree, מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם is not a plural, but the form which לֹה derivatives take, even in the singular, before certain suffixes. The *work of Jehovah* here alluded to is not that of creation (Umbreit) nor the law (Abarbenel) nor the design and use of providential favours (Calvin), but his dealings with the people in the way of judgment. Compare ch. 10: 12. 22: 11. 28: 21. Hab. 1: 5. 3: 2. Ps. 64: 9, and especially Ps. 28: 5, from which the expressions here used seem to be taken.

V. 13. Here again the sin is directly followed by its condign punishment, drunkenness and disregard of providential warnings by captivity, hunger, thirst, and general mortality, vs. 13, 14. But instead of the language of direct prediction (as in vs. 9, 10) the Prophet here employs that of description. *Therefore* (for the reasons given in the two preceding verses) *my people has gone into exile* (or captivity) *for want of knowledge* (a wilful ignorance of God's providential work and operation), *and their glory* (literally *his*, referring to the singular noun people) *are men of hunger* (i. e. famished), *and their multitude dry* (parched) *with thirst*. J. D. Michaelis understands captivity as a figurative term for misery, as in Job 42: 10. Ps. 14: 7. But the context seems to require the literal interpretation.—Luther, Gesenius, and Hendewerk take גָּלָה as a future, which is not to be assumed without necessity. Most recent writers evade the difficulty by rendering it in the present tense. The only natural construction is the old one (Sept. Vulg. Calv. Vitr. Barnes) which gives the preterite its proper meaning, and either supposes the future to be here, as often elsewhere, spoken of as if already past (J. H. Michaelis), or understands the verse as referring to judgments which had been already suffered, not at at one time merely, but on various

occasions, as if he had said 'this is the true cause of the captivity, the hunger and the thirst, to which Israel has so often been subjected.' The allusion cannot be to the deportation of the ten tribes, who are never called God's people.—Because *he knoweth not, they know not*, and *I knew not*, are phrases sometimes used where we say *unawares* or *suddenly* (e. g. Ps. 35 : 8. Sol. Song 6 : 12. Job 9 : 5), Luther so understands מִבְּלִי־דָעַת here, in which he is followed by J. D. Mich. Ros. Ges. Ew. Hendew. Henders. Hitz. Umbr. But as this phrase is not so used elsewhere, and in Hos. 4 : 6 means *for want of knowledge*, as the cause of ruin, this exact and ancient version is correctly retained by Lowth, DeWette, Maurer and Knobel.—By כְּבוֹדוֹ and הֲמוֹנוֹ some understand the same class of persons, viz. the rich and noble (Vitr. Ges. Ew.). Others suppose an antithesis between the *nobility* and the *populace* (Luther, Lowth, Umbreit). Either of these verbal explanations is consistent with the import of the threatening as explained already; but the most probable interpretation seems to be that of Knobel, who supposes the *multitude* or mass of the inhabitants, without regard to rank, to be called the flower or glory of the country, as Goldsmith calls the peasantry "a nation's pride." For מֵתֵי *men*, J. D. Michaelis and Lowth read מֵתֵי *dead*, on the authority of the Septuagint, Targum, Peshito, and Luther. Hitzig and Ewald read מָזֵי or מָזֵה *exhausted*, after the analogy of Deut. 32 : 24. But the common reading yields a perfectly good sense, not however that of *nobles in hunger* (Vitr. nobiles fame) but simply that of *hungry men*, or *starvelings* as Henderson expresses it.

V. 14. As the effect of the preceding judgments, the Prophet now describes a general mortality, under the figure of the grave, as a ravenous monster, gaping to devour the thoughtless revellers. Here, as in v. 13, he seems to be speaking of events already past. *Therefore* (because famine and captivity have thus prevailed) *the grave has enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure, and down goes her pomp and her noise and her crowd and he that rejoices in her.*—It is equally correct, although not perhaps so natural, to regard עַל־כֵּן as a correlative of לָכֵן in v. 13, both relating to the sins described in v. 12, as the occasion of the strokes in question.—The noun שְׁאוֹל is derived by Gesenius from a verb שָׁאַל, which he supposes to have been synonymous with שָׁעַל *to be hollow*. Hence the noun would mean an *excavation* and in particular *a grave*, which same sense is deduced by the older writers from שָׁאַל to *ask* or *crave* (Prov. 30 : 15, 16. Hab. 2 : 5). The sense of the term here corresponds almost exactly to the poetical use of *grave* in English, as denoting one great receptacle, to which the graves of individuals may be conceived as inlets. It is thus that we speak of a voice from the grave, without referring to the burial-place of any individual. The German *Hölle* (originally *Höhle*, hollow) and

the old English *Hell*, correspond almost exactly to the Hebrew word; but the idea of a place of torment, which is included in their present meaning, is derived from the peculiar use of ᾅδης (the nearest Greek equivalent) in the book of Revelation, and belongs to the Hebrew word only by implication and in certain connexions. It seems to be a needless violation of good taste to introduce the Greek word *Hades* (Lowth), especially if treated as a feminine noun (Barnes). For additional remarks upon the usage of the Hebrew word, see ch. 14: 9.—As the same phrase here used is applied by Habakkuk (2: 5) to Nebuchadnezzar, "who enlarged his desire as the grave, and was like death, and could not be satisfied," most of the modern writers take נַפְשׁוֹ here in the sense of *appetite*, either strictly (Ewald) or as a figure for the craving maw of a devouring monster (Gesenius). Grotius takes נַפְשׁוֹ as a reflexive pronoun, for which there is no distinct form in Hebrew, and by the grave's *enlarging itself* understands a poetical description of an extraordinary number of dead bodies.—The English Version, following the Vulgate, connects יָרַד with בָּהּ, which is forbidden by the accents and by the usage of the verb and preposition.—As the suffix in נַפְשָׁהּ must refer to שְׁאוֹל, the simplest construction is that of Hitzig, who refers the other pronouns to the same antecedent, *her pomp* (i. e. the grave's), *her crowd*, *her noise*, so called because they were to have an end in her, as men doomed to die are called *men of death*, 2 Sam. 19: 29. By עָלַז בָּהּ he understands the man *exulting over her*, laughing at the grave and setting death at defiance (compare ch. 28: 15). This construction is approved by Hendewerk, but rejected by the other recent interpreters for the old one, which refers the pronouns to *Jerusalem* or *Zion* understood.—The words rendered *pomp*, *crowd*, and *noise*, are as variously explained as those in v. 13; but all agree that they refer to the voluptuous revellers described in v. 12.

V. 15. To the description of the punishment the Prophet now adds that of its design and ultimate effect, to wit, the humiliation of man and the exaltation of God, vs. 15, 16. The former is here foretold in terms almost identical with those of ch. 2: 9. *And man is brought low and man is cast down and the eyes of the lofty* (or haughty) *are cast down.*—Most of the older writers render all the verbs of this verse in the future, but Junius, Coccceius, and the moderns in the present. The Vav conversive probably denotes nothing more than the dependence of the first two verbs on those of the preceding verse, as expressive of a subsequent and consequent event. If so, the sense, though not the form, of the original is well expressed by Luther, *so that every man is humbled*, &c. That the verse at least includes a reference to the future, is clear from the future form of the third verb; and that this is not in contrast with the past time of the first clause, may be inferred from the resumption of the latter form in v. 16. In a case so dubious, the

present form may be preferred, as really including both the others, or at least consistent with them.—On the use of אִישׁ and אָדָם, see ch. 2 : 9. Luther, who there supposes an antithesis between the terms, here translates them both by *every man*. The only difference between the two interpretations, with respect to the import of the Prophet's declaration, is that in the one case he distinctly mentions two great classes as the subjects of humiliation, while in the other he confounds them all together. In either case the sense is that the pride of man shall be brought low. "Let a man be ever so high, death will bring him low; ever so mean, death will bring him lower." (Matthew Henry.)

V. 16. The same events which humble man exalt God, not by contrast merely, but by the positive exhibition of his attributes. *And Jehovah of Hosts is exalted in judgment* (in the exercise of justice), *and the Mighty, the Holy One, is sanctified* (shown to be a Holy God) *in righteousness*.—Most of the earlier and later writers follow the Vulgate in rendering הָאֵל הַקָּדוֹשׁ simply *the Holy God*. But the accentuation seems to indicate a more emphatic sense. The English version follows Calvin, and reads *God who is holy*. Lowth follows Luther, *God the Holy One*. But as אֵל is itself a significant title, it seems best to regard the two epithets as summing up the natural and moral perfections of the Deity. So Vitringa (Deus ille fortis, sanctus ille) and Junius (Deus sanctus fortissimus).—Hitzig gives נקדש a reflexive meaning (sanctifies himself) which, although admissible, is needless and not favoured by the parallelism.—*In judgment* and *in righteousness* are used precisely in the same sense, ch. 1 : 27. With respect to the tense of the verbs, see the foregoing verse.

V. 17. Having paused, as it were, to show the ultimate effect of these judgments, he now completes the description of the judgments themselves, by predicting the conversion of the lands possessed by the ungodly Jews into a vast pasture-ground, occupied only by the flocks of wandering shepherds from the neighbouring deserts. *And lambs shall feed as (in) their pasture, and the wastes of the fat ones shall sojourners* (temporary occupants) *devour*. The explanation of this verse as a promise, that the *lambs* or righteous should succeed to the possessions of the *fat ones* or wealthy sinners (Targ. Jar. Kim. Calv. Jun. Cocc. Vitr.) is scarcely consistent with the context, which contains an unbroken series of threatenings. The modern interpreters, who follow Aben Ezra in making this a threatening likewise, apply it either figuratively to the subjection of the Holy Land to the Gentiles (Gill) or the entrance of the poor on the possessions of the rich (Hendewerk), or literally to the desolation of the land itself (J. D. Mich. Lowth, &c.).—Gesenius refers the last clause to tillage, and supposes it to mean that strangers shall

reap the crops of the forsaken lands; but the common interpretation is more natural, which makes both clauses have respect to pasturage.—Most writers make גָּרִים a synonyme of גֵּרִים *strangers;* but Cocceius treats it as an adjective agreeing with כְּבָשִׂים, 'and strange lambs shall devour,' &c. Hitzig construes it still more strictly as a participle, 'and devour wandering the wastes,' &c. But the verb should then be taken in its usual sense of *sojourning*, residing for a time, in reference either to the shepherds or their sheep.—The Vulgate explains חָרְבוֹת מֵחִים to mean *fat* wastes, i. e. deserts become fertile (deserta in ubertatem versa); the French version, deserts where the flocks grew fat; Clericus, still more strangely, the flocks themselves which fed in the desert, and should therefore be devoured by strangers, while the lambs were led as usual to pasture by their Babylonian captors. J. D. Michaelis takes חָרְבוֹת in the sense of *ruins*, here put for that which grows among them; but the word no doubt means waste fields, as in Jer. 25: 11. Ezek. 25: 13. Hitzig supposes מֵחִים to denote fat sheep or rams, as in the only other place where it occurs (Ps. 66: 15); but most interpreters regard it as a figure for the rich and prosperous, like חֶשְׁנֵי־אֶרֶץ Ps. 22: 30 (compare מְשַׁמְּנֵיהֶם Ps. 78: 31).—The phrase כִּדְבָרָם has been variously explained to mean *as it was said to them* (Targ.), *juxta ductum suum* i. e. *without restraint* (J. H. Mich. Lowth), *according to their order* i. e. their usual order (Vulg.), *as they are driven* (Aben Ezra, J. D. Mich.). But the modern interpreters take דֶּבֶר here and Micah 2: 12 in the sense of *pasture*.—The conjectural emendation of the text by changing גרים into כרים (Cappellus, Bauer) or גדים (Durell, Secker, Lowth, Ewald) is of course superfluous.

V. 18. The series of woes is now resumed and continued without any interruption, vs. 18–23. Even the description of the punishment, instead of being added directly to that of the sin, as in vs. 9 and 13, is postponed until the catalogue of sins is closed, and then subjoined in a general form, v. 24. This verse contains the third woe, having reference to presumptuous sinners who defy God's judgments. They are here represented not as drawn away by sin (James 1: 14), but as laboriously drawing it to them by soliciting temptation, drawing it out by obstinate persistency in evil and contempt of divine threatenings. *Woe to the drawers of iniquity* (those drawing, those who draw it) *with cords of vanity, and sin* (a parallel expression to iniquity) *as* (or *as with*) *a cart-rope*, i. e. a strong rope, implying difficulty and exertion.—The interpretation which supposes *iniquity* and *sin* to mean *calamity* and *punishment* (Menochius, Gesenius, Ewald, Hendewerk, Henderson), although it seems to make the sentence clearer, impairs its strength, and takes the words in an unusual and doubtful sense. Knobel objects that men cannot be said to draw sin with cords of sin. But even

this figure is perfectly consistent both with reason and experience. Or *vanity* may be taken in the sense of falsehood or sophistical reasoning by which men persuade themselves to sin (Calv. Vitr. Cler.). The Targum, followed by Jarchi, supposes an antithesis between the beginnings of sin and its later stages, slight cords and cart-ropes. But this confounds the sin itself with the instrument by which they draw it; and the same objection lies against the Syriac and Vulgate versions, which make *drawing out*, protracting, the primary idea, and also against Houbigant's and Lowth's interpretation, which supposes an allusion to the process of rope-making. Luther's idea that the verse relates to combination among wicked men, 'who bind themselves together' to do mischief, is at variance with the usage of the Hebrew verb.—The true interpretation of the verse, which supposes the act described to be that of laboriously drawing sin to one's self, perhaps with the accessory idea of drawing it out by perseverance, is substantially given by Kimchi, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, Maurer, and Umbreit.—The various readings, בעבות for כעבות (Bib. Soncin., 14 MSS.), כחבלי for בחבלי (1 MS., Sept. Aq. Sym. Theod.), and עגלה for עגלה (Olshausen, Observ. Crit. p. 8., Henderson ad loc.), are all unnecessary and inferior to the common text.

V. 19. The degree of their presumption and depravity is now evinced by a citation of their language with respect to God's threatened judgments, an ironical expression of impatience to behold them, and an implied refusal to believe without experience. The sentence is continued from the verse preceding, and further describes the sinners there denounced, as *the ones saying* (those who say), *let him speed, let him hasten his work* (his providential work, as in v. 12), *that we may see, and let the counsel* (providential plan or purpose) *of the Holy One of Israel* (which, in the mouth of these blasphemers, seems to be a taunting irony) *draw nigh and come, and we will know* (i. e. according to the Hebrew idiom and the parallel expression) *that we may know* what it is, or that it is a real purpose, and that he is able to accomplish it. (Compare Jer. 17: 15. Amos 5: 18. 6: 13. Isai. 30: 10, 11. 28: 15. 2 Peter 3: 4.)—The intransitive construction of the first clause, 'let him speed, let his work make haste' (Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit), may be justified by usage, and makes the clauses more exactly parallel; but the other is preferred, by almost all interpreters, ancient and modern.—Henderson explains this verse as "the only construction which could be put upon the conduct of the wicked Jews;" but the reference seems to be to actual expression of the wish in words, and not in action merely.—For the form חָבוֹאָה, see Gesenius, Heb. Gr. § 48. 3.

V. 20. The fourth woe is against those who subvert moral distinctions and confound good and evil, an idea expressed first in literal terms and then

by two obvious and intelligible figures. *Woe unto the* (persons) *saying* (those who say) *to evil good and to good evil*, (who address them by these titles or call them so), *putting darkness for light and light for darkness, putting bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.* These are here combined, not merely as natural opposites, but also as common figures for truth and falsehood, right and wrong. See ch. 2 : 5. Prov. 2 : 13. Ec. 2 : 13. James 3 : 11. A kindred figure is employed by Juvenal (qui nigrum in candida vertunt. Sat. 3 : 3). Gesenius and Hitzig apply this verse particularly to unrighteous judges, who are mentioned in v. 23 ; but a more general sense is here required by the context.

V. 21. Here, as in the foregoing verse, one sin follows another without any intervening description of punishment. This arrangement may imply a very intimate connection between the sins thus brought into juxtaposition. As presumptuous sin, such as vs. 18, 19 describe, implies a perversion of the moral sense, such as v. 20 describes, so the latter may be said to presuppose an undue reliance upon human reason, which is elsewhere contrasted with the fear of God (Prov. 3 : 7), and is indeed incompatible with it. *Woe unto the wise in their eyes* (i. e. their own eyes, which cannot be otherwise expressed in Hebrew) *and before their own faces* (in their own sight or estimation) *prudent*, intelligent, a synonyme of *wise*. The sin reproved, as Calvin well observes, is not mere frivolous self-conceit, but that delusive estimate of human wisdom (fallax sapientiae spectrum) which may coexist with modesty of manners and a high degree of real intellectual merit, but which must be abjured, not only on account of its effects, but also as involving the worst form of pride.

V. 22. The sixth woe, like the second, is directed against drunkards, but with special reference to drunken judges, vs. 22, 23. The tone of this verse is sarcastic, from its using terms which commonly express not only strength but courage and heroic spirit, in application to exploits of drunkenness. There may indeed be a particular allusion to a species of fool-hardiness and brutal ambition not uncommon in our own times, leading men to show the vigour of their frames by mad excess, and to seek eminence in this way no less eagerly than superior spirits seek true glory. Of such it may indeed be said, their god is their belly and they glory in their shame. *Woe to the mighty men* or *heroes*, (who are heroes only) *to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink*, i. e. according to the usual interpretation, to mix wine with spices, thereby making it more stimulating and exciting, a practice spoken of by Pliny and other ancient writers. (See also Sol. Song 8 : 2.) Hitzig (with whom Hendewerk agrees on this point) denies that this was an oriental usage, and understands the Prophet as refer-

ring to the mixture of wine with water. But see Gesenius's Thesaurus, p. 808. In either case the mixing is here mentioned only as a customary act in the offering or drinking of liquors, just as *making tea* might be mentioned as a common act of modern hospitality, whatever part of the preparatory process the phrase may properly denote.

V. 23. The absence of the interjection shows that this is a continuation of the woe begun in the preceding verse, and thus explains the Prophet's recurrence to a sin which he had denounced already (vs. 11, 12) as productive of general inconsideration, but which he now describes as leading to injustice, and therefore as a vice peculiarly disgraceful in a magistrate. The effect here ascribed to drunkenness is not merely that of incapacitating judges for the discharge of their official functions, but that of tempting them to make a trade of justice, with a view to the indulgence of this appetite. *Justifying* (i. e. acquitting, clearing, a forensic term) *the guilty* (not simply the wicked in a general sense, but the wrong-doer in a judicial sense) *for the sake* (literally *as the result*) *of a bribe, and the righteousness of the righteous* (i. e. the *right* of the innocent or injured party, or his *character* as such) *they will take from him* (i. e. they do and will do so still). The transition from the plural to the singular in this clause, and from the participle to the future, are familiar idioms of Hebrew syntax. The pronoun at the end may be understood either collectively or distributively, *from each of them*. (See Gesen. Heb. Gr. § 143. 4.)

V. 24. To the series of sins enumerated in the six preceding verses there is now added a general description of their punishment. In the first clause, the Prophet represents the divine visitation, with its sudden, rapid, irresistible effect, by the familiar figure of chaff and dry grass sinking in the flames. In the second clause he passes from simile to metaphor, and speaks of the people as a tree whose root is rotten and its growth above ground pulverized. In the third, he drops both figures, and in literal expressions summarily states the cause of their destruction. *Therefore* (because of the abounding of these sins) *as a tongue of fire* (i. e. a flame, so called from its shape and motion, Acts 2 : 3. 1 Kings 18 : 38) *devours chaff* (or stubble), *and as ignited grass falls away, their root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom as fine dust shall go up* (i. e. be taken up and scattered by the wind). *For they have rejected the law of Jehovah of Hosts, and the word* (the revealed will) *of the Holy one of Israel they have treated with contempt.*—Montanus explains רִקָּבוֹן as a transitive verb (glumam debilitat), and the English Version (followed by Lowth and Augusti) goes still further by giving it the sense of *consuming*, which it never has. Calvin, followed by Vitringa, makes it passive and renders לֶהָבָה as an ablative (a flamma

dissolvitur). Gesenius, in his version, gives the verb its usual intransitive or neuter sense, but supplies a preposition before the noun, or takes it as a noun of place (in der Flamme zusammensinkt). In his Lexicon, however, he adopts the construction first proposed by Cocceius, which supposes the two words to be in regimen, and to mean literally *grass of flame* i. e. flaming or ignited grass.—J. D. Michaelis endeavours to identify the figures of the first and second clause by reading *ashes* instead of *rottenness;* but such transitions are too common to excite surprise.—The Septuagint renders פֶּרַח *ἄνθος*, the Vulgate *germen*, and others variously bud, blossom, flower, etc. It seems to be intended to express whatever could here be put in antithesis to *root*, as in the proverbial phrase *root and branch*, denoting the whole tree, above ground and below.—For the true sense of the last verb in this verse, see ch. 1 : 4. Its use in this connexion is a strong proof that it cannot mean *provoke*, although the Seventy so translate it even here.—The collocation of the subject and the object in the first clause is unusual. See Ewald's Heb. Gr. § 555. For the syntax of the infinitive and future in the same clause, see Gesen. § 129. Rem. 2.

V. 25. Having declared in the foregoing verse what should be, he recalls to mind what has already been. As if he had said, God will visit you for these things; nay, he has done so already, but without reclaiming you or satisfying his own justice, for which purpose further strokes are still required. The previous inflictions here referred to are described as a stroke from Jehovah's outstretched hand, so violent as to shake the mountains, and so destructive as to fill the streets with corpses.—*Therefore* (referring to the last clause of v. 24) *the anger of Jehovah has burned against his people* (literally *in them* i. e. in the very midst of them as a consuming fire), *and he stretched forth his hand against them* (literally *him*, referring to the singular noun *people*), *and smote them, and the mountains trembled, and their carcass* put collectively for corpses) *was like sweeping* (refuse, filth) *in the midst of the streets. In all this* (i. e. even after all this, or notwithstanding all this) *his anger has not turned back* (abandoned its object, or regarded it as already gained), *and still his hand is stretched out* (to inflict new judgments).—The future form given to the verbs by Clericus is altogether arbitrary. Most of the later writers follow Luther in translating them as presents. But if this verse is not descriptive of the past, as distinguished from the present and the future, the Hebrew language is incapable of making any such distinction. This natural meaning of the language (which no modern version except Ewald's fully expresses) is confirmed by the last clause, which evidently introduces something posterior to what is here described. It is not necessary to suppose, although it is most probable, that what is here described had actually taken place before the Prophet wrote. In this, as in some

other cases, he may be supposed to take his stand between a nearer and a more remote futurity, the former being then of course described as past.—The trembling of the mountains is referred by Hendewerk to the earthquake mentioned Amos 1 : 1. Zech. 14 : 5. Jarchi explains it of the fall of kings and princes. Junius makes the Prophet say that if such strokes had fallen upon mountains *they would have trembled.*—J. D. Michaelis supposes what is said of the dead bodies to be applicable only to a pestilence. It is most probable, however, that these strong expressions were intended simply to convey the idea of violent commotion and a general mortality. There is no need of referring what is said exclusively to evils suffered in the days of Joash and Amaziah (Junius) or in those of Ahaz (Vitringa), since the Prophet evidently means to say that *all preceding judgments* had been insufficient and that more were still required.—The act expressed by שָׁב is not so much that of *turning away* as that of *turning back* or ceasing to pursue. (See Hengstenberg on Ps. 9 : 4. 18.) Saadias and Kimchi derive כסוחה from כסח to *cut* or *tear*, in which they are followed by Calvin (mutilum), Junius (succisum), and the English version (torn). But all the ancient versions and most modern ones make כ a preposition, and the best lexicographers derive the noun from סוח to sweep.—*In the midst of the streets* may be taken strictly to denote *in the middle* (Calvin: in medio viarum), or more indefinitely *in, within.* Vide supra, v. 8.

V. 26. The former stroke having been insufficient, a more effectual one is now impending, in predicting which the Prophet does not confine himself to figurative language, but presents the approaching judgment in its proper form, as the invasion and ultimate subjection of the country by a formidable enemy, vs. 26–30. In this verse he describes the approach of these invaders as invited by Jehovah, to express which idea he employs two figures not uncommon in prophecy, that of a signal-pole or flag, and that of a hiss or whistle, in obedience to which the last clause represents the enemy as rapidly advancing. *And he raises a signal to the nations from afar, and hisses* (or whistles) *for him from the ends of the earth; and behold in haste, swift, he shall come.*—Here, as in v. 25, the older writers understand the verbs as futures, but the later ones as presents. The verbs in the last clause have Vav prefixed, but its conversive power commonly depends upon a future verb preceding, which is wanting here. These verbs appear to form a link between the past time of v. 25 and the unambiguous future at the end of this. First, *he smote* them, but without effect. Then, he *raises* a signal and *whistles.* Lastly, the enemy thus summoned *will come* swiftly.—The singular suffix in לוֹ has been variously explained as referring to the king whose subjects had been previously mentioned (Targ. Jon.), or to the army as a whole, which had been just described as gentiles, heathen (Knobel, Hitzig.) or

to the ruling power under whose banners the other nations fought (Vitr. Hendewerk), or simply to *one* of the nations previously mentioned (Ges. Umbr.)—The nation meant has been also variously explained to be the Romans (Theodoret: τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διὰ τούτων ᾔνιξε), the Babylonians (Clericus), and the Assyrians (Ges. Ew. etc.) But this very disagreement, or rather the indefinite expressions which occasion it, show that the terms of the description were designed to be more comprehensive. The essential idea is that the previous lighter judgments should be followed by another more severe and efficacious, by invasion and subjection. The terms are most emphatically applicable to the Romans.—The hissing or whistling, Hitzig supposes to have reference to some mode of alluring birds (Hos. 11: 11. Zech. 10: 8); but the common and more probable opinion is that it alludes to the ancient mode of swarming bees, described at length by Cyril. (See his words as given by Bochart, Hieroz. p. 506).—In the last clause a substantive meaning *haste*, and an adjective meaning *light*, are both used adverbially in the sense of *swiftly*.

V. 27. The enemy, whose approach was just foretold, is now described as not only prompt and rapid, but complete in his equipments, firm and vigorous, ever wakeful, impeded neither by the accidents of the way nor by defective preparation. *There is no one faint* (or exhausted) *and there is no one stumbling* (or faltering) *among them* (literally *in him*). *He* (the enemy, considered as an individual) *sleeps not, and he slumbers not, and the girdle of his loins is not opened* (or loosed), *and the latchet* (string or band) *of his shoes* (or *sandals*) *is not broken.*—The English version follows Calvin in translating all the verbs as futures. The Vulgate supplies the present in the first clause, and makes the others future. But as the whole is evidently one description, the translation should be uniform; and as the preterite and future forms are intermingled, both seem to be here used for the present, which is given by Luther and most of the late writers.—The last clause is understood by Henderson and others as denoting that they do not disarm or undress themselves for sleep. But as the last verb always denotes violent separation, it is most probable that this whole clause relates to accidental interruptions of the march.—The question raised by Hendewerk and Henderson as to the kind of *girdle* here referred to, is of no exegetical importance, as it is only joined with *shoes* to represent the dress in general.—*In him* may be either put collectively for *in them*, or, as J. D. Michaelis supposes, may refer to the *army*; and Hendewerk accordingly has *it slumbers not*, etc.—The distinction made by some between נָנוּם and יִישָׁן (Cocceius: non dormitat, multo minus dormit) is unnecessary here, where the verbs seem to be used as mere poetical equivalents.

V. 28. The description is continued, but with special reference to their weapons and their means of conveyance. For the former, bows and arrows are here put; and for the latter, horses and chariots (see ch. 2: 7). *Whose arrows are sharpened and all his bows bent* (literally trod upon); *the hoofs of his horses like flint* (or adamant) *are reckoned, and his wheels like a whirlwind*, in rapidity and violence of motion.—Gesenius, Henderson, and others, omit the relative at the beginning, and Junius renders it as a conjunction (quia). But it serves to make the connexion with the verse preceding much more close and sensible.—As שְׁנוּנִים, like the Latin *acutae*, is a participle, the common version (sharp) does not fully express its meaning. Indeed from what is said of the bows immediately afterwards, the prominent idea would seem to be not that the arrows were *sharp*, but that they were already *sharpened*, implying present readiness for use.—The bows being *trod upon* has reference to the ancient mode of stringing, or rather of shooting, the bow being large and made of metal or hard wood. Arrian says expressly, in describing the use of the bow by the Indian infantry, "placing it on the ground, and stepping on it with the left foot, so they shoot (*οὕτως ἐκτοξεύουσι*), drawing the string back to a great distance." (See the original passage in Henderson.)—The passive verb נֶחְשָׁבוּ cannot be accurately rendered *they resemble* (Ges. Hitz.), nor even *they are to be counted* (Aug. De Wette), but means *they are counted* (Cocc. Ew.), the preterite form implying that they had been tried and proved so.—The future form given to this whole verse by Calvin and Junius, and to the last clause by Lowth and Barnes, greatly impairs its unity and force as a description.

V. 29. By a sudden transition, the enemy are here represented as lions, roaring, growling, seizing their prey, and carrying it off without resistance; a lively picture, especially to an oriental reader, of the boldness, fierceness, quickness, and success of the attack here threatened. *He has a roar like the lioness, and he shall roar like the young lions, and shall growl, and seize the prey, and secure it, none delivering* (i. e. and none can rescue it).—Cocceius, Vitringa, and the modern writers, use the present tense, as in the foregoing verses, to preserve the unity of the description. But there the preterite and future forms are mingled, whereas here the future is alone used, unless the textual reading ושאג be retained, and even then the *Vav* may be regarded as conversive. Besides, this seems to be the turning point between description and prediction. Having told what the enemy is, he now tells what he will do. It seems best therefore to adopt the future form used by the ancient versions, by Calvin, and by Luther, who is fond of the present, and employs it in the two foregoing verses.—Most of the modern writers follow Bochart in explaining לָבִיא to denote the *lioness*, which is the more natural in this case from the mention of the *young lions* immediately after-

wards. The image, as Henderson suggests, may be that of a lioness attended by her whelps, or rather by her young ones which are old enough to roar and seek their prey (see Ez. 19: 2, 3. and Gesenius s. v.).—The meaning of וַיַּפְלִיט is not 'he shall embrace' (Vulg. amplexabitur), nor 'he shall gather spoil' (Calv. spolia corradet), nor 'he shall let it go' in sport before devouring it (Luzzatto); but he shall carry it off safe, place it in safety, or secure it (Ewald: tobt und nimmt den Raub und sichert ihn ohne Retter.)

V. 30. The roaring of the lion suggests the roaring of the sea, and thus a beautiful transition is effected from the one figure to the other, in describing the catastrophe of all these judgments. Israel is threatened by a raging sea, and looking landward sees it growing dark there, until, after a brief fluctuation, the darkness becomes total. *And he* (the enemy) *shall roar against him* (Israel) *in that day like the roaring of a sea. And he shall look to the land, and behold darkness! Anguish and light! It is dark in the clouds thereof* (i. e. of the land, the skies above it).—The Vulgate, Peshito, and a great majority of modern writers, disregard the Masoretic accents, and connect חָשַׁךְ with צַר, and אוֹר with חָשַׁךְ. Knobel appears to be the first who observed that this arrangement involves the necessity of vowel-changes also, as we must then read צָר for צַר and וְאוֹר for וָאוֹר. Those who adopt this interpretation either read *darkness of anguish* (Vulg. Hitz. Knobel) or *darkness and anguish* (Eng. Vs.), or *darkness, anguish* (Hendewerk). Vitringa still construes אוֹר separately, '*as* for the light,' but the others connect it with חָשַׁךְ directly, 'and the light is dark,' etc. The only objection to the Masoretic interpretation (which, although retained by Cocceius, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Maurer, is not the common one, as Hitzig represents), is the alleged incongruity of making *light* and *anguish* alternate instead of light and darkness, a rhetorical nicety unworthy of attention where there is at best but a choice of difficulties. Henderson says, indeed, that it is "quite at variance with the spirit of the text, which requires a state of profound darkness, without any relieving glimpses of light." But it is just as easy to affirm that "the spirit of the text" requires the other construction, which is moreover recommended by its antiquity, traditional authority, simplicity, poetical beauty, and descriptive truth.—On the authority of the Aldine and Complutensian text of the Septuagint, Lowth supposes an omission in the Hebrew, which he thus supplies, 'and these shall look to the heaven upward and down to the earth.' But, as Barnes has well observed, "there is no need of supposing the expression defective. The Prophet speaks of the vast multitude that was coming up, as a *sea*. On that side there was no safety. It was natural to speak of the other direction as the *land* or shore, and to say that the people would look there for safety. But, says he, there would be no safety there; all would be darkness." Hitzig

supplies the supposed defect by putting אוֹר in antithesis to אֶרֶץ, 'one looks to the earth and behold the darkness of distress, and to the light (i. e. the sun or sky) etc.' But the introduction of the preposition is entirely arbitrary and extremely forced.—Kimchi and Junius explain עֲרִפֶּיהָ to mean *its ruins*, deriving it from עָרַף to destroy (Hos. 10: 2). Clericus, following an Arabic analogy, translates it *in conclavibus*, which seems absurd. The common derivation is from עָרַף to distill (Deut. 32: 2. 33: 28), according to which it means the *clouds*, either strictly, or as a description of the heavens generally. Lowth and several of the later Germans give the particle a causal sense, *through* or *by reason of its clouds;* but the proper local sense of *in its clouds* or *skies* is retained by Gesenius, Ewald, and all the early writers. The second verb is taken indefinitely by all the modern Germans except Ewald, who translates it *he looks*, but as if by way of compensation, gives an indefinite meaning to the suffix in עָלָיו which he renders *over* or *upon* one (über einem).—The use of the present tense, in rendering the first clause, by Cocceius and the later Germans, is hardly consistent with the phrase *in that day*, and destroys the fine antithesis between the future יְנֹהַּ and the preterite חָשַׁךְ describing the expected obscuration as already past.—Clericus appears to be alone in referring נִגְבַּט to the enemy (solo adspectu terram Israeliticam terrebit!). The sense of the last clause, according to the Masoretic interpretation, is well expressed by Gesenius, '(bald) Angst, (bald) Licht,' and more paraphrastically by an old French version, 'il regardera vers la terre, mais voici il y aura des ténébres, *il y aura affliction avec la lumière*, il y aura des ténébres au ciel audessus d'elle'

CHAPTER VI.

This chapter contains a vision and a prophecy of awful import. At an early period of his ministry, the Prophet sees the Lord enthroned in the temple and adored by the Seraphim, at whose voice the house is shaken, and the Prophet, smitten with a sense of his own corruption and unworthiness to speak for God or praise him, is relieved by the application of fire from the altar to his lips, and an assurance of forgiveness, after which, in answer to the voice of God inquiring for a messenger, he offers himself and is accepted, but with an assurance that his labours will tend only to aggravate the guilt and condemnation of the people, who are threatened with judicial blindness, and, as its necessary consequence, removal from the desolated country; and the prophecy closes with a promise and a threatening

both in one, to wit, that the remnant which survives the threatened judgments shall experience a repetition of the stroke, but that a remnant after all shall continue to exist and to experience God's mercy.

The chapter naturally falls into two parts, the vision, vs. 1–8, and the message or prediction, vs. 9–13. The precise relation between these two parts has been a subject of dispute. The question is, whether the vision is an introduction to the message, or the message an appendage to the vision. Those who take the former view suppose that in order to prepare the Prophet for a discouraging and painful revelation, he was favoured with a new view of the divine majesty and of his own unworthiness, relieved by an assurance of forgiveness, and encouraged by a special designation to the self-denying work which was before him. Those who assume the other ground proceed upon the supposition, that the chapter contains an account of the Prophet's original induction into office, and that the message at the close was added to prepare him for its disappointments, or perhaps to try his faith.

Either of these two views may be maintained without absurdity and without materially affecting the details of the interpretation. The second is not only held by Jewish writers, but by the majority of Christian interpreters in modern times. The objection to it, founded on the place which the chapter holds in the collection, is met by some with the assertion, that the prophecies are placed without regard to chronological order. But as this is a gratuitous assumption, and as the order is at least *prima facie* evidence of date, some of the latest writers (Ewald for example) hold that the date of composition was long posterior to that of the event, and one writer (Hitzig) goes so far as to assume, that this is the latest of Isaiah's writings, and was intended to exhibit, in the form of an *ex post facto* prophecy, the actual result of his official experience. This extravagant hypothesis needs no refutation, and neither that of Ewald, nor the common one, which makes this the first of Isaiah's writings, should be assumed without necessity, that is, without something in the chapter itself forbidding us to refer it to any other date than the beginning of Isaiah's ministry. But the chapter contains nothing which would not have been appropriate at any period of that ministry, and some of its expressions seem to favour, if they do not require, the hypothesis of previous experience in the office. The idea of so solemn an *inauguration* is affecting and impressive, but seems hardly sufficient to outweigh the presumption arising from the order of the prophecies in favour of the other supposition, which requires no facts to be assumed without authority, and although less striking, is at least as safe.

V. 1. *In the year that king Uzziah died* (B. C. 758), *I saw the Lord sitting on a throne high and lifted up, and his skirts* (the train of his royal

robe) *filling the palace*, or, taking the last word in its more specific sense, *the temple*, so called as being the palace of the great King. "No man hath seen God at any time" (John 1 : 18), and God himself hath said, "There shall no man see me and live" (Ex. 34 : 20). Yet we read not only that "the pure in heart shall see God" (Matt. 5 : 8), but that Jacob said, "I have seen God face to face" (Gen. 32 : 30). It is therefore plain that the phrase to "see God" is employed in different senses, and that although his essence is and must be invisible, he may be seen in the manifestation of his glory or in human form. The first of these senses is given here by the Targum and Grotius, the last by Clericus, with more probability, as the act of sitting on a throne implies a human form, and Ezekiel likewise in prophetic vision saw, "upon the likeness of a throne, an appearance as the likeness of a man above upon it" (Ez. 1 : 26). It has been a general opinion in all ages of the church, that in every such manifestation it was God the Son who thus revealed himself. In John 12 : 41, it is said to have been Christ's glory that Isaiah saw and spoke of, while Paul cites vs. 9 and 10 (Acts 28 : 25, 26) as the language of the Holy Ghost. It seems needless to inquire whether the Prophet saw this sight with his bodily eyes, or in a dream, or in an ecstasy, since the effect upon his own mind must have been the same in either case. It is also a question of no moment whether he beheld the throne erected in the Holy Place, or in the Holy of Holies, or in heaven, or, as Jarchi imagines, reaching from earth to heaven. The scene of the vision is evidently taken from the temple at Jerusalem, but not confined to its exact dimensions and arrangements. It has been disputed whether what is here recorded took place before or after the death of Uzziah. Those who regard this as the first of Isaiah's prophecies are forced to assume that it belongs to the reign of Uzziah. It is also urged in favour of this opinion, that the time after his death would have been described as the first year of Jotham. The design, however, may have been to fix, not the reign in which he saw the vision, but the nearest remarkable event. Besides, *the first year of Jotham* would have been ambiguous, because his reign is reckoned from two different epochs, the natural death of his father, and his civil death, when smitten with the leprosy, after which he resided in a separate house, and the government was administered by Jotham as prince-regent, who was therefore virtually king before he was such formally, and is accordingly described in the very same context as having reigned sixteen and twenty years (2 Kings 15 : 30, 33). It does not follow, however, that by Uzziah's death the Prophet here intends his leprosy, as the Targum and some of the Rabbins suppose, but merely that the mention of Uzziah is no proof that the vision was seen before he died.—Abarbenel and Rosenmüller refer the epithets *high* and *lofty* to the Lord, as in ch. 57 : 15, and Calvin understands by the *train* the edging of the

cloth which covered the throne. But the common explanation is in either case more natural.—The conjunction before אֶרְאֶה is not to be connected with חָזָה understood (Hendewerk), or rendered *also* (English Version), but explained as an example of a common Hebrew idiom which prefixes this particle to the apodosis of a sentence, especially when the first clause contains a specification of time. It is here substantially equivalent to *then*, and is so rendered by Junius and Tremellius, Gesenius, Henderson, and others.

V. 2. He sees the Lord not only enthroned but attended by his ministers. *Seraphim*, burning spirits, *standing above it*, the throne, or *above him* that sat upon it. *Six wings, six wings, to one*, i. e. to each. *With two he covers his face*, as a sign of reverence towards God, *and with two he covers his feet*, for the same purpose, or to conceal himself from mortal view, *and with two he flies*, to execute God's will. The Hebrew word *seraphim* is retained by the Septuagint, Peshito, and Vulgate, but by the Targum paraphrased as *holy ministers*. It is rightly explained by Kimchi and Abulwalid as meaning *angels of fire*, from שָׂרַף to burn, the name being descriptive either of their essence, or, as Clericus supposes, of their ardent love, or, according to Grotius, of God's wrath which they execute. Lightfoot supposes a particular allusion to the burning of the temple, which is needless and unnatural. This reference to heat as well as light, to something terrible as well as splendid, does away with Gesenius's objection that the root means to burn, not to shine, and also with his own derivation of the noun from the Arabic شريف *noble*, because angels are the nobility of heaven, and Michael is called one of the chief princes (Dan. 10: 13). Still less attention is due to the notion that the word is connected in its origin with *Serapis* (Hitzig) and signifies *serpents* (Umbreit), *sphinxes* (Knobel), mixed forms like the cherubim (Ewald), or the cherubim themselves (Hendewerk). The word occurs elsewhere only as the name of the *fiery serpents* of the wilderness (Num. 21: 6, 8. Deut. 8: 15), described by Isaiah (14: 29. 30: 6) as *flying serpents*. The transfer of the name to beings so dissimilar rests on their possession of two common attributes. Both are described as *winged* and both as *burning*.—Umbreit considers *standing* as synonymous with *serving*, because servants are often said in the Old Testament to *stand before* their masters. But it is better to retain the proper meaning, not as implying necessarily that they rested on the earth or any other solid surface, but that they were stationary, even in the air. This will remove all objection to the version *above him*, which may also be explained as describing the relative position of persons in a standing and sitting posture. There is no need therefore of the rendering *above it*, which is given in our Bible, nor of taking the compound preposition in the unusual sense of *near* (Grotius, Henderson),

or *near above* (Junius), *around* (Sept. Ges. Ew.), or *around above* (Targ. Cocc. Arg. Um.).—The repetition of the phrase *six wings* supplies the place of a distributive pronoun (Ges. § 118. 5). The version *six pairs of wings* rests on an entire misconception of the Hebrew dual, which is never a periphrasis of the number two, but is simply a peculiar plural form belonging to nouns which denote things that naturally exist in pairs. Hence the numeral prefixed always denotes the number, not of pairs, but of individual objects. (See Ewald's Heb. Gr. § 365.)—The future form of the verbs denotes continued and habitual action. According to Origen there were only two seraphs, and these were the Son and Holy Spirit, who are here described as covering, not their own face and feet, but the face and feet of the Father, to imply that although they are his revealers, they conceal the beginning and the end of his eternity. Jerome denounces this ingenious whim as impious, but retains the same construction (faciem ejus, pedes ejus.) The Chaldee paraphrase is, 'with two he covered his face, *lest he should see;* with two he covered his body, *lest he should be seen;* and with two he *served.*' The covering of the feet may, however, according to oriental usage, be regarded as a reverential act, equivalent in import to the hiding of the face.

V. 3. He now describes the seraphim as praising God in an alternate or responsive doxology. *And this cried to this*, i. e. one to another, *and said, Holy, Holy, Holy* (*is*) *Jehovah of Hosts, the fulness of the whole earth*, that which fills the whole earth, *is his glory!*—It was commonly agreed among the Fathers, that only two seraphim are mentioned here, and this opinion is maintained by Hendewerk. It cannot be proved, however, from the words *this to this*, which are elsewhere used in reference to a greater number. (See Ex. 14: 20. 36: 10. Jer. 46: 16.) Clericus explains *this to this* as relating not to the *cry* but the position of those crying, *alter ad alterum conversus.* Rosenmüller understands the trine repetition as implying that the words were uttered first by one choir, then by another, and lastly by the two together, which is a very artificial hypothesis. The allusion to the trinity in this τρισάγιον is the more probable because different parts of the chapter are referred in the New Testament to the three persons of the Godhead. Calvin and Cocceius admit that the doctrine of the trinity cannot be proved from this expression, and that a like repetition is used elsewhere simply for the sake of emphasis. See for example Jer. 7: 4. 22: 9. Ezek. 21: 27. But according to J. H. Michaelis, even there the idea of trinity in unity was meant to be suggested (cum unitate conjuncta triplicitas.) *Holy* is here understood by most interpreters as simply denoting moral purity, which is certainly the prominent idea. Most probably, however, it denotes the whole divine perfection, that which *separates* or distinguishes

between God and his creatures. "I am God and not man, the Holy One in the midst of thee." Hos. 11 : 9. On the etymology and usage of this word, see Hengstenberg on Ps. 22 : 4, and 29 : 9. Grotius strangely restricts its import by referring it in this case to God's righteousness in dealing with the king and people. Umbreit supposes the idea of a separate or personal God, as opposed to the pantheistic notion, to be included in the meaning of the term. Grotius and Junius understand by כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *all the land*, Luther and Hendewerk, *all lands;* the last of which, although inaccurate in form, is really synonymous with *all the earth*, and the former is forbidden by the strength of the expressions in the text and context. Clericus makes *glory* not the subject but the predicate: *the fulness of the earth*, all that the earth contains, *is thy glory*, or promotes it. But the common construction is sustained by the analogy of ch. 8 : 8, where *fulness of the earth* is the predicate, and that of the prayer and prediction in Ps. 72 : 19 (let the whole earth be filled with his glory), and Num. 14 : 21 (all the earth shall be filled with the glory of Jehovah). The words may have reference not only to the present but the future, implying that the judgments about to be denounced against the Jews, should be connected with the general diffusion of God's glory. There may also be allusion to the cloud which filled the temple, as if he had said, the presence of God shall no longer be restricted to one place, but the whole earth shall be full of it. By the *glory* of God J. H. Michaelis understands his essence (Wesen) or God himself. But the idea of special manifestation seems to be not only expressed but prominent. The same writer renders יהוה צבאות, here and elsewhere, *God of gods*. Clericus as usual makes it mean *God of armies* or *battles*. The Hebrew word is retained by the Septuagint, Luther, Augusti and Umbreit. The use of the preterite at the beginning of the verse is probably euphonic. The Vav has no conversive influence, because not preceded by a future verb. (Nordh. § 219.)

V. 4. The effect of this doxology, and of the whole supernatural appearance, is described. *Then stirred*, or shook, *the bases of the thresholds at the voice that cried*, or *at the voice of the one crying, and the house is filled with smoke*. The words אַמּוֹת הַסִּפִּים are explained to mean the *lintel* or upper part of the door-frame, by the Septuagint, Luther, and J. D. Michaelis. The Vulgate gives the second word the sense of *hinges* (superliminaria cardinum). It is now commonly admitted to mean *thresholds*, and the other word *foundations*. The common version, *posts*, is also given by Clericus and Vitringa. The door may be particularly spoken of, because the prophet was looking through it from the court without into the interior. The participle *crying* may agree with *voice* directly, *voce clamante* (Junius and Tremellius), or with *seraph* understood. Clericus makes it a collective,

at the voice of those crying, in which he is followed by Gesenius and others; but Hendewerk supposes the singular form to intimate that only one cried at a time. Cocceius and J. H. Michaelis understand it to mean *every one* that cried. By *smoke* Knobel and others understand a cloud or vapour showing the presence of Jehovah. Most interpreters, however, understand it in its proper sense of *smoke*, as the natural attendant of the fire which blazed about the throne of God, or of that which burned upon the altar, as in Lev. 16: 13 the mercy-seat is said to be covered with a "cloud of incense." In either case it was intended to produce a solemn awe in the beholder. The reflexive sense, *it filled itself*, given to the last verb by Hitzig, Hendewerk, Ewald, and Umbreit, is not so natural as the simple passive, *it was filled* or *it became full*.

V. 5. The Prophet now describes himself as filled with awe, not only by the presence of Jehovah, but also by a deep impression of his own sinfulness, especially considered as unfitting him to praise God, or to be his messenger, and therefore represented as residing in the organs of speech. *And I said*, when I saw and heard these things, then I said, *Woe is me*, woe to me, or alas for me, a phrase expressing lamentation and alarm, *for I am undone*, or destroyed, *for a man impure of lips*, as to the lips, *am I, and in the midst of a people impure of lips*, of impure lips, *I am dwelling*, and am therefore undone, *for the King, Jehovah of Hosts, my eyes have seen*. The allusion is not merely to the ancient and prevalent belief that no one could see God and live (Gen. 32: 30. Judg. 6: 22–24. 13: 22. Ex. 4: 10, 12. 33: 20. 1 Sam. 6: 19), but to the aggravation of the danger arising from the moral contrast between God and the beholder.—According to an old interpretation, נִדְמֵיתִי is a statement of the reason why he was alarmed, to wit, because he had kept silence, *quia tacui* (Vulgate), either when he heard the praises of the seraphim, or when it was his duty to have spoken in God's name. The last sense is preferred by Grotius, the first by Lowth (I am struck dumb), and with some modification by J. D. Michaelis (that I must be dumb). This sense is also given to the verb by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the Peshito, and in some copies of the Septuagint, the common text of which has *κατανένυγμαι*, I am smitten with compunction. Most other writers, ancient and modern, understand the word as meaning *I am ruined* or *destroyed*. It is possible, however, as suggested by Vitringa, that an allusion was intended to the meaning of the verb in its ground-form, in order to suggest that his guilty silence or unfitness to speak was the cause of the destruction which he felt to be impending. Above sixty manuscripts and several editions read נִדְמֵיתִי, which, as Henderson observes, is probably a mere orthographical variation, not affecting the sense. The lips are mentioned as the seat of his depravity, because its particular effect, then present

to his mind, was incapacity to speak for God or in his praise. That it does not refer to official unfaithfulness in his prophetic office, is apparent from the application of the same words to the people. The preterite form of the verb implies that the deed was already done and the effect already certain. The substitution of the present, by Luther and many of the late writers, weakens the expression.

V. 6. He now proceeds to describe the way in which he was relieved from this distress by a symbolical assurance of forgiveness. *And there flew* (or then flew) *to me one of the seraphim, and in his hand a live coal* (or a hot stone) *with tongs he took it from off* (or *from upon*) *the altar* of incense, according to Hendewerk and others, but according to Grotius, that of burnt-offering, which stood without the temple in the court where the Prophet is supposed to have been stationed. Both these interpretations take for granted the necessity of adhering to the precise situation and dimensions of the earthly temple, whereas this seems merely to have furnished the scenery of the majestic vision. Knobel understands by the altar the golden altar seen by John in heaven, Rev. 8:3. 9:13. All that is necessary to the understanding of the vision is, that the scene presented was a temple and included an altar. The precise position of the altar or of the Prophet is not only unimportant, but forms no part of the picture as here set before us. As רִצָּפָה elsewhere means a *pavement*, and its verbal root *to pave*, and as the Arabs call by the same name the heated stones which they employ in cooking, most modern writers have adopted Jerome's explanation of the word, as meaning a hot stone taken from the altar, which was only a consecrated hearth or fireplace. The old interpretation *coal* is retained by Hendewerk, who denies that stones were ever used upon the altar. In the last clause either the personal or relative pronoun may be supplied, *he took it* or *which he took*; but the former (which is given by Hendewerk, De Wette, and Umbreit) seems to agree better with the order of the words in Hebrew. The word translated *tongs* is elsewhere used to signify the *snuffers* of the golden candlestick, and tongs are not named among the furniture of the altars; but such an implement seems to be indispensable, and the Hebrew word may be applied to any thing in the nature of a forceps.—Hitzig and others, who regard the seraphim as serpents, sphinxes, or mixed forms, are under the necessity of explaining *hand* to mean *forefoot* or the like. Nothing in the whole passage implies any variation from the human form, except in the addition of wings, which are expressly mentioned.

V. 7. *And he caused it to touch* (i. e. laid it on) *my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thy iniquity is gone, and thy sin shall be atoned for* (or forgiven). In the Chaldee Paraphrase the *coal* from off the

altar is transformed into a *word* from the *shechinah*, which is put into the Prophet's mouth, denoting his prophetic inspiration. So Jeremiah says: "The Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth, and the Lord said unto me, behold, I have put my words in thy mouth" (Jer. 1: 9). And Daniel: "One like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips; then I opened my mouth and spake" (Dan. 10: 16). Hence the Rabbins and Grotius understand the act of the seraph in the case before us as a symbol of prophetic inspiration. But this leaves unexplained the additional circumstance, not mentioned in the case of Jeremiah or Daniel, that the Prophet's lips were not only touched, but touched with fire. This is explained by Jerome as an emblem of the Holy Spirit, and by others as a symbol of purification in general. But the mention of the altar and the assurance of forgiveness, or rather of atonement, makes it far more natural to take the application of fire as a symbol of expiation by sacrifice, although it is not necessary to suppose, with J. D. Michaelis, that the Prophet actually saw a victim burning on the altar. The fire is applied to the lips for a twofold reason: first, to show that the particular impediment of which the Prophet had complained was done away; and secondly, to show that the gift of inspiration is included, though it does not constitute the sole or chief meaning of the symbol. The gift of prophecy could scarcely be described as having taken away sin, although it might naturally accompany the work of expiation. The preterite and future forms are here combined, perhaps to intimate, first, that the pardon was already granted, and then that it should still continue. This, at least, seems better than arbitrarily to confound the two as presents.

V. 8. The assurance of forgiveness produces its usual effect of readiness to do God's will. *And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? And I said, Here am I* (literally, *behold me*, or, *lo I* am) *send me.* The form of expression in the first clause may imply that the speaker was now invisible, perhaps concealed by the smoke which filled the house. According to Jerome, the question here recorded was not addressed to Isaiah himself, because it was intended to elicit a spontaneous offer upon his part. 'Non dicit Dominus quem ire praecipiat, sed proponit audientibus optionem, ut voluntas praemium consequatur.' The same idea is suggested by J. H. Michaelis and Umbreit. *For us* is regarded by Vitringa as emphatic, 'who will go *for us*, and not for himself, or any other object?' But the phrase is probably equivalent to saying, 'who will be our messenger?' This is the version actually given by Luther, J. D. Michaelis, and Gesenius. Most of the other German writers follow the Vulgate version, *quis nobis ibit?* The plural form, *us* instead of *me*, is explained by Gesenius, Barnes, and Knobel, as a mere *pluralis majestaticus*, such as

kings and princes use at this day. Hitzig denies the existence of that idiom among the orientals, either ancient or modern, and undertakes to give a metaphysical solution, by saying that the speaker looks upon himself as both the subject and object of address. Kimchi and Grotius represent the Lord as speaking, not in his own name merely, but in that of his angelic council (tanquam de sententia concilii angelorum), and the same view is taken by Clericus and Rosenmüller. The Peshito omits *for us*, while the Septuagint supplies instead of it the words *to this people*, and the Targum, *to teach*—'whom shall I send to prophesy, and who will go to teach?' Jerome's explanation of the plural, as implying a plurality of persons in the speaker, is approved by Calvin, who was doubtful with respect to the τρισάγιον in v. 3. This explanation is the only one that accounts for the difference of number in the verb and pronoun—'whom *shall I send*, and who will go *for us*?' Jerome compares it with the words of Christ, "Ego et Pater unum sumus; *unum* ad naturam referimus, *sumus* ad personarum diversitatem." The phrase הִנֵּנִי is the usual idiomatic Hebrew answer to a call by name, and commonly implies a readiness for service. J. D. Michaelis translates it *I am ready*. A beautiful commentary upon this effect of pardoned sin is afforded in David's penitential prayer, Psalm 51: 12–15.

V. 9. The prophet now receives his commission, together with a solemn declaration that his labours will be fruitless. This prediction is clothed in the form of an exhortation or command addressed to the people themselves, for the purpose of bringing it more palpably before them, and of aggravating their insanity and wickedness in ruining themselves after such a warning. *And he said, Go and say to this people, Hear indeed*, or hear on, *but understand not, and see indeed*, or continue to see, *but know not*. In most predictions some obscurity of language is required to secure their full accomplishment. But here, where the blindness and infatuation of the people are foretold, they are allowed an abundant opportunity of hindering its fulfilment if they will. Not only is their insensibility described in the strongest terms, implying extreme folly as well as extreme guilt, but, as if to provoke them to an opposite course, they are exhorted, with a sort of solemn irony, to do the very thing which would inevitably ruin them, but with an explicit intimation of that issue in the verse ensuing. This form of speech is by no means foreign from the dialect of common life. As J. D. Michaelis well observes, it is as if one man should say to another in whose good resolutions and engagements he had no faith, 'Go now and do the very opposite of all that you have said.' A similar expression is employed by Christ himself when he says to the Jews (Matt. 23: 32), *Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers*. The Septuagint version renders the imperatives as futures, and this version is twice quoted in the New Testament (Matt. 13: 14.

Acts 28: 26), as giving correctly the essential meaning of the sentence as a prophecy, though stripped of its peculiar form as an ironical command. J. H. Michaelis and Gesenius make even the original expression a strict prophecy, by rendering the future forms as futures proper (nec tamen intelligetis) on the ground that אַל is sometimes simply equivalent to לֹא, or that the second of two imperatives sometimes expresses the result dependent on the act denoted by the first. But even admitting these assertions, both of which may be disputed, the predominant usage is so clear as to forbid any departure from the proper sense of the imperatives without a strong necessity, which, as we have seen, does not exist. Another mode of softening the apparent harshness of the language is adopted by the Targum, which converts the sentence into a description of the people, 'who hear indeed but understand not, and see indeed but know not.' Ewald and some older writers understand *this people* as a phrase expressive of displeasure and contempt intentionally substituted for the phrase *my people*, not only here but in several other places. See for example Ex. 32: 9. Isai. 9: 16. 29: 13. Jer. 7: 16. The idiomatic repetition of the verbs *hear* and *see* is disregarded in translation by Luther, Clericus, and De Wette, and copied, more or less exactly, by the Septuagint (*ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε, βλέποντες βλέψετε*), the Vulgate (audite audientes, videte visionem), Calvin, Cocceius, and Vitringa. Neither of these methods conveys the true force of the original expression, which is clearly emphatic, and suggests the idea of distinctness, clearness (J. D. Michaelis), or of mere external sight and hearing (Angusti), or of abundant sight and hearing (J. H. Michaelis *sufficientissime*), or of continued sight and hearing (Junius *indesinenter*), probably the last, which is adopted by Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Henderson, and Ewald. Maurer makes the prominent idea that of repetition (iterum iterumque.) The idea of hearing and seeing without perceiving may have been proverbial among the Jews as it seems to have been among the Greeks from the examples given by Wetstein in his note on Matt. 13: 13. Demosthenes expressly cites it as a *proverb* (*παροιμία*), *ὁρῶντας μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούοντας μὴ ἀκούειν*, and the Prometheus of Æschylus employs a like expression, in describing the primitive condition of mankind, on which one of the Greek scholiasts observes, *διότι νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν οὐκ εἶχον*.

V. 10. As the foregoing verse contains a prediction of the people's insensibility, but under the form of a command or exhortation to themselves, so this predicts the same event, as the result of Isaiah's labours, under the form of a command to him. *Make fat*, gross, callous, *the heart of this people*, i. e. their affections or their minds in general, *and its ears make heavy*, dull or hard of hearing, *and its eyes smear*, close or blind, *lest it see with its eyes, and with its ears hear, and its heart understand*, perceive or feel, *and*

it turn to me, i. e. repent and be converted, *and be healed*, or literally *and one heal it*, the indefinite construction being equivalent in meaning to a passive. The thing predicted is judicial blindness, as the natural result and righteous retribution of the national depravity. This end would be promoted by the very preaching of the truth, and therefore a command to preach was in effect a command to blind and harden them. The act required of the Prophet is here joined with its ultimate effect, while the intervening circumstances, namely, the people's sin and the withholding of God's grace, are passed by in silence. But although not expressed, they are implied, in this command to *preach the people callous*, blind, and deaf, as J. D. Michaelis phrases it. The essential idea is their insensibility, considered as the fruit of their own depravity, as the execution of God's righteous judgment, and as the only visible result of Isaiah's labours. 'Deus sic praecipit judicialiter, populus agit criminaliter, propheta autem ministerialiter' (J. H. Michaelis). In giving Isaiah his commission, it was natural to make the last of these ideas prominent, and hence the form of exhortation or command in which the prophecy is here presented. Make them insensible, not by an immediate act of power, nor by any direct influence whatever, but by doing your duty, which their wickedness and God's righteous judgments will allow to have no other effect. In this sense the Prophet might be said to *preach them callous*. In other cases, where his personal agency no longer needed to be set forth or alluded to, the verse is quoted, not as a command, but a description of the people, or as a declaration of God's agency in making them insensible. Thus in Matt. 13: 15, and in Acts 28: 26, the Septuagint version is retained, in which the people's own guilt is the prominent idea—'for this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest,' etc. In John 12: 40, on the other hand, the sentence takes a new form, in order to bring out distinctly the idea of *judicial* blindness—'he hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, lest,' etc. Both these ideas are in fact included in the meaning of the passage, though its form is different, in order to suit the occasion upon which it was originally uttered. There is no need, therefore, of supposing, with Cocceius, that the verbs in the first clause are infinitives with preterites understood (impinguando impinguavit—aggravando aggravavit—oblinendo oblivit), to which there is besides a philological objection (vide supra, ch. 5: 5). The paraphrase in John no more proves that the verse must be directly descriptive of God's agency, than that in Acts and Matthew proves that it must be descriptive of the people's own agency, which sense is actually put upon Cocceius's construction by Abarbenel, who first proposed it, and who thinks that the verbs must either be reflexive—'the heart of this people has made itself fat, their ears have made themselves heavy, their eyes have shut themselves,'—or must all agree with לִבּוֹ—'the heart of this people has made

itself fat, it has made their ears heavy, it has closed their eyes.' That a divine agency is really implied, though not expressed as Cocceius supposes, is clear from the paraphrase in John 12 : 40, and creates no difficulty here that is not common to a multitude of passages, so that nothing would be gained by explaining it away in this one instance. 'Absque hoc testimonio,' says Jerome, 'manet eadem quaestio in ecclesiis, et aut cum ista solventur et ceterae, aut cum ceteris et haec indissolubilis erit.'—The same considerations which have been presented render it unnecessary to suppose, with Henderson and others, that the command to blind and harden is merely a command to predict that the people will be blind and hard; a mode of explanation which may be justified in certain cases by the context or by exegetical necessity, but which is here gratuitous and therefore inadmissible.—Gesenius, Augusti, and De Wette, understand by *heart* the seat of the affections, and accordingly translate יָבִין by *feel;* but the constant usage of the latter in the sense of understanding or perceiving seems to require that the former should be taken to denote the whole mind or rational soul. The ancient versions take לִבָּבוֹ as an ablative of instrument, in which they are followed by Luther, the English Version (with their heart), Junius, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, Lowth, Augusti, and Henderson. Calvin makes it the subject of the verb (cor ejus intelligat), in which he is followed by Gesenius, Hitzig, De Wette, Ewald, Umbreit. The last construction is more simple in itself, but breaks the uniformity of the sentence, as the other verbs of this clause all agree with *people* as their subject.—Clericus takes וְרָפָא as a noun and reads *lest there be healing*, and the same sense is put upon it as a verb by Junius and Vitringa. The Septuagint and Vulgate substitute the first for the third person, *and I heal them.* Cocceius refers the verb to God directly, *lest he heal them*, in accordance with his explanation of the first clause. Most of the modern writers assume an impersonal or indefinite construction, which may either be resolved into a passive (Gesenius, De Wette, Henderson), or retained in the translation (Hitzig, Maurer, Hendewerk, Ewald). Kimchi explains the healing mentioned to be pardon following repentance. The representation of sin as a spiritual malady is frequent in the Scriptures. Thus David prays (Ps. 41 : 4), 'Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee.' Instead of *heal*, in the case before us, the Targum and Peshito have *forgive*, which is substituted likewise in the quotation or rather the allusion to this verse in Mark 4 : 12.

V. 11. *And I said, How long, Lord? And he said, Until that cities are desolate for want of an inhabitant, and houses for want of men, and the land shall be desolated, a waste*, or utterly desolate. The spiritual death of the people should be followed by external desolation. Hitzig understands the Prophet to ask how long he must be the bearer of this thank-

less message; but the common explanation is no doubt the true one, that he asks how long the blindness of the people shall continue, and is told until it ruins them and drives them from their country. Grotius supposes a particular allusion to Sennacherib's invasion, Clericus to that of Nebuchadnezzar; but as the foregoing description is repeatedly applied in the New Testament to the Jews who were contemporary with our Saviour, the threatening must be equally extensive, and equivalent to saying that the land should be completely wasted, not at one time but repeatedly. Kimchi, who also understands the verse as referring to the Babylonian conquest, finds a climax in the language, which is much more appropriate however when applied to successive periods and events.—The accumulation of particles עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם is supposed by Henderson to indicate a long lapse of time; but it seems to differ from the simple form only as *until* differs from *until that* or *until when*. On the meaning of בְּאֵין, vide supra, ch. 5: 9.

V. 12. This verse continues the answer to the prophet's question in the verse preceding. *And* (until) *Jehovah shall have put far off*, (removed to a distance) *the men* (or people of the country) *and great* (much or abundant) *shall be that which is left* (of unoccupied forsaken ground) *in the midst of the land*. This is little more than a repetition, in other words, of the declaration in the verse preceding. The Septuagint and Vulgate make the last clause not a threatening but a promise that those left in the land shall be multiplied. Clericus and Lowth understand it to mean 'there shall be many a deserted woman in the land.' Gesenius, 'many ruins.' Ewald, 'a great vacancy or void (Leere).' Most other writers take עֲזוּבָה as an abstract, meaning desolation or desertion. But the simplest construction seems to be that of Henderson and Knobel, who make it agree with the land itself, and understand the clause as threatening that there shall be a great extent of unoccupied forsaken land. The terms of this verse may be applied to all the successive desolations of the country, not excepting that most extreme and remarkable of all which exists at the present moment.

V. 13. The chapter closes with a repetition and extension of the threatening, but in such a form as to involve a promise of the highest import. While it is threatened that the stroke shall be repeated on the remnant that survives its first infliction, it is promised that there shall be such a remnant after every repetition to the last. *And yet*—even after the entire desolation which had first been mentioned—*in it*—the desolated land—(there shall remain) *a tenth* or *tithe*—here put indefinitely for a small proportion—*and* (even this tenth) *shall return and be for a consuming*—i. e. shall again be consumed—but still not utterly, for—*like the terebinth and like the oak*—the two most common forest-trees of Palestine—*which in falling*—in their

fallen state, when felled—*have substance* or vitality *in them*—so *a holy seed* shall be or is *the substance*—vital principle—*of it*—the tenth or remnant which appeared to be destroyed. However frequently the people may seem to be destroyed, there shall still be a surviving remnant, and however frequently that very remnant may appear to perish, there shall still be a remnant of the remnant left, and this indestructible residuum shall be the holy seed, the true church, the λεῖμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος (Rom. 11 : 5). This prediction was fulfilled, not once for all, but again and again ; not only in the vine-dressers and husbandmen left by Nebuchadnezzar and afterwards destroyed in Egypt ; not only in the remnant that survived the destruction of the city by the Romans, and increased until again destroyed by Adrian ; but in the present existence of the Jews as a peculiar people, notwithstanding the temptations to amalgamate with others, notwithstanding persecutions and apparent extirpations ; a fact which can only be explained by the prediction that "all Israel shall be saved." (Rom. 11 : 26.) As in many former instances, throughout the history of the chosen people, under both dispensations, "even so, at this present time also, there is a remnant according to the election of grace." The reference of *holy seed* to Christ (as in Gal. 3 : 16) restricts the verse to the times before the advent, and is here forbidden by the application of the Hebrew phrase to Israel in general (Ezra 9 : 2. Comp. Isaiah 4 : 3. 65 : 9), a meaning which is here not changed but only limited, upon the principle that "they are not all Israel which are of Israel (Rom. 9 : 6)." As thus explained, the threatening of the verse involves a promise. There is no need therefore of attempting to convert it into a mere promise, by giving to בָּעַר the active sense of consuming or destroying enemies (De Dieu), or by making שָׁבָה signify *return* from exile (Calvin) and connecting לְבָעֵר with what follows—'be destroyed like the terebinth and oak' i. e. only destroyed like them. The passive sense of תְּהֻיָה לְבָעֵר is fixed by the analogy of Num. 24 : 22 and Isaiah 44 : 15. The idiomatic use of the verb *return* to qualify another verb by denoting repetition is of constant occurrence and is assumed here by almost all interpreters ancient and modern. Besides, the tenth left *in* the land could hardly be described as returning *to* it. That בָּעַר denotes purification is a mere rabbinical conceit. מַצֶּבֶת has been variously explained to mean the sap (Targum), root (De Wette), trunk (Gesenius,) germ (Hitzig), etc. But the sense which seems to agree best with the connexion and the etymology is that of *substance* or *subsistence*, understanding thereby the vitality or that which is essential to the life and reproduction of the tree. שַׁלֶּכֶת occurs elsewhere only in 1 Chron. 26 : 16, where it seems to be the name of one of the temple-gates. Hence Aben Ezra supposes the prophet to allude to two particular and well known trees at or near this gate, while other Jewish writers understand him as referring to the timber of the gate or of the causeway leading to it (1 Kings 10 : 5.) The same interpretation is

adopted by Junius, and Coccius explains the word in either case as an appellative meaning *causeway*. But with these exceptions, all interpreters appear to be agreed in making the word descriptive of something in the condition of the trees, the spreading of their branches (Vulgate), the casting of their leaves (Targum) or of their fruit (Septuagint), or the casting down or felling of the tree itself, which last is commonly adopted. Instead of בּוֹ, referring to the trees, more than a hundred manuscripts read בּהּ, referring to the tenth or to the land. The suffix in the last word of the verse is referred to the land or people by Ewald and Maurer, but with more probability by others to the tenth, which is the nearest antecedent and affords a better sense.

CHAPTER VII.

Here begins a series of connected prophecies (ch. VII–XII), belonging to the reign of Ahaz, and relating in general to the same great subjects, the deliverance of Judah from Syria and Israel, its subsequent subjection to Assyria and other foreign powers, the final destruction of its enemies, the advent of Messiah, and the nature of his kingdom. This series admits of different divisions, but it is commonly agreed that one distinct portion is contained in the seventh chapter. Hendewerk and Henderson suppose it to include two independent prophecies (vs. 1–9 and 10–25), and Ewald separates the same two parts as distinct portions of the same prophecy. The common division is more natural, however, which supposes vs. 1–16 to contain a promise of deliverance from Syria and Israel, and vs. 17–25 a threatening of worse evils to be brought upon Judah by the Assyrians in whom they trusted.

The chapter begins with a brief historical statement of the invasion of Judah by Rezin and Pekah, and of the fear which it excited, to relieve which Isaiah is commissioned to meet Ahaz in a public place, and to assure him that there is nothing more to fear from the invading powers, that their evil design cannot be accomplished, that one of them is soon to perish, and that in the mean time both are to remain without enlargement, vs. 1–9.

Seeing the king to be incredulous, the Prophet invites him to assure himself by choosing any sign or pledge of the event, which he refuses to do, under the pretext of confidence in God, but is charged with unbelief by the Prophet, who nevertheless renews the promise of deliverance in a symbolical form, and in connexion with a prophecy of the miraculous conception and

nativity of Christ, both as a pledge of the event, and as a measure of the time in which it is to take place, vs. 10–16.

To this assurance of immediate deliverance, he adds a threatening of ulterior evils, to arise from the Assyrian protection which the king preferred to that of God, to wit, the loss of independence, the successive domination of foreign powers, the harassing and predatory occupation of the land by strangers, the removal of its people, the neglect of tillage, and the transformation of its choicest vineyards, fields, and gardens, into wastes or pastures, vs. 17–25.

V. 1. Rezin, the king of Damascene Syria or Aram, from whom Uzziah had taken Elath, a port on the Red Sea, and restored it to Judah (2 Kings 14: 22), appears to have formed an alliance with Pekah, the murderer and successor of Pekahiah king of Israel (2 Kings 15: 27), during the reign of Jotham (ib. v. 37), but to have deferred the actual invasion of Judah until that king's death and the accession of his feeble son, in the first year of whose reign it probably took place, with most encouraging success, as the army of Ahaz was entirely destroyed, and 200,000 persons taken captive, who were afterwards sent back at the instance of the Prophet Oded (2 Chron. 28: 5–15). But notwithstanding this success, they were unable to effect their main design, the conquest of Jerusalem, whether repelled by the natural strength and artificial defences of the place itself, or interrupted in the siege by the actual or dreaded invasion of their own dominions by the king of Assyria (2 Kings 16: 7–9). It seems to be at a point of time between their first successes and their final retreat, that the Prophet's narrative begins. *And it was*—happened, came to pass—*in the days of Ahaz, son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah*, that *Rezin king of Aram*—or Syria—*and Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel, came up to*—or against—*Jerusalem, to war against it; and he was not able to war against it.* As *war* is both a verb and noun in English, it may be used to represent the Hebrew verb and noun in this sentence. Some give a different meaning to the two, making one mean to fight and the other to conquer (Vulgate) or take (Henderson); but this distinction is implied, not expressed, and the simple meaning of the words is that *he* (put by a common license for *they*, or meaning *each of them*, or referring to Rezin as the principal confederate) *could not* do what he attempted. There is no need of taking יָכֹל in the absolute sense of *prevailing* (Vitringa), which would require a different construction. It is sufficient to supply the idea of *success* in either case; they wished of course to war successfully against it, which they could not do. Gesenius sets the first part of this chapter down as the production of another hand, because it speaks of Isaiah in the third person, and because the first verse nearly coincides with 2 Kings 16: 5. But as that may just as well have been derived from this—a supposition favoured by the change

of יִבָּל into יִבָּלֵא—and as the use of the third person is common among ancient writers, sacred and profane, Isaiah himself not excepted (ch. 20, 37, 38), there is no need even of supposing with Vitringa, that the last clause was added at a later period, by the sacred scribes, or with Hengstenberg and Ewald, that the verse contains a general summary, in which the issue of the war is stated by anticipation. It is not improbable, indeed, that this whole prophecy was written some time after it was first delivered; but even this supposition is not necessary for the removal of the alleged difficulty, which arises wholly from assuming, that this verse and the next relate to the beginning of the enterprise, when Rezin and Pekah first invaded *Judah*, whereas they relate to the attack upon *Jerusalem*, after the country had been ravaged, and the disappointment with which they are threatened below is the disappointment of their grand design upon the royal city, which was the more alarming in consequence of what they had already effected. This view of the matter brings the two accounts in Kings and Chronicles into perfect harmony, without supposing what is here described to be either the first (Grotius, Usher,) or second (Jerome, Theodoret, Jarchi, Vitringa, Rosenmüller,) of two different invasions, or that although they relate to the same event (Lightfoot), the account in Chronicles is chargeable with ignorant exaggeration (Gesenius). Another view of the matter, which also makes the two accounts refer to one event, is that of Hengstenberg, who supposes the victory of Pekah described in Chronicles to have been the consequence of the unbelief of Ahaz, and his refusal to accept the divine promise. But the promise, instead of being retracted, is renewed, and the other supposition, that Pekah's victory preceded what is here recorded, seems to agree better with the terror of Ahaz, and with the comparison in v. 3. Either hypothesis, however, may be entertained, without materially affecting the details of the interpretation. The invaders are said to have *come up* to Jerusalem, not merely as a military phrase (Vitringa), nor with exclusive reference to its natural position (Knobel), its political pre-eminence (Henderson), or its moral elevation (C. B. Michaelis), but with allusion, more or less distinct, to all the senses in which the holy city was above all others. On the construction of *Jerusalem* directly with the verb of motion, see Gesenius, § 116. 1.

V. 2. *And it was told the house of David*—the court, the royal family, of Judah—*saying, Syria resteth*—or is resting—*upon Ephraim: and his heart*—i. e. the king's, as the chief and representative of the house of David—*and the heart of his people shook, like the shaking of the trees of a wood before a wind.* This is commonly applied to the effect produced by the first news of the coalition between Rezin and Pekah or the junction of their forces. The oldest writers understand the news to be that *Syria is*

confederate or joined *with Ephraim* (Septuagint, Targum, Peshito, Vulgate, Calvin, English Version, etc). Some, however, read, in violation of the accents, נָחָה, and translate thus—*Syria is marching* or *leading his forces towards Ephraim* (J. D. Michaelis) or *with Ephraim* (Henderson). Others, *Syria relies upon*—or *is supported by*—*Ephraim* (Lowth, Barnes). Others, *Syria influences* or *controls Ephraim* (Vitringa). But most interpreters, especially the latest, *Syria is encamped upon* (the territory of) *Ephraim*, or, as Steudel understands it, *near* (the city of) *Ephraim*. It is equally natural, and more consistent with the history, to understand the words as having reference to a later date, i. e. either the time of the advance upon Jerusalem, or that of the retreat of the invaders, laden with the spoil of Judah, and with two hundred thousand captives. In the one case, *Syria*, i. e. the Syrian army, may be said to *rest upon* (the army of) *Ephraim*, in the modern military sense, with reference to their relative position on the field of battle; in the other, *Syria* may be described as literally *resting* or reposing in the territory of Ephraim, on its homeward march, and as thereby filling Ahaz with the apprehension of a fresh attack. Although neither of these explanations may seem altogether natural, they are really as much so as any of the others which have been proposed, and in a case where we have at best a choice of difficulties, these may claim the preference as tending to harmonize the prophecy with history as given both in Kings and Chronicles. We read in 2 Kings 16: 7–9, that Ahaz applied to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, to help him against Syria and Israel, which he did. At what precise period of the war this alliance was formed, it is not easy to determine; but there seems to be no doubt that Ahaz, at the time here mentioned, was relying upon some human aid in preference to God.—The construction of the feminine verb נחה with the masculine ארם is to be explained, not by supplying מלכות (Jarchi) or עדת (Rosenmüller) before the latter, but by the idiomatic usage which connects the names of countries, where they stand for the inhabitants, with verbs of this form, as in Job 1: 15, 1 Sam. 17: 21, and 2 Sam. 8: 6, where this very name is so construed.

V. 3. From this alarm Isaiah is sent to free the king. *And Jehovah said to Isaiah son of Amoz, Go out to meet Ahaz, thou and Shearjashub thy son, to the end of the conduit of the upper pool, to the highway of the fuller's field.* The mention of these now obscure localities, although it detracts nothing from the general clearness of the passage, is an incidental proof of authenticity, which no later writer would or could have forged. The upper pool, which has been placed by different writers upon almost every side of Jerusalem, is identified by Robinson and Smith with a large tank at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, about seven hundred yards west-north-west

from the Jaffa gate. It is full in the rainy season, and its waters are then conducted by a small rude aqueduct to the vicinity of the gate just mentioned, and so to the Pool of Hezekiah within the walls. This aqueduct is probably the *conduit* mentioned in the text, and the *end* of this conduit the point where it enters the city, as appears from the fact, that when Rabshakeh afterwards conferred with the ministers of Hezekiah at this same spot, he was heard by the people on the city wall (ch. 36 : 2, 12). From the same passage it may be inferred that this was a frequented spot, which some suppose to be the reason that Isaiah was directed to it, while others understand the direction as implying that Ahaz was about to fortify the city, or rather to cut off a supply of water from the invaders, as Hezekiah afterwards did when besieged by Sennacherib (2 Chr. 32 : 4) ; an example often followed afterwards, particularly in the sieges of Jerusalem by Pompey, Titus, and Godfrey of Bouillon. The Prophet is therefore commanded to *go out*, not merely from his house, but from the city, *to meet Ahaz*, which does not imply that the king was seeking him, or coming to him, but merely specifies the object which he was to seek himself. For the various opinions with respect to the position of the Upper Pool—so called in relation to the Lower Pool, mentioned in chap. 22 : 9, and situated lower down in the same valley, south of the Jaffa Gate—see Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Hitzig on this passage, Winer's Realwörterbuch s. v. Teiche, and Robinson's Palestine, vol. i. pp. 352, 483. The Fuller's Field was of course without the city, and the highway or causeway mentioned may have led either to it or along it, so as to divide it from the aqueduct.—The command to take his son with him might be regarded merely as an incidental circumstance, but for the fact that the name *Shear-jashub* is significant, and as we may suppose it to have been already known, and the people were familiar with the practice of conveying instruction in this form, the very sight of the child would perhaps suggest a prophecy, or recall one previously uttered, or at least prepare the mind for one to come ; and accordingly we find in ch. 10 : 21 this very phrase employed, not as a name, but in its proper sense, *a remnant shall return*. Coccéius assigns two other reasons for the presence of the child—that he might early learn the duties of a prophet—and that the sight of him might prove to all who heard the ensuing prophecy, that the mother mentioned in v. 14 could not be the Prophet's wife. But this precaution would have answered little purpose against modern license of conjecture ; for Gesenius does not scruple to assume a second marriage.

V. 4. The assurance, by which Ahaz is encouraged, is that the danger is over, that the fire is nearly quenched, that the enemies, who lately seemed like flaming firebrands of war, are now mere smoking ends of firebrands ; he is therefore exhorted to be quiet and confide in the divine pro-

tection. *And thou shalt say to him, Be cautious and be quiet*—or take care to be quiet—*fear not, nor let thy heart be soft, before*—or on account of—*these two smoking tails of firebrands, in the heat of the anger of Rezin and Syria and the son of Remaliah.* The comparison of Rezin and Pekah to the tails or ends of firebrands, instead of firebrands themselves, is not a mere expression of contempt, as most interpreters suppose, nor a mere intimation of their approaching fate, as Barnes and Henderson explain it, but a distinct allusion to the evil which they had already done, and which should never be repeated. If the emphasis were only in the use of the word *tails*, the tail of any thing else would have been equally appropriate. The smoking remnant of a firebrand implies a previous flame, if not a conflagration. This confirms the conclusion before drawn, that Judah had already been ravaged, and that the narratives in Kings and Chronicles are perfectly consistent and relate to the same subject. The older versions construe the demonstrative with *firebrands*—'the tails of these two smoking firebrands;' the moderns more correctly with *tails*—'these two tails or ends of smoking firebrands.'—The last clause of the verse is not to be construed with מְעֻשָּׁנִים—'smoking in the anger of Rezin etc.' but with the verbs preceding—'fear not, nor let thy heart be faint in the anger etc.' The reason implied in the connexion is that the hot fire of their anger was now turned to smoke and almost quenched.—The distinct mention of Rezin and Syria, while Pekah is simply termed the son of Remaliah, is supposed by some to be intended to express contempt for the latter, though the difference may after all be accidental, or have only a rhythmical design. The patronymic, like our English surname, can be used contemptuously only when it indicates ignoble origin, in which sense it may be applied to Pekah, who was a usurper, as the enemies of apoleon Nalways chose to call him Buonaparte, because the name betrayed an origin both foreign and obscure.

V. 5. *Because Syria has devised*, meditated, purposed, *evil against thee, also Ephraim and Remaliah's son, saying.* Hendewerk, and most of the early writers, connect this with what goes before, as a further explanation of the king's terror—'fear not, nor let thy heart be faint, because Syria etc.' But Gesenius, Hitzig, Henderson, Ewald and Umbreit, make it the beginning of a sentence, the apodosis of which is contained in v. 7—'because (or although) Syria has devised etc. therefore (or nevertheless) thus saith the Lord etc.' The two constructions may be blended by regarding this verse and the next as a link or connecting clause between the exhortation in v. 4 and the promise in v. 7. 'Fear not because Syria and Israel thus threaten, for on that very account the Lord declares etc.' Here again Syria appears as the prime agent and controlling power, although Ephraim is added in the second clause. The suppression of Pekah's proper name in

this clause, and of Rezin's altogether in the first, has given rise to various far-fetched explanations, though it seems in fact to show, that the use of names in the whole passage is rather euphonic or rhythmical than significant.

V. 6. The invaders themselves are now introduced as holding counsel or addressing one another, not at the present moment, but at the time when their plan was first concerted. *We will go up*, or let us go up, *into Judah*, or *against it*, although this is rather implied than expressed, *and vex* (i. e. harass or distress) *it, and make a breach in it* (thereby subduing it) *to ourselves, and let us make a king in the midst of it, to wit, the son of Tabeal* or *Tabeel*, as the name is written out of pause, Ezra 4 : 7. The feminine suffixes probably refer, not to Judah (Henderson) but to Jerusalem (Gesenius, Rosenmüller), although the same terms are applied to the whole country elsewhere (2 Chron. 21 : 17). The reference to Jerusalem is required by the history, according to which they did succeed in their attack upon the kingdom, but were foiled in their main design of conquering the royal city. The entrance into Judah was proposed only as a means to this end, and it is the failure of this end that is predicted in the next verse. The reference to the city is also recommended by the special reference to the capital cities of Syria and Ephraim in vs. 8, 9. נְקִיצֶנָּה is explained to mean *let us arouse her* by the Vulgate (suscitemus eam), Luther (aufwecken), Calvin and others, which supposes the verb to be derived from הקץ (קוץ) *to awaken*. Others, deriving it from קָצַץ *to cut off*, explain it to mean *let us dismember* or *divide it* (Vitringa, Augusti), or *subvert, destroy it* (Peshito, J. D. Michaelis, Schroeder, Henderson). The simplest etymology, and that most commonly adopted, derives it from קוץ to be distressed or *terrified*, and in the Hiphil to *alarm* (Hitzig), or to *distress*, with special reference to the hardships of a siege (Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Cocceius, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald etc.). *Oppress* (Barnes) is too indefinite. The other verb has also been variously explained, as meaning let us level it (from בִּקְעָה a plain), let us tear it away (Vulgate : avellamus ad nos), let us divide or rend it (Luther, Cocceius, Alting, J. W. Michaelis, Vitringa, Barnes). It is now commonly agreed, however, that it means to *make a breach* or *opening* (Calvin : faire bresche ou ouverture, Hendewerk, Henderson), and thereby *take* or *conquer* (Ewald, Knobel). The creation of tributary kings by conquerors is mentioned elsewhere in the sacred history (e. g. 2 Kings 23 : 34. 24 : 17.) *Son of Tabeal*, like *Son of Remaliah*, is commonly explained as a contemptuous expression, implying obscurity or mean extraction. But such an expression would hardly have been put into the mouths of his patrons, unless we suppose that they selected him expressly on account of his ignoble origin or insignificance, which is a very improbable assumption. They would be far more likely to bestow the crown on some prince either of Ephraim or Syria,

which some suppose to be implied in the Syriac form of the name, equivalent to the Hebrew *Tobijah* (Neh. 2 : 15), and analogous to *Tabrimmon*, from whom Benhadad king of Syria was descended (1 Kings 15 : 18). So in Ezra 4 : 7, *Tabeel* is named as one of those who wrote to the king *in the Syrian* (Aramean) *tongue*. This whole speculation, though ingenious, and illustrated by Gesenius with a profusion of etymological learning (Comm. vol. 1. p. 281, note), is probably fanciful and certainly of no exegetical importance, which last is also true of Calvin's suggestion that the *Son of Tabeal* may have been a disaffected Jew. There is something curious in the Jewish explanation of the name by that form of the *cabbala* called *Albam* (because it puts *a* for *l*, *b* for *m*, and so forth), as identical with רמלא (i. q. רמליה.) A more important observation is, that this familiar reference *en passant* to the names of persons now forgotten, as if familiar to contemporary readers, is a strong incidental proof of authenticity.

V. 7. *Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, it shall not stand*—or it shall not arise—*and it shall not be*, or come to pass. This, as was said before, is taken by Gesenius and others as the conclusion of a sentence beginning in v. 5, but may just as naturally be explained as the commencement of a new one. The feminine verbs may be referred to *counsel* (עֵצָה) understood or taken indefinitely, which is a common Hebrew construction. (Vide supra, ch. 1 : 6.) As קוּם means both to *rise* and *stand*, the idea here expressed may be either that the thing proposed shall not even come into existence (Hitzig), or that it shall not continue or be permanent (Gesenius, Hengstenberg, Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit). The general sense is clear, viz. that their design should be defeated. The name יהוה, being here preceded by אֲדֹנָי, takes the vowels of אֱלֹהִים. The accumulation of divine names is, as usual, emphatic, and seems here intended to afford a pledge of the event, derived from the supremacy and power of the Being who predicts it.

Vs. 8, 9. The plans of the enemy cannot be accomplished, because God has decreed that while the kingdoms of Syria and Israel continue to exist, they shall remain without enlargement, or at least without the addition of Jerusalem or Judah to their territories. It shall not stand or come to pass, *because the head* (or capital) *of Aram is Damascus* (and shall be so still), *and the head* (chief or sovereign) *of Damascus is Rezin* (and shall be so still—and as for the other power there is as little cause of fear) *for in yet sixty and five years* (in sixty-five years more) *shall Ephraim be broken from a people* (i. e. from being a people, so as not to be a people—and even in the mean time, it shall not be enlarged by the addition of Judah) *for the head* (or capital) *of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head* (chief or sovereign) *of*

Samaria is Remaliah's son. If you will not believe (it is) *because you are not to be established.* Here again Syria is the prominent object, and Ephraim subjoined, as if by an afterthought. The order of ideas is that Syria shall remain as it is, and as for Ephraim it is soon to be destroyed, but while it does last, it shall remain as it is likewise; Pekah shall never reign in any other capital, nor Samaria be the capital of any other kingdom. To this natural expression of the thought corresponds the rhythmical arrangement of the sentences, the first clause of the eighth verse answering exactly to the first clause of the ninth, while the two last clauses, though dissimilar, complete the measure.

For the head of Syria is Damascus—
And the head of Damascus Rezin—
And in sixty-five years more etc.
And the head of Ephraim is Samaria—
And the head of Samaria Remaliah's son—
If ye will not believe etc.

Whether this be poetry or not, its structure is as regular as that of any other period of equal length in the writings of Isaiah. As to the substance of these verses, the similar clauses have already been explained, as a prediction that the two invading powers should remain without enlargement. The first of the uneven clauses, i. e. the last of v. 8, adds to this prediction, that Ephraim, or the kingdom of the ten tribes, shall cease to exist within a prescribed period, which period is so defined as to include the three successive strokes by which that power was annihilated—first, the invasion of Tiglath-pileser, two or three years after the date of this prediction (2 Kings, 15: 29. 16: 9)—then, the conquest of Samaria, and the deportation of the ten tribes, by Shalmeneser, about the sixth year of Hezekiah (2 Kings 17: 6)—and finally, the introduction of another race by Esar-haddon in the reign of Manasseh (2 Kings 17: 24. Ezra 4: 2. 2 Chron. 33: 11). Within sixty-five years all these events were to occur, and Ephraim, in all these senses, was to cease to be a people. It seems then that the language of this clause has been carefully selected, so as to include the three events which might be represented as destructive of Ephraim, while in form it balances the last clause of the next verse, and is therefore essential to the rhythmical completeness of the passage. And yet this very clause has been rejected as a gloss, not only by Houbigant, and others of that school, but by Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer and Knobel, expressly on the ground that it violates the truth of history and the parallelism of the sentence. In urging the latter reason none of these critics seems to have observed that the omission of the clause would leave the verses unequal; while the puerile suggestion that the similar clauses ought to come together, would apply to any case in Greek, Latin, or modern poetry, where two balanced verses are divided by a line of different

length or termination, as in the *Stabat Mater* or Cowper's Ode to Friendship. Such an objection to the clause is especially surprising on the part of those who insist upon subjecting even Hebrew prose to the principles, if not the rules, of Greek and Latin prosody.—As to the more serious historical objection, it is applicable only to the theory of Usher, Lowth, Hengstenberg, and Henderson, that the conquest of Israel by Tiglath-pileser and Shalmeneser are excluded from the prophecy, and that it has relation solely to what took place under Esar-haddon; whereas all three are included. If a historian should say that in one and twenty years from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Emperor Napoleon had ceased to be, he could not be charged with the error of reckoning to the time of his death, instead of his first or second abdication, because all these would be really included, and the larger term chosen only for the purpose of embracing every sense in which the Emperor ceased to be. So in the case before us, the invasion by Tiglath-pileser, and the deportation by Shalmeneser are included, but the term of sixty-five years is assigned, because with it expired every possible pretension of the ten tribes to be reckoned as a state or nation, though the real downfall of the government had happened many years before. Nor is it improbable that if the shorter periods of three or twenty years had been named, the same class of critics would have made the exclusion of the winding up under Esar-haddon a ground of similar objection to the clause. The propriety of including this event is clear from the repeated mention of Israel as a people still subsisting until it took place (2 Kings 23: 19, 20. 2 Chr. 34: 6, 7. 35: 18), and from the fact that Esar-haddon placed his colonists in the cities of Samaria, *instead of the children of Israel* (2 Kings 27: 24), thereby completing their destruction as a people. The same considerations furnish an answer to the objection that the time fixed for the overthrow of Ephraim is too remote to allay the fears of Ahaz; not to mention that this was only one design of the prediction, and that the encouragement was meant to be afforded by what follows, and which seems to have been added for the very purpose, as if he had said, 'Ephraim is to last but sixty-five years at most, and *even while it does last* the head etc.' That the order of the numerals, *sixty and five* instead of *five and sixty* is no proof of later origin (Gesenius), may be inferred from the occurrence of the same collocation at least three times in Genesis (4: 24. 18: 28. 46: 15.) The alleged inconsistency between this clause and v. 16 rests on a gratuitous assumption that the desolation threatened there and the destruction here are perfectly identical. To allege that בְּעוֹד is elsewhere used to denote the precise time of an event (Gen. 40: 13, 19. Jos. 1: 11. 3: 2. Jer. 28: 3, 11), is only to allege that a general expression admits of a specific application. The Hebrew phrase corresponds exactly to the English phrase *in sixty-five years more*, and like it may either be applied to something

happening at the end of that period, or to something happening at any time within it, or to both, which is really its application here. To the objection, that the precise date of the immigration under Esar-haddon is a matter of conjecture, the answer is, that since this event and the sixty-fifth year from the date of the prediction, both fall within the reign of Manasseh, the supposition that they coincide is less improbable than the supposition that they do not. To reject the clause on such a ground is to assume that whatever is not proved (or rather twice proved) must be false, however probable. Enough has now been said, not only to vindicate the clause as genuine, but to preclude the necessity of computing the sixty-five years from any other period than the date of the prediction, as for instance from the death of Jeroboam II. with Coccceius, or from the leprosy of Uzziah with the Rabbins, both which hypotheses, if necessary, might be plausibly defended. It also supersedes the necessity of emendation in the text. Grotius and Cappellus drop the plural termination of שִׁשִּׁים and thus convert it into *six*. But even if Isaiah could have written *six and five* instead of *eleven*, the latter number would be too small, as Cappellus in his computation overlooks an interregnum which the best chronologers assume between Pekah and Hoshea. See Gesenius in loc. Vitringa supposes שִׁשִּׁים וְחָמֵשׁ to have arisen out of שש׳ וחמש (a common abbreviation in Hebrew manuscripts), and this out of שֵׁשׁ י׳ וְחָמֵשׁ, *six, ten, and five*, the exact number of years between the prophecy and Shalmaneser's conquest, viz. sixteen of Ahaz and five of Hezekiah, which he therefore supposes to be separately stated. But even if letters were used for ciphers in Isaiah's time, which is highly improbable, it is still more improbable that both modes of notation would have been mixed up in a single number. Gesenius sneers at Vitringa's thanking God for the discovery of this emendation; but it is more than matched by two of later date and German origin. Steudel proposes to read שָׁנָה (for שָׁנָה) in the sense of *repeatedly*, and to supply *days* after *sixty-five!* Hendewerk more boldly reads בְּעוֹד שִׁשִּׁים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה *while the robbers and the murderer are a sleep* (i. e. asleep)! This he thinks so *schön und herrlich*, and the light which it sheds so *ganz wunderbar*, that he even prefers it to Hensler's proposition to read *six or five* (i. q. five or six,) i. e. a few. Luzzatto gives this latter sense to the common text, which he explains as a round number, or rather as two round numbers, *sixty* being used in the Talmud indefinitely for a large number, and *five* even in Scripture for a small one. Ewald seems willing to admit that *sixty-five* itself is here put as a period somewhat shorter than the term of human life, but rejects the clause as a quotation from an older prophecy, transferred from the margin to the text of Isaiah. Besides these emendations of the text, the view which has been taken of the prophecy enables us to dispense with various forced constructions of the first clause—such as Aben Ezra's—'it shall not come to pass (with respect to you) but (with respect to) the head of Syria (which

is) Damascus etc.' Or this—'though the head of Syria is Damascus (a great city), and the head of Damascus is Rezin (a great prince), yet in sixty-five years etc.' Hitzig reverses this, and makes it an expression of contempt—'for the head of Syria is (only) Damascus, and the head of Damascus (only) Rezin (a smoking fire-brand.)'—The last clause of the verse has also been variously construed. J. D. Michaelis supposes a threatening or indignant pause in the midst of it—'If ye will not believe—for (I see that) ye will not believe.' Grotius makes it interrogative—'will ye not believe, unless ye are confirmed' or assured by a sign? The construction now most commonly adopted makes כִּי a particle of asseveration (Rosenmüller, Henderson) or even of swearing (Maurer), or supposes it to introduce the apodosis and to be equivalent to *then* (Gesenius). Luther's version of the clause, thus understood, has been much admired, as a successful imitation of the paronomasia in Hebrew: *Gläubet ihr nicht, so bleibet ihr nicht.* This explanation of the clause is strongly favoured by the analogy of 2 Chron. 20: 20; but another equally natural is the one already given in translation—'if ye do not believe (it is) because ye are not to be established.' For other constructions and conjectural emendations of the several clauses, see Gesenius and Rosenmüller on the passage.

V. 10. *And he* (i. e. God, by the mouth of Isaiah) *added to speak unto Ahaz, saying*—which, according to usage, may either mean that *he spoke again*, on a different occasion, or that *he spoke further*, on the same occasion, which last is the meaning here. This verse, it is true, is supposed to commence a new division of the prophecy by Ewald, and an entirely distinct prediction by Hendewerk, who connects it with the close of the fifth chapter, and by Henderson, who regards all that follows as having reference to the invasion of Judah by Assyria. A sufficient refutation of the two last hypotheses is involved in the admission made by both these writers, that the offer of a sign has reference to nothing in the context, but to something not recorded; whereas it was naturally called forth by the incredulity which some suppose to have been betrayed by the king's silence (Hengstenberg) or his looks (Rosenmüller), and which is certainly referred to in the last clause of v. 9.

V. 11. *Ask for thee* (i. e. for thy own satisfaction) *a sign from Jehovah thy God* (literally *from with him*, i. e. from his presence and his power)—*ask deep or high above*—or *make deep thy request or make it high*—i. e. ask it either above or below. A *sign* is not necessarily a miracle, nor necessarily a prophecy, but a sensible pledge of the truth of something else, whether present, past, or future; sometimes consisting in a miracle (Isai. 38: 8. Judg. 6: 37. Ex. 4: 8), but sometimes in a mere prediction (Ex. 3: 12.

1 Sam. 2: 34. 2 Kings 19: 29), and sometimes only in a symbol, especially a symbolical name or action (Isai. 38: 18. 20: 3. Ezek. 4: 8). The sign here offered is a proof of Isaiah's divine legation, which Ahaz seemed to doubt. He is allowed to choose, not only the place of its exhibition (Plüschke), but the sign itself. The offer is a general one, including all the kinds of signs which have been mentioned, though the only one which would have answered the purpose of accrediting the Prophet, was a present miracle, as in the case of Moses (Ex. 4: 30). Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, seem to have read שְׁאֹלָה *to the grave* or *lower world* (*βάθος εἰς ᾅδην*), which is adopted by Jerome, Michaelis, Lowth, and also by Ewald but without a change of text, as he supposes שְׁאָלָה to be simply a euphonic variation for שְׁאֹלָה intended to assimilate it to לְמַעְלָה. Thus understood, the word may refer to the opening of the earth or the raising of the dead, in opposition to a miracle in heaven. But as heaven is not particularly mentioned, there is no need of departing from the old explanation of שְׁאָלָה as a paragogic imperative (comp. Dan. 9: 19. Ps. 41: 5), signifying *ask thou*. The two preceding verbs may then be taken also as imperatives, *go deep, ask*, i. e. in asking, or as infinitives equivalent to adverbs, *ask deep, ask high*; or the construction may be simplified still further by explaining שְׁאָלָה as a noun equivalent to שְׁאֵלָה and governed directly by the two verbs as imperatives—*make deep (thy) request, make (it) high*. There may either be a reference to the distinction between signs in heaven and signs on earth (Matt. 16: 1), which Jerome illustrates by the case of the Egyptian plagues, or the words may be more indefinitely understood as meaning *any where*, up or down, above or below (Calvin). The phrase *thy God* is emphatic and intended to remind Ahaz of his official relation to Jehovah, and as it were to afford him a last opportunity of profiting by the connexion.

V. 12. *And Ahaz said, I will not ask, and I will not tempt Jehovah.* Some regard this as a contemptuous irony, implying a belief that God would not be able to perform his promise (Grotius, Gesenius etc.) or a disbelief in the existence of a personal God (Umbreit.) We have no reason to doubt, however, that Ahaz believed in the existence of Jehovah, at least as one among many gods, as a local and national if not a supreme deity. It is better, therefore, to understand the words as a hypocritical excuse for not obeying the command, with obvious allusion to the prohibition in Deut. 6: 6, which is of course inapplicable to the case of one who is exhorted to choose. His refusal probably arose not from speculative doubts or politic considerations, but from the state of his affections, his aversion to the service of Jehovah and his predilection for that of other gods, perhaps combined with a belief that in this case human aid would be sufficient and a divine interposition superfluous; to which may be added a specific expectation of assistance

from Assyria, for which he had perhaps already sued (2 Kings 16: 7–9). To *tempt* God is not to try him in the way of trusting him (Hoheisel), nor simply to call in question his power, knowledge, or veracity (Gesenius, Hitzig), but to put him practically to the test. The character of Ahaz is illustrated by a comparison of this refusal with the thankful acceptance of such signs by others, and especially by his own son Hezekiah, to whom, as Jerome observes, signs both in heaven and on earth were granted.

V. 13. At first Ahaz seemed to doubt only the authority and divine legation of the Prophet; but his refusal to accept the offered attestation was an insult to God himself, and is therefore indignantly rebuked by the Prophet. *And he said, hear, I pray you, oh house of David! is it too little for you* (is it not enough for you) *to weary men* (i. e. to try men's patience) *that you* (must) *weary* (or try the patience of) *my God?* The meaning is not merely that it is worse to weary God than man (Chrysostom), or that it was not man but God whom they were wearying (Jerome); but that having first wearied man i. e. the Prophet by disputing his commission, they were now wearying God, by refusing the offered attestation. הַלְאוֹת is not to regard as weak or impotent (Kimchi), but to try or exhaust the patience of another. The plural form of the address does not imply that the Prophet turned away from Ahaz to others (Jerome), but that members of his family and court were, in the Prophet's view, already implicated in his unbelief.

V. 14. The king having refused to ask a sign, the Prophet gives him one, by renewing the promise of deliverance (vs. 8, 9) and connecting it with the birth of a child, whose significant name is made a symbol of the divine interposition, and his progress a measure of the subsequent events. Instead of saying that God would be present to deliver them, he says the child shall be called *Immanuel* (God-with-us); instead of mentioning a term of years, he says, before the child is able to distinguish good from evil; instead of saying that until that time the land shall lie waste, he represents the child as eating *curds and honey*, spontaneous products, here put in opposition to the fruits of cultivation. At the same time, the form of expression is descriptive. Instead of saying simply that the child shall experience all this, he represents its birth and infancy as actually passing in his sight; he sees the child brought forth and named Immanuel; he sees the child eating curds and honey till a certain age. *Therefore* (because you have refused to choose) *the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold! the virgin pregnant and bringing forth a son, and she calls his name Immanuel* (God with us)—*curds and honey shall he eat* (because the land lies waste) *until he shall know* (how) *to reject the evil and to choose the good* (but no longer); *for before the child shall know* (how) *to reject the evil and to choose the*

good, *the land, of whose two kings thou art afraid* (i. e. Syria and Israel), *shall be forsaken* (i. e. desolate), which of course implies the previous deliverance of Judah.—All interpreters appear to be agreed that these three verses contain a threatening of destruction to the enemies of Judah, if not a direct promise of deliverance, and that this event is connected, in some way, with the birth of a child, as the *sign* or pledge of its certain occurrence. But what child is meant, or who is the Immanuel here predicted? The various answers to this question may be all reduced to three fundamental hypotheses, each of which admits of several minor variations.

I. The first hypothesis is that the only birth and infancy referred to in these verses are the birth and infancy of a child born (or supposed to be born), in the ordinary course of nature, and in the days of Isaiah himself. The unessential variations, of which this hypothesis is susceptible, have reference chiefly to the question what particular child is intended. 1. The Jews of old supposed it to be Hezekiah; but this was exploded by Jerome's suggestion, that he was already at least nine years old, since his father reigned but sixteen years, and he succeeded him at twenty-five (2 Kings 16: 2, 18: 2). 2. Kimchi and Abarbenel suppose Immanuel to be a younger son of Ahaz, by a second marriage. 3. Isenbiehl, Bauer, Cube, Steudel, and Hitzig, understand by הָעַלְמָה, a woman who was present, and at whom the Prophet pointed. 4. J. D. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Paulus, Hensler, Ammon, understand the Prophet to predict not a real but an ideal birth, as if he had said, should one now a virgin conceive and bear a son, she might call his name Immanuel, etc. 5. Aben Ezra, Jarchi, Faber, Plüschke, Gesenius, Maurer, Hendewerk, Knobel, suppose him to be speaking of his own wife, and the birth of his own son; and as Shearjashub was already born, Gesenius assumes a second marriage of the Prophet, and supposes two events to be predicted: first, the deliverance of Judah at the birth of the child, and then the desolation of Syria and Israel before he should be able to distinguish good and evil. To this last supposition, it is justly objected by Hengstenberg that it assumes too great an interval between the deliverance of Judah and the desolation of the other countries, as well as between the former and the resumption of agricultural employments. It is besides unnecessary, as the interposition denoted by the name Immanuel need not be restricted to the time of the child's birth, and as the desolation of Syria and Israel is said to take place *before*, but not *immediately* before the child's attaining to a certain age; to which it may be added that the age itself is left somewhat indefinite. But besides these objections to Gesenius's assumption of a twofold prophecy, his whole hypothesis, with all the others which have been enumerated, except perhaps the fourth, may be justly charged with gratuitously assuming facts of which we have no evidence, and which are not necessary to the interpretation of the passage; such as the second marriage of

Ahaz, or that of Isaiah, or the presence of a pregnant woman, or the Prophet's pointing at her. A further objection to all the variations of this first hypothesis is, that although they may afford a *sign*, in one of the senses of that term, to wit, that of an emblem or symbol, they do not afford such a sign as the context would lead us to expect. Ahaz had been offered the privilege of choosing any sign whatever, in heaven or on earth. Had he actually chosen one, it would no doubt have been something out of the ordinary course of nature, as in the case of Gideon (Judges 6 : 37–40) and Hezekiah (Isai. 38 : 7, 8). On his refusal to choose, a sign is given him unasked, and although it does not necessarily follow that it was precisely such as he would have selected—since the object was no longer simply to remove his doubts, but to verify the promise and to mark the event when it occurred as something which had been predicted—yet it seems very improbable that after such an offer, the sign bestowed would be merely a thing of every-day occurrence, or at most the application of a symbolical name. This presumption is strengthened by the solemnity with which the Prophet speaks of the predicted birth, not as a usual and natural event, but as something which excites his own astonishment, as he beholds it in prophetic vision. This may prove nothing by itself, but is significant when taken in connexion with the other reasons. The same thing may be said of the address to Immanuel, in ch. 8 : 8, and the allusion to the name in v. 11, which, although they may admit of explanation in consistency with this first hypothesis, agree much better with the supposition that the prophecy relates to something more than a natural and ordinary birth. A still stronger reason for the same conclusion is afforded by the parallel passage in ch. 9 : 5, 6, occurring in the same connected series of prophecies. There, as here, the birth of a child is given as a pledge of safety and deliverance, but with the important addition of a full description, which, as we shall see below, is wholly inapplicable to any ordinary human child, however high in rank or full of promise. If led by these remarkable coincidences to examine more attentively the terms of the prophecy itself, we find the mother of the promised child described, not as *a woman* or as any particular woman merely, but as הָעַלְמָה a term which has been variously derived from עלם to conceal, and from غلم to grow up, but which, in the six places where it occurs elsewhere, is twice applied to young unmarried females certainly (Gen. 24 : 43, Ex. 2 : 8), and twice most probably (Ps. 68 : 25, Sol. S. 1 : 3), while in the two remaining cases (Sol. S. 1 : 8, Prov. 30 : 19) this application is at least as probable as any other. It would therefore naturally suggest the idea of a virgin, or at least of an unmarried woman. It is said indeed, that if this had been intended, the word בְּתוּלָה would have been employed ; but even that word is not invariably used in its strict sense (see Deut. 22 : 19, Joel 1 : 8), so that there would still have been room for the

same cavils, and perhaps for the assertion that the idea of a virgin could not be expressed except by a periphrasis. It is enough for us to know that a virgin or unmarried woman is designated here as distinctly as she could be by a single word. But why should this description be connected with a fact which seems to render it inapplicable, that of parturition? That the word means simply a *young woman*, whether married or unmarried, a virgin or a mother, is a subterfuge invented by the later Greek translators who, as Justin Martyr tells us, read νεᾶνις, instead of the old version παρθένος, which had its rise before the prophecy became a subject of dispute between the Jews and Christians. That the word denotes one who is a virgin or unmarried *now*, without implying that she is to remain so, is certainly conceivable; but, as was said before, its use in this connexion, especially when added to the other reasons previously mentioned, makes it, to say the least, extremely probable that the event foretold is something more than a birth in the ordinary course of nature. So too, the name *Immanuel*, although it might be used to signify God's providential presence merely (Ps. 46 : 8, 12, 89 : 25, Josh. 1 : 5, Jer. 1 : 8, Isai. 43 : 2), has a latitude and pregnancy of meaning which can scarcely be fortuitous, and which, combined with all the rest, makes the conclusion almost unavoidable, that it was here intended to express a *personal* as well as a *providential* presence. If to this we add the early promise of salvation through the *seed of the woman* (Gen. 3 : 15), rendered more definite by later revelations, and that remarkable expression of Isaiah's contemporary prophet Micah (5 : 2), *until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth*, immediately following the promise of a *ruler*, to be born in Bethlehem, but *whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting*—the balance of probabilities, as furnished by the Old Testament exclusively, preponderates decidedly in favour of the supposition, that Isaiah's words had reference to a miraculous conception and nativity. When we read, therefore, in the gospel of Matthew, that Jesus Christ was actually born of a virgin, and that all the circumstances of his birth came to pass that this very prophecy might be fulfilled, it has less the appearance of an unexpected application, than of a conclusion rendered necessary, by a series of antecedent facts and reasons, the last link in a long chain of intimations more or less explicit. The same considerations seem to show that the prophecy is not merely transferred or accommodated to another subject by the evangelist, which is moreover clear from the emphatic form of the citation (τοῦτο ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ κ. τ. λ.), making it impossible to prove the existence of any quotation, in the proper sense, if this be not one, and from the want of any similarity between the two events, viz. a natural and miraculous conception, upon which a mere illustrative accommodation of the words could have been founded. The idea, insidiously suggested by J. D. Michaelis, that the first two chapters of Matthew may be spurious, is so far

from deriving any countenance from this application of the prophecy, that on the contrary its wonderful agreement with the scattered but harmonious intimations of the Old Testament, too numerous and too detached to be fortuitous, affords a strong though incidental proof that these very chapters are genuine and authentic. The rejection of Matthew's authority *in toto*, as an interpreter of the prediction, is not only inconsistent with the proofs of his inspiration drawn from other quarters, but leaves unexplained the remarkable coincidence between his interpretation and the original form of expression, the context, and the parallel passages. That these should all conspire to recommend an ignorant or random explanation of the prophecy, is more incredible, than that the explanation should be true, and the words of Isaiah a prediction of something more than the birth of a real or ideal child, in the ordinary course of nature, and in the days of the Prophet himself. The question, however, still arises, how the birth of Christ, if here predicted, is to be connected with the promise made to Ahaz, as a sign of the event, or as a measure of the time of its fulfilment?

II. The second hypothesis removes this difficulty by supposing that the prophecy relates to two distinct births and two different children. Of this general theory there are two important modifications. 1. The first supposes one child to be mentioned in v. 14, and another in v. 16. As to v. 15, some connect it with the one before and some with the one after it. Thus Junius understands v. 14 to refer to Christ, but vs. 15, 16 to Shearjashub; Usher applies vs. 14, 15 to Christ, and v. 16 to Shearjashub; Calvin vs. 14, 15 to Christ, but v. 16 to *a child*, i. e., any child indefinitely. They all agree that the prophecy contains two promises: first, that Christ should be born of a virgin, and then, that Judah should be delivered before Shearjashub (or before any child born within a certain time) could distinguish good from evil. To such of these interpretations as refer v. 15 to the infancy of Christ, it may be objected that they put a sense upon that verse which its expressions will not bear, and which is inconsistent with the use of the same terms in v. 22. It will be seen below that the eating of curds and honey is predicted as a sign of general desolation, or at least of interrupted tillage. Another objection which applies to all the forms of this interpretation is the sudden change of subject, in the fifteenth or sixteenth verse, from Immanuel to Shearjashub, or to any child indefinitely. Nothing but extreme exegetical necessity could justify the reference of vs. 15, 16, to any person not referred to in v. 14. 2. This difficulty is avoided in the second modification of the general hypothesis that the passage (as a whole) refers to two distinct births and to different children, by assuming that both are mentioned in the fourteenth verse itself. This is the supposition of a double sense, though some refuse to recognize it by that name. The essence of the theory is this, that while v. 14, in its obvious and primary sense,

relates to the birth of a child in the ordinary course of nature, its terms are so selected as to be descriptive, in a higher sense, of the miraculous nativity of Christ. This theory is mentioned by Jerome as the opinion of a certain Judaizing Christian, whom he does not name (quidam de nostris judaïzans), and by Calvin, as a compromise between the orthodox and Jewish expositions, but has since had many eminent and able advocates. The minor variations of this general hypothesis have reference chiefly to the particular child intended by the prophecy in its lower sense, whether a son of Isaiah himself, as Grotius, Clericus, and Barnes suppose, or any child born within a certain time, as Lowth, with more probability, assumes. The advantage of these interpretations is that they seem to account for the remarkable expressions which the prophet uses, as if to intimate a deeper meaning than the primary and obvious one, and at the same time answer the conditions, both of the context in Isaiah, and of the application in Matthew, giving a sign analogous to others given before and after by this very prophet (ch. 7 : 3, 8 : 2), and at the same time furnishing believers with a striking prophecy of the Messiah. The objections to it are its complexity, and what seems to be the arbitrary nature of the assumption upon which it rests. It seems to be a feeling common to learned and unlearned readers, that although a double sense is not impossible, and must in certain cases be assumed, it is unreasonable to assume it, when any other explanation is admissible. The improbability in this case is increased by the want of similarity between the two events, supposed to be predicted in the very same words, the one miraculous, the other not only natural but common and of every day occurrence. That two such occurrences should be described in the same words, simply because they were both *signs* or pledges of a promise, though not impossible, can only be made probable by strong corroborating proofs, especially if any simpler mode of exposition be at all admissible. Another objection, which lies equally against this hypothesis and the one first mentioned is, that in its primary and lower sense it does not afford such a sign as the context and the parallel passages would lead us to expect, unless we suppose that the higher secondary sense was fully understood at the time of the prediction, and in that case, though the birth of the Messiah from a virgin would be doubtless a sufficient sign, it would, for that very reason, seem to make the lower one superfluous. Dathe's courageous supposition, that the primary reference is to a *miraculous* conception and birth in the days of Isaiah, only aggravates the difficulty which it would diminish, though it certainly escapes the force of some of the objections to the supposition of a double sense, to wit, those founded on the inadequacy of the sign and the dissimilarity of the events. None of these reasons seem however to be decisive against the supposition of a double sense, as commonly understood, unless there be some other way in which its complexity and arbi-

trary character may be avoided, and at the same time the connexion between the birth of the Messiah and the deliverance of Judah satisfactorily explained.

III. The third general hypothesis proposes to effect this by applying all three verses directly and exclusively to the Messiah, as the only child whose birth is there predicted, and his growth made the measure of the subsequent events. The minor variations of this general hypothesis relate to the time when these events were to occur, and to the sense in which the growth of the Messiah is adopted as the measure of them. 1. The simplest form in which this theory has been applied, is that exhibited by J. H. Michaelis and others, who suppose the prediction to relate to the real time of Christ's appearance, and the thing foretold to be the desolation which should take place before the Saviour reached a certain age. To this it is an obvious objection that it makes the event predicted too remote to answer the conditions of the context, or the purpose of the prophecy itself. A similar objection has indeed been urged by the Rabbins and others, to a prophecy of Christ's birth as a *sign* of the promise made to Ahaz. But the cases are entirely dissimilar. The promise of immediate deliverance might be confirmed by an appeal to an event long posterior, if the one necessarily implied the other, as included in it, or as a necessary previous condition. Thus the promise that Israel should worship God at Sinai, was a *sign* to Moses, that they should first be delivered from Egypt (Ex. 3 : 12), and the promise that the tillage interrupted by Sennacherib's invasion should be resumed, was a sign to Hezekiah, that the invasion was itself to cease (Is. 37 : 30). In like manner, the assurance that Christ was to be born in Judah, of its royal family, might be a *sign* to Ahaz, that the kingdom should not perish in his day ; and so far was the remoteness of the sign in this case from making it absurd or inappropriate, that the further off it was, the stronger the promise of continuance to Judah, which it guaranteed. Especially is this the case if we suppose it to have been a familiar doctrine of the ancient church, that the Messiah was to come, and that for his sake Israel existed as a nation. But according to the theory now in question, not only is the *sign* remote, but also the thing signified ; not only the pledge of the event, but the event itself. The Prophet's contemporaries might have been encouraged to expect deliverance from present danger by the promise of Christ's coming, but a promise of deliverance before the end of seven hundred years could afford no encouragement at all. That this objection to the theory in question has been felt by some of its most able advocates, may be inferred from several facts. One is that J. H. Michaelis is obliged to insert the words *long since* (dudum deserta erit), and yet to leave the promise wholly indefinite. Another is that Henderson departs from the ancient and almost universal explanation of the passage as a promise, and converts it into a threatening, not only against

Israel, but against Judah; both of which kingdoms were to lose their kings before the twelfth year of our Saviour, when Archelaus was banished from Judea. A third is that Cocceius, though one of the most accurate philologists of his own or any other age, and only too decided in his exegetical judgments, hesitates between the interpretation now in question and the ungrammatical and arbitrary reference of v. 16 to a different child. At all events, it may be safely assumed that the application of these three verses to the time of Christ's actual appearance has no claim to be received, if there is any other form of the same general hypothesis, by which the connexion of the promise with the context can be made more natural. 2. This end Vitringa has attempted to secure, by supposing the language to be hypothetical, or that the Prophet, while he views the birth of Christ as a remote event, makes it the measure of events at hand—q. d. before the Messiah, *if he were born now*, could know how to distinguish good from evil, etc. The only objection to this ingenious explanation is that the conditional expression on which all depends, *if he were born now*, is precisely that which is omitted, and of which the text contains no intimation. And that the Prophet, without such intimation, would make this use of an event which he distinctly saw to be remote, though not incredible, ought surely not to be assumed without necessity. 3. Another modification of the hypothesis which refers the three verses all to the Messiah, is that proposed by Rosenmüller, in the second and subsequent editions of his Scholia, and substantially renewed by Ewald, viz. that Isaiah really expected the Messiah to be born at once, and therefore naturally made the progress of his infancy the measure of a proximate futurity. Neither of these writers supposes any reference to Christ, both regarding the prediction as a visionary anticipation. But Hengstenberg has clearly shown that such a positive belief and expectation, on Isaiah's part, is not only inconsistent with other prophecies, but with the sequel of this, in which a series of calamitous events is described as intervening between the approaching deliverance and the nativity of the Messiah. To the merely negative assumption that the time of the advent formed no part of this particular revelation, he thinks there is not the same objection. 4. Accordingly, his own interpretation of the passage is, that the birth of the Messiah being presented to the Prophet in connexion with the proximate deliverance of which it was the sign or pledge, without regard to chronological relations, and seen by him in prophetic ecstasy as actually present, he naturally makes the one the measure of the other. As if he had said, I see the virgin bringing forth a son, and calling his name Immanuel; I see him living in the midst of desolation till a certain age; but before that time arrives, I see the land of our invaders lying desolate. The only objection to this ingenious improvement on Vitringa's ingenious exposition, is that it rests upon a certain theory as to the nature of prophetic inspiration or of the

mental state in which the prophets received and uttered their communications, which, however probable, is not at present generally current with believers in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, nor perhaps maintained by Hengstenberg himself.

In expounding this difficult and interesting passage, it has been considered more important to present a tolerably full view of the different opinions, arranged according to the principles on which they rest, than to assert the exclusive truth of any one interpretation as to all its parts. In summing up the whole, however, it may be confidently stated, that the first hypothesis is false; that the first modifications of the second and third are untenable; and that the choice lies between the supposition of a double sense and that of a reference to Christ exclusively, but in connexion with the promise of immediate deliverance to Ahaz. The two particular interpretations which appear to me most plausible and least beset with difficulties, are those of Lowth and Vitringa, with which last Hengstenberg's is essentially identical. Either the Prophet, while he foretells the birth of Christ, foretells that of another child, during whose infancy the promised deliverance shall be experienced; or else he makes the infancy of Christ himself, whether foreseen as still remote or not, the sign and measure of that same deliverance. While some diversity of judgment ought to be expected and allowed, in relation to this secondary question, there is no ground, grammatical, historical, or logical, for doubt as to the main point, that the church in all ages has been right in regarding this passage as a signal and explicit prediction of the miraculous conception and nativity of Jesus Christ.

As to the form of the expression, it will only be necessary further to remark that הָרָה is not a verb or participle (Vitringa, Rosenmüller), but a feminine adjective, signifying *pregnant*, and here connected with an active participle, to denote that the object is described as present to the Prophet's view. *Behold, the virgin, pregnant and bringing forth a son, and she calls his name Immanuel.* The future form adopted by the Septuagint (ἕξει, τέξεται) is retained in the New Testament, because the words are there considered simply as a prophecy; but in order to exhibit the full force which they have in their original connexion, the present form must be restored. The form of the sentence is evidently copied from the angel's address to Hagar (Gen. 16: 11), and so closely that the verb קָרָאת remains unchanged; not, however, as the second person feminine (though all the other Greek versions have καλέσεις, and Junius likewise, who supplies *o virgo* to remove the ambiguity), but as the third person feminine, analogous to עָשָׂת (Lev. 25: 21), נִפְלָאת (Ps. 118: 23), חָבָאת (Gen. 33: 11). The form קָרָאת itself occurs (Deut. 31: 29, Jer. 44: 23), but in another sense (See Nordheimer, § 422.) Calvin, with a strange lapse of memory, alleges that in Scripture mothers never name their

children, and that a departure from the constant usage here is a prophetic intimation that the child would have no human father. The error of fact is easily corrected by referring to the exercise of this prerogative by Eve, Leah, Rachel, Hannah, and others (Gen. 4: 1–25. 19: 37. 29: 32–35. 30: 6–24. 1 Sam. 1: 20. 1 Chron. 4: 9. 7: 16.) That the same act is frequently ascribed to the father, needs of course no proof. In the case before us, it is so far from being an important question, who was to impose the name, that it matters very little whether it was ever imposed at all; or rather, it is certain that the name is merely descriptive or symbolical, and that its actual use in real life was no more necessary to the fulfilment of the prophecy, than that the Messiah should be commonly known by the titles of Wonderful, Counsellor, the Prince of Peace (Isai. 9: 6), or the Lord our Righteousness (Jer. 23: 6). Hence in Matthew 1: 23, the singular קָרָאתָ, is changed into the plural *καλέσουσι*, *they shall call*, i. e. they indefinitely, as in our familiar phrase *they say*, corresponding to the French *on dit* and the German *man sagt*, which last construction is adopted by Augusti in his version of this sentence (man wird nennen seinen Namen). With equal adherence to the spirit, and equal departure from the letter of the prophecy, the Peshito and Vulgate give the verb a passive form, *his name shall be called*. As to the meaning of the name itself, its higher sense is evident from Matthew's application, notwithstanding Hitzig's paradoxical denial, and its lower sense from the usage of analogous expressions in Ps. 46: 8, 12. 89: 25. Josh. 1: 5. Jer. 1: 8. Isai. 43: 2.

V. 15. This verse and the next have already been translated in connexion with the fourteenth, upon which connexion their interpretation must depend. It will here be necessary only to explain one or two points more distinctly. *Butter* (or curds) *and honey shall he eat, until he knows* (*how*) *to reject the evil and to choose the good.* The simple sense of the prediction is that the desolation of Judah, caused by the invasion of Rezin and Pekah, should be only temporary. This idea is symbolically expressed by making the new-born child subsist during his infancy on curds and honey, instead of the ordinary food of an agricultural population. This is clearly the meaning of the same expression in v. 22, as we shall see below; it cannot therefore here denote the real humanity of the person mentioned (Calvin, Vitringa, Henderson, etc.), which is besides sufficiently implied in his being born of a human mother, and could not be asserted here without interrupting the connexion between the fourteenth and sixteenth verses. It cannot denote his poverty or low condition (Calovius), or that of the family of David (Alting), because no such idea is suggested by the words. It cannot, on the other hand, denote abundance or prosperity in general (Grotius, Cocceius, Junius,

etc.), because such a diet is no proof of that condition, and because, according to v. 22, the words are descriptive only of such abundance as arises from a sparse population and neglected tillage. That this desolation should be temporary, is expressed by representing it as coextensive with the early childhood of the person mentioned. לְדַעְתּוֹ is explained by Jarchi, Lowth, Hitzig, Henderson, and Ewald, to mean *when he knows;* by most other writers, *till* or *before he knows* (LXX πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι). The Vulgate, Luther, Junius, and Clericus refer it, not to time at all, but to the design or effect of his eating curds and honey, *that he may know.* It is clear however, from the next verse, that this one must contain a specification of time, however vague. The difference between the versions *when* and *till*, and also in relation to the age described—which J. D. Michaelis puts as high as twenty-one, Ewald from ten to twenty, Henderson at twelve, but Kimchi and most others at about three years—is not so important as it might at first sight seem, because the description was probably intended to be somewhat indefinite. The essential idea is that the desolation should not last until a child then born could reach maturity, and probably not longer than his first few years. Clericus supposes *good and evil* to mean pleasant and unpleasant food, as in 1 Sam. 19 : 35; but the same words elsewhere constantly relate to moral distinctions and the power to perceive them (Gen. 3 : 5. Deut. 1 : 39. 1 Kings 3 : 9. Jonah 4 : 2). Nothing short of the strongest exegetical necessity could justify the reference of this verse to Shearjashub (Junius, Usher), or to any other subject than the one referred to in the verse preceding, namely, Immanuel, the child whose birth the Prophet there describes as just at hand, and whose infancy he here describes as passed in the midst of surrounding desolation. To the explanation of this verse as having reference to Isaiah's own son or a son of Ahaz on the one hand, or to the time of our Saviour's actual appearance on the other, sufficient objections have already been adduced in the interpretation of the fourteenth verse.

V. 16. The desolation shall be temporary—*for before the child shall know* (*how*) *to reject the evil and to choose the good, the land, of whose two kings thou art afraid* (or *by whose two kings thou art distressed*), *shall be forsaken*, i. e. left by its inhabitants and given up to desolation, in which sense the same verb is used elsewhere by Isaiah (ch. 17 : 2. 27 : 10. 62 : 12. Comp. 6 : 12). Instead of taking תֵּעָזֵב thus absolutely, most of the older writers, and a few of later date, connect it with מִפְּנֵי, and קֵץ with אֲשֶׁר. *The land which thou abhorrest* (or *for which thou fearest*) *shall be forsaken by both its kings*—i. e. Judah shall be forsaken by Rezin and Pekah, whom Steudel supposes to be called its kings *de facto*—or Syria and Israel shall be deprived of Rezin and Pekah—or Canaan (including Israel and Judah) shall lose both its kings. This last is the inter-

pretation given by Henderson, who also reads *the land which thou destroyest.* Clericus takes תֵּעָזֵב absolutely, in the sense of being desolate, but translates the rest, *which thou abhorrest on account of its two kings.* To some of these constructions it may be objected that they make the land and not the kings the object of abhorrence, and to all, that they construe קוּץ directly with אֲשֶׁר, which is contrary to usage, and disjoin it from מִפְּנֵי, by which it is followed in at least two other places (Ex. 3 : 12. Num. 22 : 3) ; to which may be added that according to the Hebrew idiom, this construction is the only one that could be used to signify *before* (or *on account of*) *whose two kings thou art in terror.* This construction, which is given by Castalio and DeDieu, is adopted by Cocceius, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and most other modern writers, who are also agreed that *the land* here meant is Syria and Israel, spoken of as one because confederate against Judah. The wasting of these kingdoms and the deportation of their people by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings 15 : 29. 16 : 9) is here predicted, which of course implies the previous deliverance of Judah and the brief duration of its own calamity, so that this verse assigns a reason for the representation in the one preceding. There is no need, therefore, of imposing upon כִּי, at the beginning of the verse, the sense of *nay* (Piscator), *indeed* (Calvin), *although* (Alting), or *but* (Umbreit), or any other than its usual and proper one of *for, because.* Nor is it necessary to regard the fifteenth verse as a parenthesis, with Cocceius and Rosenmüller ; much less to reject it as a gloss, with Hitzig, and as breaking the connexion between the name Immanuel in v. 14, and the explanation of it in v. 16. The true connexion of the verses has been well explained by Maurer and Knobel to be this, that Judah shall lie waste for a short time, and *only* for a short time, *for* before that short time is expired, its invaders shall themselves be invaded and destroyed. This view of the connexion is sufficient to evince, that the reference of this verse to Shearjashub (Lowth) or to *any child* indefinitely (Calvin) is as unnecessary as it is ungrammatical. *A child* is born—*he* learns to distinguish good and evil—but before *the child* is able to distinguish good and evil, something happens. If these three clauses, thus succeeding one another, do not speak of the same child, it is impossible for language to be so employed as to identify the subject without actually saying that it is the same.

V. 17. Again addressing Ahaz, he assures him that although he shall escape the present danger, God will inflict worse evils on himself and his successors, by means of those very allies whose assistance he is now seeking. *Jehovah will bring upon thee*—not merely as an individual, but as a king—*and on thy people—and on thy father's house*—or family—the royal line of Judah—*days which have not come since the departure of Ephraim*

from Judah, to wit, the king of Assyria. It is possible to construe the sentence so as to make it refer to the retreat of the invaders—*Jehovah will bring upon thee days which have not come* (never come before), *from the day that Ephraim departs from Judah*, i. e. as soon as this invasion ceases, worse times shall begin. This construction, which is permitted, if not favoured, by the Masoretic accents, has the advantage of giving to מֵעָל its strict sense, as implying the removal of a burden or infliction (see Exod. 10 : 28, and Gesenius s. v.) rather than a mere revolt or schism, and also that of making the expression stronger (*days which have not come* at all, or *never come*) and at the same time less indefinite by specifying when the days were to begin. But as the absolute use of the phrase *which have not come* is rather harsh and unusual, and as the compound forms לָבוֹא and לָמוּת are elsewhere used only in relation to the past (Judg. 19 : 30. 2 Sam. 7 : 6. 2 Kings 19 : 25. Mal. 3 : 7), although the simple forms בּוֹא and מוּת sometimes denote the future (Exod. 12 : 15. Lev. 22 : 27. Ez. 38 : 8), it is safer to adhere to the unanimous decision of all versions and interpreters, so far as I can trace it, and understand the verse as declaring the days threatened to be worse than any which had come upon Judah since the revolt of the ten tribes, here called Ephraim, from the largest and most powerful tribe, that to which Jeroboam belonged, and within which the chief towns of the kingdom were situated. This declaration seems at first sight inconsistent with the fact, demonstrable from sacred history, that the injuries sustained by Judah, during the interval here specified, from other foreign powers, as for example from the Egyptians in the reign of Rehoboam (2 Chron. 12 : 2–9), from the Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chron. 21 : 16, 17), from the Syrians in the reign of Joash (2 Chron. 24 : 23, 24), not to mention the less successful attacks of the Ethiopians in the reign of Asa (2 Chron. 14 : 8–15), and of Moab and Ammon in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 20 : 1–30), or the frequent incursions of the ten tribes, must have greatly overbalanced the invasion of Sennacherib, by far the most alarming visitation of Judah by the armies of Assyria. This apparent discrepancy is not to be explained by regarding the prophecy before us, with Gesenius, as a mere threat (blosses Drohwort), nor by alleging that the days here threatened are not described as *worse* than any former days, but only as different from them. Even granting that the prophecy implies not merely change of condition, but a change for the worse, it may be justified in either of two ways. According to Cocceius, Vitringa, Henderson, and others, the *king of Assyria* may here include the kings of Babylon, to whom the title is applied in 2 Kings 23 : 29, if not in Neh. 9 : 32, as it is to the kings of Persia in Ezra 6 : 22, considered as successors to the Assyrian power, in accordance with which usage, Herodotus calls Babylon a city of Assyria.

But even this supposition, although highly probable, is not here necessary. Let it be observed that the days here threatened were to be worse, not simply with respect to individual suffering or temporary difficulties of the state itself, but to the loss of its independence, its transition to a servile state, from which it was never permanently freed, the domination of Assyria being soon succeeded by that of Egypt, and this by that of Babylon, Persia, Syria, and Rome, the last ending only in the downfall of the state, and that general dispersion of the people which continues to this day. The revolt of Hezekiah and even longer intervals of liberty in later times, are mere interruptions of the customary and prevailing bondage. Of this critical change it surely might be said, even though it were to cost not a single drop of blood, nor the personal freedom of a single captive, that the Lord was about to bring upon Judah days which had not been witnessed from the time of Ephraim's apostasy, or according to the other construction of the text, at any time whatever; since none of the evils suffered, from Solomon to Ahaz, had destroyed the independence of Judah, not even the Egyptian domination in the reign of Rehoboam, which only lasted long enough to teach the Jews the difference between God's service and *the service of the kingdoms of the countries* (2 Chron. 12: 8). This view of the matter is abundantly sufficient to reconcile the prophecy with history, whether Assyria be understood to mean the kingdom properly so called, or to include the empires which succeeded it; and whether the threatening be referred exclusively to Ahaz and his times, as Gesenius and Rosenmüller say it must be, or to him and his successors jointly, which appears to be the true sense of *thy people and thy father's house*, as distinguished from himself and his own house; but even on the other supposition, as the change of times, i. e. the transition from an independent to a servile state, took place before the death of Ahaz, the expressions used are perfectly consistent with the facts. It is implied, of course, in this interpretation, that Sennacherib's invasion was not the *beginning* of the days here threatened, which is rather to be sought in the alliance between Ahaz and Tiglath-pileser, *who came unto him, and distressed him, and strengthened him not* (2 Chron. 28: 19, 20), but exacted repeated contributions from him as a vassal; which degrading and oppressive intercourse continued till his death, as appears from the statement (2 Kings 18: 7) that *Hezekiah rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not*, clearly implying that he did at first, as he offered to do afterwards, on Sennacherib's approach, with confession of his fault, a renewal of his tribute, and a repetition of his father's sacrilege (2 Kings 18: 13–16). That during the whole term of this foreign ascendency, Judah was infested by Assyrian intruders, and by frequent visitations for the purpose of extorting their unwilling tribute, till at last the revolt of Hezekiah, no longer able to endure the

burden, led to a formal occupation of the country, is not only probable in itself, but seems to be implied in the subsequent context (vs. 18–20.) The abrupt commencement of this verse, without a connecting particle, led Alting to regard it as the apodosis of the sentence beginning with v. 16—'before the child shall know etc. and *before* the land shall be forsaken, Jehovah will bring upon thee, etc.' But besides the unusual length and involution of the sentence, and the arbitrary repetition of *before* with *and*, it cannot be explained, on this hypothesis, to what desolation v. 16 alludes, as the overthrow of Israel *preceded* the invasion of Judah by Assyria. The abrupt commencement of the sentence is regarded by Maurer as a proof that the remainder of the chapter is of later date; by Hitzig as marking the commencement of the prophecy itself, what precedes being introductory to it. Vitringa supposes that the Prophet paused, as if unwilling to proceed; Houbigant, as usual, amends the text by inserting *vav;* while Lowth and others follow the Septuagint by supplying *but*. According to Hendewerk, however, the adversative particle is out of place, as he denies that what now follows is a threatening appended to a previous promise, and regards it as an amplification of the threatening in v. 15; but that relates to the Syrian invasion, this to the Assyrian domination. Alting's translation of עָלֶיךָ by *against thee*, though it does not change the general sense, destroys its figurative dress, in which there is an obvious allusion to the bringing of water or the like *upon* a person, so as to destroy him. Compare Joshua 23: 15 and 24: 7.—The last words of this verse (את מלך אשור) have been rejected as a gloss by Houbigant, Secker, Lowth, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer, Hendewerk, Umbreit, and Knobel, on the ground that they contain an inelegant anticipation of what follows, and an explanation of what goes before, at once superfluous and incorrect, since Egypt as well as Assyria is mentioned afterwards. That Assyria might be naturally named alone, as first in time and in importance, is admitted by Eichhorn, who rejects the clause on other grounds; and Maurer, who does the same, speaks with contempt of the objection founded on the *days* being explained to mean the *king* (id nihil est). As for the rhetorical objection that the words are too prosaic, it is founded on the modern notion that the prophets were mere poets. The objections to the explanation which the clause contains, as superfluous and incorrect, may cancel one another, as both cannot well be true. Gesenius thinks the supposition of a gloss the more probable because he has detected several others in this prophecy; while Ewald, on the other hand, retains the words as genuine, because they recur below in v. 20 and in ch. 8: 7. The external evidence is all in favour of the clause. There is no need of making אֵת a preposition meaning *by*, *though*, or *from*, as Jerome, Luther, Grotius, and Clericus do; nor is it necessary to regard the words as in apposition to יָמִים, since they are rather a second object to the

verb יָבִיא, which may be considered as repeated before אֵת, as Hengstenberg suggests—*he shall bring upon thee days* etc. (he shall bring upon thee) *the king of Assyria.*

V. 18. The evil times just threatened are here more explicitly described as arising from the presence and oppression of foreigners, especially Assyrians and Egyptians, whose number and vexatious impositions are expressed by comparing them to swarms of noxious and annoying insects, pouring into the country by divine command. *And it shall be* (or come to pass) *in that day* (in the *days* just threatened) *that Jehovah will hiss* (or *whistle*) *to* (or *for*) *the fly which* (*is*) *in the end* (or *edge*) *of the rivers of Egypt, and to* (or *for*) *the bee which is in Assyria.* The fly is peculiarly appropriate to Egypt, where the marshy grounds produce it in abundance, and there may be a reference, as Barnes supposes, to the plague of flies in Exodus. Knobel and others think there may be also an allusion to the abounding of bees in Assyria; but the Prophet probably intended only to combine two familiar and annoying kinds of insects, and not to describe the distinctive qualities of the two nations, the fierceness and boldness of the Assyrians, the filth (Basil), cowardice (Jerome), or buzzing speech (Cyril) of the Egyptians. The *end of the streams* of Egypt is referred by some to the adjacent countries (Junius, Piscator); but it evidently means something belonging to Egypt itself, viz. the arms of the Delta (Vitringa, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, Henderson), or the remotest streams (Gesenius, Maurer, Ewald), implying that the flies should come from the very extremities, or from the whole land (Barnes). By making קְצֵה denote the lateral extremity or edge, and rendering it *brink* or *border*, as the common version does in Josh. 3: 8. Ex. 16: 35, an equally good sense is obtained, viz. that the flies shall come from the banks of the streams, where they are most abundant.—The hiss or whistle, denoting God's control over these enemies of Judah, has the same sense as in ch. 5: 26. Assyria and Egypt are not here named indefinitely (Hendewerk), but as the two great rival powers who disturbed the peace of Western Asia, and to whom the land of Israel was both a place and subject of contention. The *bee* cannot of itself denote an *army* (Barnes), nor is the reference exclusively to actual invasion, but to the annoying and oppressive occupation of the country by civil and military agents of these foreign powers. It was not merely attacked but infested, by the flies and bees of Egypt and Assyria. *Fly* is understood as a generic term including gnats, mosquitoes etc. by Henderson, and *bee* as including wasps and hornets by Hitzig and Umbreit.

V. 19. Carrying out the figures of the preceding verse, the Prophet, instead of simply saying that the land shall be infested by foreigners, repre-

sents it as completely filled with bees and flies, who are described as settling upon all the places commonly frequented by such insects. *And they come and rest* (or settle) *all of them in the desolate* (or precipitous) *valleys, and in the clefts of rocks, and in all thorn-hedges, and in all pastures.* According to Clericus, the places mentioned are those suited for the encampment of troops; but this supposes a different meaning of the words translated *desolate valleys* and *thorn-hedges.* The exclusive reference to invading armies is assumed by other writers also; but although this may have been the prominent idea, the words seem naturally to express the general notion of a country overrun, infested, filled with foreigners and enemies, not only by military occupation but in other ways. The opinion of Kimchi and Forerius, that the sites of towns are here described, overlooks the beautiful allusion to the habits of the insects mentioned. The same objection lies in part against the supposition of an antithesis between deserted and frequented places (Cocceius), or between worthless and valuable products, 'thorns and shrubbery of pleasure' (Barnes), which rests moreover upon etymologies now commonly abandoned. Grotius suggests that these four terms have reference to the two kinds of insects alternately, the first and third denoting customary haunts of flies, the second and fourth of bees. The version above given is the one adopted by the latest writers (Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Hendewerk, Henderson, Umbreit, Knobel). For a great variety of older explanations see Rosenmüller on the passage and Gesenius's Thesaurus s. v.

V. 20. Had the Prophet, as Hendewerk suggests, represented the invaders as *locusts*, he would probably have gone on to describe them as devouring the land; but having chosen bees and flies as the emblem, he proceeds to express the idea of their spoliations by a different figure, that of a body closely shorn or shaven by a razor under the control of God and in his service. *In that day* (the same day mentioned in v. 19) *will the Lord shave, with a razor hired in the parts beyond the river* (Euphrates), (that is to say) *with the king of Assyria, the head and the hair of the feet* (i. e. of both extremities, or of the whole body), *and also the beard will it* (the razor) *take away.* The words במלך אשור are rejected by Gesenius, Maurer, Umbreit, Knobel, for the same reason, or rather with as little reason, as in v. 17. They are retained by Hendewerk and Ewald. Aben Ezra and Abarbenel follow the Targum and Peshito in making the king of Assyria the subject of the operation here described, and suppose the destroying angel to be called a hired razor, i. e. one of the best temper and condition. Theodoret also understands the king of Assyria to be here described as shaved, but by the Medes and Persians as a razor. These constructions wholly disregard the preposition before מֶלֶךְ, or take it in the sense of *in*— 'will shave in the king of Assyria, the head,' etc. Some understand

בְּעֶבְרִי נָהָר as an additional description of the razor—'with a hired razor, with those beyond the river, with the king of Assyria.' But as בְּעֶבְרִי and בְּעֵבֶר are never used in reference to persons, the former no doubt here denotes the place of hiring—'a razor hired in the parts beyond the river.' If so, שְׂכִירָה cannot be a noun (novacula conductionis), but must be taken as a verbal adjective, equivalent to a passive participle, of which this is a common form in Chaldee. There is no need of changing the division of the words, so as to read תַּעֲרָה שְׂכִירָה, since the article before the noun may be omitted by poetic license, and תַּצַּר is construed as a feminine with תִּסְפֶּה. Instead of *hired* (*μεμισθωμένῳ*), the Alexandrian MS. of the Septuagint reads *drunken* (*μεμεθυσμένῳ*), which is also the version of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and accordingly J. D. Michaelis would read שִׁכֹּרָה, understanding by a *drunken razor* one employed as a drunkard would employ it, i. e. recklessly and rashly. The same reading seems to be implied in the common text of the Peshito, though Ephrem Syrus gives the Syriac adjective the sense of *sharp*. According to the common reading, which is no doubt genuine, the king of Assyria is called a hired razor, not because men use what is hired more unsparingly than if it were their own (Calvin)—nor simply because he was allured or hired by the hope of conquest (Jerome, Grotius, J. D. Michaelis, etc.)—nor simply because Ahaz had already hired him (Junius, Piscator, Glassius, etc.)—but for the last two reasons put together, that as Ahaz had profaned and robbed God's house to hire a foreign razor, with which Israel and Syria might be shaven, so God would make use of that self-same razor to shave Judah, i. e. to remove its population, or its wealth, or both. The rabbinical interpretation of שער רגלים is a poor conceit, the adoption of which by Gesenius, if indicative of nothing worse, says but little for the taste and the 'aesthetic feeling' which so often sits in judgment on the language of the Prophet. The true sense is no doubt the one expressed by Ewald (von oben bis unten), and before him by Clericus, who justly says of the rabbinical expounders of the phrase 'rem turpiculam de suo Prophetae admetiri videntur.' The separate mention of the *beard* may have reference to the oriental fondness for it and associations of dishonour with the loss of it. The specific explanation of the beard as meaning the ministers of religion (Vitringa), Sennacherib (Vatablus), etc., and a like explanation of the other terms, are not only arbitrary and capricious, but destructive of a beautiful and simple metaphor, which represents the spoiling of Judah by foreign invaders and intruders as the shaving of the hair from a whole body. The same remark applies to Hendewerk's suggestion, that the parts of a country are often represented by those of a human body, and that the hair of the head may possibly denote the wooded hills of Palestine. Lowth supplies *Vav* before נָהָר; but the latter may be poetically used for the Euphrates, even without the article (Jer. 2:

18). Barnes explains תִּסָּפֶה in a passive sense; but this requires זָקֵן, as well as תַּעַר, to be taken as a feminine noun contrary to usage, a concurrence of anomalies by no means probable. Henderson makes תִּסָּפֶה a stronger expression than יְגֻלַּח, and translates it *shall scrape off*, which is given by Gesenius as the primary sense, but that of *causing to cease* or *removing* is the one best sustained by usage. The Targum paraphrases תַּעַר as denoting various kinds of weapons used in war, and the Vulgate almost seems to make the razor itself the object to be shaved.

Vs. 21, 22. In consequence of these spoliations, the condition of the country will be wholly changed. The population left shall not be agricultural but pastoral. Instead of living on the fruits of the soil, they shall subsist upon spontaneous products, such as milk and honey, which shall be abundant only because the people will be few and the uncultivated grounds extensive. *And it shall be in that day* (*that*) *a man shall save* (or *keep*) *alive a young cow and two sheep; and it shall be* (*that*) *from the abundance of the making* (yielding or production) *of milk, he shall eat butter* (or *curds* or *cheese* or *cream*); *for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the midst of* (or within) *the land.* There is no need of assuming a conditional construction—'q. d. if one should keep'—as J. H. Michaelis, Maurer, and DeWette do—since this idea is sufficiently implied in an exact translation. אִישׁ does not necessarily mean *every man*, implying that the poorest of the people should have so much cattle (Gesenius), or that the richest should have no more (Calvin), but simply *one* indefinitely (Hitzig, Ewald). The Piel of חָיָה nowhere else signifies to "keep, own, feed" (Barnes), nor to hold, possess (Gesenius, Ewald, etc.). Its primary meaning is to *give life* originally (Job 33: 4), or to *restore* it after death (1 Sam. 2: 6); whence by a natural transition it is used to denote the *preservation* of one's life in danger (Ps. 30: 4); so that unless we depart from its proper meaning here, it must denote not merely the *keeping* or *raising* of the cow and sheep, but their being *saved* from a greater number, and preserved with difficulty, not for want of pasture, which was more than ever plentiful, but from the presence of invaders and enemies. Thus understood, the word throws light upon the state of the country, as described in the context. Hendewerk thinks it not improbable that by *a cow* and *two sheep* we are to understand a *herd* of cows and two *flocks* of sheep, because so small a number would not yield *abundance* of milk. But the abundance is of course to be relatively understood, with respect to the small number of persons to be fed, and is therefore an additional and necessary stroke in the prophetic picture—few cattle left, and yet those few sufficient to afford milk in abundance to the few inhabitants. This abundance is expressed still more strongly by describing them as eating not the milk itself, but that which is produced from it, and which

of course must bear a small proportion to the whole; and as this is the essential idea meant to be conveyed by mentioning the חֶמְאָה, it matters little whether it be understood to mean butter (Septuagint, etc.), cheese (Hendewerk), cream (Hitzig, DeWette, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel), or curds (Gesenius, etc.), though the last seems to agree best with what we know of oriental usages. It is here mentioned neither as a delicacy nor as plain and ordinary food, but as a kind of diet independent of the cultivation of the earth, and therefore implying a neglect of tillage and a pastoral mode of life, as well as an unusual extent of pasturage, which may have reference, as Barnes suggests, not only to the milk but to the honey. The rabbinical interpretation of these verses, as a promise of abundance in the reign of Hezekiah after Sennacherib's retreat (2 Chron. 32: 27–29), and the adaptation of the same exposition to the time of Christ (Grotius, Cocceius, etc.), appear to have arisen from confounding what is here said of *butter and honey*, with a frequent description of the promised land as *flowing with milk and honey*. But not to insist upon the circumstance, that this is a literal and that a metaphorical description, and that even in the latter the idea of abundance is conveyed by the *flowing* of the land with milk and honey, which is not here mentioned; let it be observed that even the abundance thus asserted of the promised land is not fertility, but the abundance of spontaneous products, not dependent upon tillage; and that after Israel was possessed of Canaan and had become an agricultural people, the natural emblem of abundance would no longer be *milk and honey*, but *corn and wine*, or *flesh and fruits*, so that the prospect of subsisting on the first two, if it did not suggest the idea of personal privation, would suggest that of general desolation, or at least that of interrupted or suspended cultivation. Thus Boswell, in the journal of his tour with Dr. Johnson to the Hebrides, observes of the inhabitants of one of the poor islands, that "they lived all the spring *without meal*, upon *milk and curds and whey* alone." This verse, then, is descriptive of abundance only as connected with a paucity of people and a general neglect of tillage. It was designed indeed to be directly expressive neither of abundance nor of poverty (Barnes), but of a change in the condition of the country and of the remaining people, which is further described in the ensuing context. The older interpreters were probably misled by the peculiar mode in which a threatening is here uttered in the tone of a promise, or as Knobel expresses it, the words sound promising (klingen verheissend) but contain a threat. The same thing had been observed before by Henderson, and most of the recent writers are agreed in giving to the twenty-second verse its true sense as a prophecy of desolation. This of course determines that of the fifteenth, to which Hendewerk supposes Isaiah to refer directly, as if he had said, 'this is what I meant by saying that the child should eat curds and honey, *for curds and honey shall every one eat that is left in the midst of the land.*'

V. 23. Having described the desolation of the country indirectly, by saying what the food of the inhabitants should be, the Prophet now describes it more directly, by predicting the growth of thorns and briers, even in spots which had been sedulously cultivated, for example the most valuable vineyards. *And it shall be* (or come to pass) *in that day* (*that*) *every place, where there shall be a thousand vines at* (or *for*) *a thousand silverlings* (pieces or shekels of silver), *shall be for* (or *become*) *thorns and briers*, or *shall be* (given up) *to the thorn and to the brier.* Kimchi reverses the prediction, so as to make it mean that every place *now* full of thorns and briers shall *hereafter* abound in valuable vines, which is, of course, an impossible construction. Calvin supposes the *thousand silverlings* or *shekels* to be mentioned as a very low price, and understands the verse to mean that every place planted with a thousand vines should, in these days of desolation, be sold for only so much, *on account of* the thorns and briers which had overrun them. All other writers seem to confine the threatening to the thorns and briers, and to regard בְּאֶלֶף כֶּסֶף as a part of the description of a valuable vineyard, though they differ on the question whether this was the price for which the vineyard might be sold, or its annual rent, as in Sol. Song 8: 11, where, however, it is said to be the price of the *fruit*, and the number of vines is not mentioned. The vines of the Johannisberg are valued at a ducat each, according to J. D. Michaelis, who thinks, however, that, allowance being made for the change in the value of money, the price mentioned in the text was probably a high one, even for a valuable vineyard. Henderson computes that it was nearly one-half more than the price at which the vineyards of Mount Lebanon were sold in 1811, according to Burckhardt, namely a piastre for each vine.—The substantive verb with ל may signify either to belong to (Hitzig, Ewald), to be given up to (Umbreit), or to become (DeWette, Knobel), which last is its most usual meaning. The irregular repetition of the verb is occasioned by the length of the parenthetical clause. The construction of the sentence is entirely changed in Henderson's version—*in every place, etc. there shall be briers and thorns.*

V. 24. So complete shall be the desolation of these once favoured spots that men shall pass through them armed as they would through a wilderness. *With arrows and with bow shall one* (or *shall a man*) *go thither, because thorns and briers shall the whole land be.* The essential idea, as the last clause shows, is that of general desolation; there is no need, therefore, of supposing that the bows and arrows have exclusive reference to protection against enemies (Kimchi) or beasts (Jarchi) or robbers (Clericus), or to hunting (Calvin), as neither is particularly mentioned, and as it would be natural to carry weapons into such a region both for protection and the

chase (Lowth, Gesenius). It is no objection to the mention of the latter, that the people had just been represented as subsisting upon milk and honey, since these two methods of subsistence often coexist, as belonging to the same state of society, and both imply a general neglect of tillage. The exact sense of the last clause is not that the land shall *become thorns and briers* (English version), as in v. 24, but that it shall actually *be* thorns and briers.

V. 25. Not only the fields, not only the vineyards, shall be overrun with thorns and briers, but the very hills, now laboriously cultivated with the hand, shall be given up to like desolation. *And all the hills* (i. e. even all the hills) *which are digged with the hoe* (because inaccessible to the plough)—*thou shalt not go* (even) *there, for fear of briers and thorns, and* (being thus uncultivated) *they shall be for a sending-place of cattle and a trampling-place of sheep* (i. e. a place where cattle may be sent to pasture, and which may be trodden down by sheep). The reference is probably to the hills of Judea, anciently cultivated to the very top, by means of terraces that still exist, for an account of which by eye-witnesses, see Keith's Land of Israel, chapter XII., and Robinson's Palestine, vol. II. p. 187. Thus understood, the verse merely strengthens the foregoing description, by declaring that even the most carefully cultivated portions of the land should not escape the threatened desolation. It is not necessary, therefore, to give הָאֲרִין in v. 24 the arbitrary sense of *lowlands* as distinguished from the mountains mentioned here (Henderson); much less to understand הָרִים itself as meaning mounds or hillocks formed by the hoe (Forerius). It is equally gratuitous, and therefore inadmissible, to take *thorns and briers* in a different sense from that which they have in the preceding verses, e. g. in that of a *thorn hedge*, implying that the vineyard should no longer be enclosed (Grotius, Cocceius, Vitringa), an arbitrary change which cannot be justified by Matthew Henry's epigrammatic observation, that the thorns, instead of growing where they would be useful, should spring up in abundance where they were not wanted. With this explanation of *thorns and briers* is connected an erroneous construction of תָּבוֹא as a verb in the third person, agreeing with יִרְאַת as its subject—'the fear of thorns and briers shall not come thither'—i. e. there shall be no hinderance to their growth (Ewald), or no regard to them (Junius) or no thorn hedges (Grotius). Kimchi and Abarbenel connect this same construction with the natural and proper sense of *thorns and briers*, and thus convert the verse into a promise that in the mountains there should be no fear of desolation; while Cyril and Calvin make it a threatening in the form of a promise (like v. 22), by explaining it to mean that even if the hills where the remaining inhabitants take refuge should be tilled, and thus escape the

fear of thorns and briers, it would only be because the rest of the country should be desolate. The simplest and most satisfactory construction is the one now commonly adopted, which takes תָּבוֹא as the second person used indefinitely (*thou* for *any one*), and יִרְאַת as a noun used adverbially to denote *for fear of*, which is more agreeable to Hebrew usage than to suppose an ellipsis of the preposition מִן (Rosenmüller). Thus understood, the verse continues and completes the description of the general desolation, as manifested first by the people's living upon milk and honey, then by the growth of thorns and briers in the choicest vineyards and the terraced hills, and by the conversion of these carefully tilled spots into dangerous solitudes, hunting-grounds, and pastures.

CHAPTER VIII.

The prediction of the overthrow of Syria and Israel is now renewed in the form of a symbolical name, to be inscribed on a tablet and attested by two witnesses, and afterwards applied to the Prophet's new-born son, whose progress as an infant is made the measure of the event, vs. 1–4. It is then foretold that the judgment denounced upon Syria and Israel should extend to Judah, as a punishment for distrust of God and reliance upon human aid, in consequence of which the kingdom should be imminently threatened with destruction, yet delivered for the sake of Immanuel, by whom the strength and wisdom of all enemies should be alike defeated, vs. 5–10. The Messiah himself is then introduced as speaking, warning the prophet and the true believers neither to share in the apprehensions nor to fear the reproaches of the people, but to let Jehovah be an object of exclusive fear and reverence to them, as he would be an occasion of destruction to the unbelievers, from whom the true sense of this revelation was to be concealed, and restricted to his followers, who, together with the prophet and the Son of God himself, should be for signs and wonders to the multitude, while waiting for the manifestation of his presence, and refusing to consult any other oracle except the word of God, an authority despised by none but those doomed to the darkness of despair, which is described as settling down upon them, with a sudden intimation, at the close, of a change for the better, especially in reference to that part of the country which had been most afflicted and despised, vs. 11–23.

The Hebrew and English text differ here in the division of the chapters.

A better arrangement than either would have been to continue the eighth without interruption to the close of what is now the sixth (or seventh) verse of the ninth chapter, where a new division of the prophecy begins.

V. 1. The prediction of the overthrow of Syria and Israel, contained in ch. 7 : 8, 9, is here repeated, and as before in a symbolical form. In order to excite immediate attention, and at the same time to verify the prophecy, Isaiah is required to inscribe an enigmatical name on a large tablet in a legible character, with a view to present exhibition and to subsequent preservation. The name itself includes a prophecy of speedy spoliation. *And Jehovah said to me, take thee* (or *for thyself*) *a great tablet* (i. e. great in proportion to the length of the inscription), *and write upon it with a man's pen* (or *stylus*, i. e. in an ordinary and familiar hand), *To Maher-shalal-hash-baz* (i. e. Haste-spoil-quick-prey). The name may also be read as a sentence—*Hasten spoil! Prey hastens.* (So Cocceius : propera spolium, festinavit direptio.) Others take מַהֵר as an infinitive (either used as such or instead of a preterite) on account of the לְ prefixed, which, however, has no more connexion with this than with the other words, being joined to it merely as the first word in the sentence, just as the English *to* might be prefixed to an inscription. Here, as in v. 3, *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* is a name, and the exhibition of the tablet, in the temple (Barnes), or the market-place (Ewald), or the prophet's house (Knobel), was intended to suggest the question, who is meant? It is therefore less correct to say that the inscription is afterwards transferred to the child, than that the name of the child is anticipated here. These four words are not merely the heading or title of the writing (Barnes), but the writing itself. The modern lexicographers explain גִּלָּיוֹן not as a derivative of גָּלַל, to roll, and a synonyme of מְגִלָּה, a volume, but as a derivative of גָּלָה, to polish, and as meaning a tablet of metal, or, as Knobel supposes, of wood covered with wax. חֶרֶט, the stylus used in writing on such tablets. *Human* is here explained by Hendewerk as meaning common or ordinary in opposition to *divine*, but by others more probably in opposition to a mode of writing only known to some, and not to men in general; whether the allusion be to a *sacred* character (Henderson), or simply to the letters used in books as distinguished from those used in common life (Ewald). Both the kind of writing and the size of the tablet (admitting larger characters), have reference to its being legible, *so that he may run that readeth it.* (Hab. 2 : 2.)

V. 2. In order to preclude all suspicion of its having been uttered after the event, the prophecy is not only recorded, but attested by two witnesses. *And I* (Jehovah) *will take to witness for me credible witnesses, to wit, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah, son of Jeberechiah.* These were not to

be witnesses of the prophet's marriage (Luther, Grotius), but of his having written and exhibited the prophecy so long before the event. Uriah is probably the same who connived at the king's profanation of the temple (2 Kings, 16 : 10–16). The word נאמנים does not relate to their true character or standing in the sight of God, but to their credit with the people, especially perhaps with the king, in which view, as well as on account of his official rank, Uriah was a very suitable witness. The same consideration makes it not improbable that the Zechariah mentioned here was the father-in-law of Ahaz (2 Kings, 18 : 2. 2 Chr. 29 : 1), perhaps the same that is mentioned as a Levite of the family of Asaph (2 Chr. 29 : 13). The Zechariah mentioned in 2 Chron. 26 : 5, seems to have died before Uzziah. Zechariah the son of Jehoiada was put to death between the porch and the altar (Matt. 23 : 35) long before this, in the reign of Joash (2 Chr. 24 : 20, 21). Zechariah the Prophet was the son of Berechiah, but he lived after the Babylonish exile. The Rabbins and Lightfoot give to עֵדִים the emphatic sense of *martyrs* (*μάρτυρες*), witnesses for the truth, and suppose Uriah to be the person who prophesied against Judah, and was put to death by Jehoiakim, about 130 years after the date of this prediction. But such an attestation would have been wholly irrelevant and useless. The Vulgate takes the verb as a preterite (et adhibui mihi testes) and Gesenius, Maurer, Knobel, read accordingly וָאַעִידָה with *Vav conversive*. The Septuagint, Targum, and Peshito make it imperative (*μάρτυράς μοι ποίησον*), and Hitzig accordingly reads הָעִידָה. Gesenius formerly preferred an indirect or subjunctive construction, which is still retained by Henderson, *and that I should take as witnesses*. The true construction is no doubt the obvious one, *and I will cite as witnesses* (Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit)—God being still the speaker, and the matter being one in which the prophet was concerned only as his representative, so that the ascription of the act to God himself is not only admissible but necessary. This construction also accounts best for the paragogic form of the verb, as expressing strong determination or fixed purpose.

V. 3. The significant name, before inscribed upon the tablet, is now applied to the Prophet's new-born son, that the child, as well as the inscription, might remind all who saw them of the prophecy. The execution of the previous command is here, as in many other cases, tacitly included in the record of the command itself. (Vide supra, ch. 7 : 4.) *And I approached unto the Prophetess, and she conceived and bare a son, and Jehovah said to me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz.* Calvin's supposition that this passed in vision is entirely gratuitous. This name, like *Immanuel*, may be understood as simply descriptive or symbolical, but its actual imposition is inferred by most interpreters from verse 18, where the

Prophet speaks of himself and his children as signs and wonders in Israel, with reference, as they suppose, to the names *Shear-jashub* and *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*. The four ancient versions all translate the name, and all, except the Targum, with some variation from the rendering in v. 1. Most of the later German writers adopt Luther's version, *Raubebald Eilebeute*, but instead of the first word Ewald has *Schnellraub*. The pluperfect construction, *I had approached*, etc., given by Junius, Gesenius, and others, is not only needless but, according to Ewald, Maurer and Hitzig, ungrammatical. The strange opinion of Tertullian, Basil, Cyril and Jerome, that the Prophetess is the Virgin Mary, and that this verse is the language of the Holy Spirit, though adopted by Œcolampadius and others, is rejected even by Thomas Aquinas. The *Prophetess* is probably so called, not because she was inspired (Grotius), or because she was to give the name *Immanuel* (Hendewerk), or because she bore a part in this prophetical transaction (Calvin), but because she was a prophet's wife, as *queen* usually means a royal consort, not a queen *suo jure*. A remarkable series of prophetic names, imposed upon three children, is recorded in the first chapter of Hosea.

V. 4. It is not merely by its name that the child is connected with the prophecy. The date of the event is determined by a reference to the infant's growth, as in the case of Immanuel. *For before the child shall know (how) to cry my father and my mother, one* (or *they* indefinitely) *shall take away the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria before the king of Assyria*, i. e. into his presence, to deliver it to him (Gesenius), or in triumphal procession (Calvin), or before him, i. e. before he marches homeward himself (Hendewerk), or simply *in his presence*, that is by his command and under his direction. The construction of יִשָּׂא is indefinite, so that there is no need of supplying יְהוָה as the subject. The time fixed is that of the child's capacity not to recognize its parents, or to talk, but to utter the simple labial sounds by which in Hebrew as in many other languages *father* and *mother* are expressed. The time denoted has been fixed by Vitringa and Rosenmüller at three years, by Junius and most later writers at one. But this very difference of judgment seems to show that the description was intended to be somewhat indefinite, equivalent perhaps to our familiar phrase *a year or two*, within which time we have reason to believe that the event occurred. Gesenius alleges that the prophecy in reference to Israel was not fulfilled for eighteen years (2 Kings 17 : 6), to which Hengstenberg replies that Samaria is here put for the kingdom and not for the capital city. But even if the name be strictly understood, there is no reason to doubt that Samaria was plundered by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings 15 : 29) although not destroyed, which idea is in fact not conveyed by the terms of the description.

חַיִל properly means *strength*, but is specifically applied to *military* strength and to *wealth*, which last is the meaning here. The carrying away of its wealth does not necessarily imply any thing more than such a spoiling of the capital as might be expected in the course of a brief but successful invasion. Barnes's construction of the second clause—'Damascus shall be borne away as regards its riches'—is inconsistent with the form of the original.

V. 5. *And Jehovah added to speak to me again* (or *further*) *saying.* Here, as in ch. 7 : 10, an interval of time may be assumed. Hendewerk supposes that in the mean time the Assyrians had approached and the invaders been compelled to withdraw from Judah.

V. 6. The Assyrian invasion is now represented as a punishment of Judah for distrusting the divine protection and seeking that of the Assyrians themselves. The immediate relief thus secured was to be followed by a worse calamity produced by those in whom they now confided. *Because this people* (Judah, so called in token of divine displeasure) *hath forsaken* (or rejected with contempt) *the waters of Shiloah* (or Siloam, the only perennial fountain of Jerusalem, here used as a symbol of the divine protection) *that go softly* (or flow gently, unaccompanied by noise or danger), *and* (because there is) *joy with respect to Rezin and the son of Remaliah* (i. e. because the Jews are exulting in the retreat of their invaders, caused by the approach of the Assyrians), *therefore*, etc., the apodosis of the sentence being given in the next verse. Steudel supposes the invasion itself to be represented by the waters of Siloam, and contrasted with a worse invasion yet to come. Because they despised the gentle fountain, God would bring upon them a mighty river. But to this there are several objections. 1. The fountain of Siloam would hardly have been used as the emblem of a foreign invasion merely because weak and unsuccessful. 2. The verb מָאַס does not mean simply to despise, but to reject with contempt something once esteemed or entitled to esteem, and is therefore inapplicable to an invasion. 3. God himself had taught them to despise it (ch. 7 : 4), and would not therefore have assigned their doing so as a reason for the punishment to be inflicted. Calvin understands by the waters of Siloam the mild and peaceful government of God, compared with the powerful military sway of foreign monarchs. Because the Jews despised their own advantages, and admired the conquests of Pekah and Rezin, therefore God would cause them to experience the hardships of Assyrian domination. But the only feelings which the Jews can be supposed to have experienced with respect to their invaders, are fear at their approach, and joy at their departure. That they rejoiced at their success, is a gratuitous assumption contradicted by the his-

tory. The same objection lies, with almost equal force, against the supposition of Gesenius, Maurer, Ewald, and Knobel, that this sympathy with the invaders is not asserted of the whole nation, but of a disaffected party who rejected the authority of the family of David (the waters of Siloam) and rejoiced in the successes of the enemy. However plausible such a supposition may appear, it is not to be assumed without necessity, or in preference to an explanation which involves no such imaginary facts. Henderson and others understand by *this people*, the kingdom of the ten tribes, whose apostasy from the true religion, and their rejection of the theocracy, are here assigned as reasons for the evils threatened. A Jewish prophet, speaking or writing to the Jews, would of course be understood to mean by *this people* those whom he addressed. It may be said indeed that *this* has reference to the mention of Ephraim in the foregoing context (v. 4). But this would prove too much, by requiring Syria to be included in the charge of rejecting the waters of Siloam (Umbreit), in which case we must either suppose the words to be used in a twofold sense, or take מָאַס in that of simply *despising*, which is inadmissible. The same objection lies, in a less degree, against the opinion of Barnes and others, that by *this people* we are to understand Israel and Judah as a race. This is favoured by the fact that both these kingdoms are included in the threatenings of the subsequent context. But the exclusion of Syria is still more unnatural if Ephraim is included. The true sense seems to be that given by Hitzig, except that he regards מְשׂוֹשׂ as an incorrect orthography for מְסוֹס, the infinitive of מָסַס to melt, to be dissolved with fear. 'Because this people has rejected the waters of Siloam, gently flowing, and is afraid of Rezin and the son of Remaliah,' etc. This explanation is unnecessary, as the same people who were terrified by the approach of the invaders would of course rejoice in their departure. The particle אֶת simply denotes the direct occasion of the joy. The more definite idea of rejoicing *over* is suggested by the context. For a full description of the fountain of Siloam, and the localities connected with it, see Robinson's Palestine, vol. I. pp. 501–505.

V. 7. *Therefore* (because the people had thus ceased to trust in the divine protection, and rejoiced in the success of their application to Assyria), *behold* (as if the event were actually present), *Jehovah* (is) *bringing up upon them the waters of the river* (i. e. the Euphrates, as an emblem of the Assyrian power), *its strong and many* waters (here contrasted with the gently flowing waters of Siloam), *to wit*, the *king of Assyria and all his glory* (with particular reference to military strength and display), *and it* (the river) *shall come up over all its channels and go over all its banks*, which may either mean that it shall transcend its usual limits, or that after submerging Israel, it shall overflow into Judah also. In favour of this last interpretation is the language of the next verse, and the fact that otherwise

the punishment of Ephraim or the ten tribes is not expressly mentioned.—The copulative conjunction is used by a common Hebrew idiom to introduce the apodosis of the sentence. The figure of an overflowing river is peculiarly appropriate, not only as affording a striking antithesis to the fountain mentioned in the sixth verse, but because הַנָּהָר is often used absolutely to denote the Euphrates, the great river of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. Clericus supposes that it here denotes the Tigris, as a river of Assyria proper. But according to the usage of the Greek and Roman writers, Assyria extended to the bank of the Euphrates, which Arrian describes as rising above its banks and overflowing *τὴν γὴν Ἀσσυρίαν*. The beauty of the metaphor is rendered still more striking by the frequent allusions, both in ancient and modern writers, to the actual inundations of this river. Here, as in ch. 7: 17, 18, the figures are explained in literal expressions by the Prophet himself. Here too the explanation has been questioned as a gloss on grounds exclusively rhetorical. But every repetition, as Ewald well observes, makes the hypothesis of an interpolation more and more improbable. Its alleged incongruity, if it did not exclude it in the first place, must have struck the most uncritical reader on its second or third recurrence. Some suppose an allusion in כְּבוֹדוֹ to the pomp of the oriental kings in their marches. But this is not known to have been an Assyrian usage, and the supposition is at least unnecessary. Some understand by *its channels* and *its banks* the channels and banks of Judah; but this construction agrees neither with the proper meaning of the words nor with the metaphor of which they form a part. According to Junius, the overflowing of the banks was designed to represent the king of Assyria's violation of his own engagements in oppressing those for whose relief he had come forth.

V. 8. *And it* (the river) *shall pass over* (from Syria and Israel) *into Judah, overflow and pass through* (so as nearly to submerge it), *to the neck shall it reach* (but not above the head), *and the spreadings of its wings shall be the filling of thy land, O Immanuel!* The English version disturbs the metaphor by using the personal pronoun *he* so as to refer this verse directly to the king, and not to the river which represented him. It also makes חָלַף mean to *pass through*, which is really expressed by עָבַר, while the former verb denotes a change of direction, and subjoins a threatening against Judah to the threatening against Israel. By the neck, the Targum understands Jerusalem, in which it is followed by Calvin, Junius, Piscator, Vitringa, Henderson and Barnes, the last of whom supposes a distinct allusion to the elevated site of the Holy City. Most probably, however, the expression was intended to denote nothing more than the imminency of the danger by figures borrowed from a case of drowning, the head alone being left above the water. Most writers suppose the figure of a stream to be

exchanged in the last clause for that of a bird, or for the description of an army; but Umbreit and Knobel understand *wings* to be used here, as often elsewhere, in the sense of sides or lateral extremities, and applied to the river itself. Some of the Jewish writers make עִמָּנוּאֵל a proposition, *God (is) with us*, in favour of which is the analogy of v. 9 below, and the fact that the words are separately written in most manuscripts. In favour of making it a proper name is the analogy of ch. 7: 16, and the pronoun of the second person joined to the preceding word, *thy land, Immanuel!* Some of the Rabbins make the Prophet the object of address, 'thy land (O Isaiah).' But this is arbitrary, and renders the connexion of the clauses very harsh. If this had been the meaning, the Prophet would probably have said, '*but* God is with us.' Those who regard *Immanuel* as the name of a contemporary child, understand by *thy land* thy native land (as in Gen. 12: 1, Jon. 1: 8), and to the question why this child should be specially addressed, reply because he was a *sign* to the people, and his name prophetic. But as we have seen that *Immanuel* is the Messiah, *thy land* must mean *the land belonging to thee*, thy dominion; or rather both ideas are included. Thus understood, this brief apostrophe involves a prayer and promise of deliverance, *acsi dixisset terra nihilominus erit tua o Immanuel!* (Calvin).

V. 9. He now turns to the enemies of Judah and assures them of the failure of their hostile plans. The prediction, as in ch. 6: 9, is clothed in the form of an ironical command or exhortation. *Be wicked* (i. e. indulge your malice, do your worst) *and be broken* (disappointed and confounded), *and* (that not only Syria and Israel, but) *give ear all remote parts of the earth* (whoever may attack the chosen people), *gird yourselves* (i. e. arm and equip yourselves for action) *and be broken, gird yourselves and be broken* (the repetition implying the certainty of the event). The first verb (רֹעוּ) has been variously derived from רָעָה, רוּעַ, and רָעַע, and explained to mean *associate yourselves* (Targum, Vulgate, etc.), *break and be broken* (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, etc.), *make a noise* or *rage* (Henderson). This last is given by Gesenius in the second edition of his German version; in the first, and in his latest Lexicons, he gives the verb its usual sense of being evil or malignant, which is also expressed by Luther (seyd böse ihr Völker!) It is here equivalent to *do your worst*. Secker and Lowth, on the authority of the Septuagint, read דְּעוּ *know ye*, corresponding to תאזינו *hear ye*. Hendewerk and Knobel suppose Syria and Israel to be exclusively addressed; but this is directly contradicted by the second clause. The failure or disappointment threatened is of course that of their ultimate design to overthrow the kingdom of Judah, and does not exclude the possibility of partial and temporary successes.

V. 10. Not only their strength but their sagacity should be confounded. *Devise a plan, and it shall be defeated* (nullified or brought to nought), *speak a word* (whether a proposition or an order), *and it shall not stand* (or be carried into execution), *for* (*Immanuel*) *God* (*is*) *with us.* Junius and Tremellius make the last word a proper name, as in v. 8—'Loquimini verbum et non existet, nam Himmanuelis (existet verbum).' This construction is too forced to be even called ingenious. The truth is that even as a name Immanuel contains a proposition, and that here this proposition is distinctly announced, but with a designed allusion to the person whom the name describes. As if he had said, 'the assurance of your safety is the great truth expressed by the name of your deliverer, to wit, that God is with us.' The mere retention of the Hebrew word could not convey its sense in this connexion to the English reader.

V. 11. The triumphant apostrophe in v. 10 is now justified by an appeal to the divine authority. I have reason to address our enemies in this tone, *for thus said Jehovah to me in strength of hand* (i. e. when his hand was strong upon me, when I was under the influence of inspiration), *and instructed me away from walking in the way of this people* (i. e. warned me not to follow the example of the unbelieving Jews). When one is spoken of in Scripture as inspired, it is said not only that the *spirit* was upon him (Ezek. 11 : 5), but also that the *hand* of Jehovah was upon him (Ezek. 1 : 3. 3 : 22. 33 : 32. 37 : 1), and in one case at least that it was *strong* upon him (Ezek 3 : 14). Hence *strength of hand* may have the sense of inspiration, and the whole phrase here employed be equivalent in meaning to the New Testament expressions *ἐν πνεύματι* (Rev. 1 : 10), *ἐν ἐκστάσει* (Acts 11 : 5), *ἐν δύναμει καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* (1 Thess. 1 : 5). Henderson is right in saying that the translation *taking me by the hand* cannot be justified, but wrong in representing it as "the rendering of our common version," the text of which has *with a strong hand,* and the margin *in strength of hand,* the literal translation. יִסְּרַנִי is explained by Gesenius as a future Kal of unusual form, by Ewald as a preterite Piel with an unusual union-vowel. Gesenius connects it with the phrase before it ('when his hand was strong upon me, and he warned me,' etc). Others more probably with כֹּה אָמַר ('thus spake Jehovah and warned me,' etc.). The author of this communication is supposed by some interpreters to be the Son of God, for reasons which will be explained below.

V. 12. The words of God himself are now recorded. *Saying, ye shall not call conspiracy* (*or treason*) *every thing which this people calleth conspiracy* (*or treason*), *and its fear ye shall not fear nor be afraid.* קֶשֶׁר, according to etymology and usage, is a treasonable combination or conspi-

racy. It is elsewhere constantly applied to such a combination on the part of subjects against their rulers (2 Kings 11 : 14. 12 : 21. 14 : 19. 15 : 30). It is not strictly applicable, therefore, to the confederacy of Syria and Israel against Judah (Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Henderson, etc.), nor to that of Ahaz with the king of Assyria (Barnes, etc.). It would be more appropriate to factious combinations among the Jews themselves (Aben Ezra, Kimchi), if there were any trace of these in history. The correct view of the passage seems to be this. The unbelieving fears of the people led them to seek foreign aid. From this they were dissuaded by the Prophet and his followers, who regarded it as a violation of their duty to Jehovah. This opposition, like the conduct of Jeremiah during the Babylonian siege. was regarded by the king and his adherents as a treasonable combination to betray them to their enemies. But God himself commands the prophet and the true believers not to be affected by this false reproach, not to regard the cry of treason or conspiracy, nor share in the real or pretended terrors of the unbelievers.

V. 13. *Jehovah of Hosts, him shall ye sanctify* (i. e. regard and treat as a Holy God, and as the Holy One of Israel), *and he shall be your fear, and he your dread*, i. e. the object of these feelings. If they felt as they ought towards God, as supreme and almighty, and as their own peculiar God, with whom they were united in a national covenant, they could not so distrust him as to be alarmed at the approach of any earthly danger. מַעֲרִיץ may either be an active participle (that which terrifies you) or a verbal noun resembling מוֹרָא in its mode of derivation. The collocation of the words makes the sentence more emphatic. *Him shall ye fear* is substantially equivalent to *Him alone shall ye fear.* Thus explained, the passage is at once a condemnation of the terror inspired by the approach of the two kings, and of the application, which it had occasioned, to Assyria for aid against them.

V. 14. *And he* (Jehovah) *shall be for* (or become) *a holy thing* (an object to be sanctified) *and for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence* (i. e. a stone to strike against and stumble over) *to the two houses of Israel* (Ephraim and Judah), *for a gin* (or trap) *and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.* מִקְדָּשׁ is by many understood to mean a *sanctuary*, in the specific sense, or with the accessory idea, of a *refuge* or *asylum* (Paulus, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Winer, Maurer, Hendewerk, Barnes, Ewald, Umbreit, Henderson). But although the temples of the gods were so regarded by the Greeks and Romans, no such usage seems to have prevailed among the Christians till the time of Constantine (Bingham's Orig. Eccles. VIII. 11, 1). As to the Jews, the only case which has been cited

to establish such a practice seems to prove the contrary. So far was the altar from protecting Joab, that he was not even dragged away but killed upon the spot (2 Kings 2: 28). J. D. Michaelis supposes an allusion to the stone which Jacob called *Bethel* or the residence of God (Gen. 28: 19), the same object being here described as a *sanctuary* and as a *stone* of stumbling. But although this idea may be included, the word has probably a wider meaning, and was meant to bear the same relation to תקדישו (in v. 13) that מורא bears to תיראו and מצרירץ to תצריצו. God was the only proper object to be dreaded, feared, and sanctified, i. e. regarded as a holy being in the widest and the most emphatic sense. Thus explained, the Hebrew מִקְדָּשׁ corresponds almost exactly to the Greek *τὸ ἅγιον*, the term applied to Christ by the angel who announced his birth (Luke 1: 35). In 1 Peter 2: 7, where this very passage is applied to Christ, *ἡ τιμὴ* seems to be employed as an equivalent to מִקְדָּשׁ as here used. To others he is a stone of stumbling, but to you who believe he is *ἡ τιμὴ*, something precious, something honoured, something looked upon as holy. The same application of the words is made by Paul in Rom. 9: 33. These quotations seem to show that the prophet's words have an extensive import, and are not to be restricted either to his own times or the time of Christ. The doctrine of the text is, that even the most glorious exhibitions of God's holiness, i. e. of his infinite perfection, may occasion the destruction of the unbeliever. The most signal illustration of this general truth was that afforded in the advent of the Saviour. It was frequently exemplified, however, in the interval, and one of these exemplifications was afforded by the conduct of the unbelieving Jews in the reign of Ahaz, to whom the only power that could save them was converted by their own unbelief into a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence. The same idea is then expressed by another simple and familiar figure, that of a snare or trap. Both figures naturally suggest the idea of inadvertence and unforeseen ruin. The two houses of Israel are not the two schools of Hillel and Shammai, or the kingdom of Israel and the faction that favoured it in Judah, both which are rabbinical conceits, but the two rival kingdoms of Judah and Ephraim, here put together to describe the whole race or nation of Israel. The sense is not that Jehovah would be sanctified by Judah, and become a stumbling-block to Israel; but that to some in either house or family these opposite events would happen. The inhabitants of Jerusalem are distinctly mentioned as the most conspicuous and influential members of the nation, just as Jerusalem itself is sometimes mentioned in connexion with Judah, which really included it. (Vide supra ch. 1: 1.)

V. 15. This verse completes the threatening by an explicit declaration that Jehovah would not only be a stumbling-block and snare to the

houses of Israel, but that many should actually fall and be ensnared and broken. *And many shall stumble over them* (the stone and snare)—or *among them* (the children of Israel)—*and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.* Gesenius and most of the later writers refer בָּם to the stone, rock, etc.; but Ewald and most of the older writers to the people. The first construction points out more distinctly the occasion of the threatened ruin, the last the persons whom it should befall; the general sense remains the same in either case.

V. 16. *Bind up the testimony, seal the law, in my disciples.* These are not the words of the Prophet speaking in his own person, but a command addressed to him by God, or as some suppose by the Messiah, the מְחַדֵּשׁ mentioned in the foregoing verse. Vitringa explains צֹר as the imperative of צוּר to form, delineate, inscribe. The command will then be to inscribe the revelation in the hearts of the disciples. It is commonly agreed, however, that the root is צָרַר to bind, and that the prophet is commanded to tie up a roll or volume, and to seal it, thereby closing it. By law and testimony here we may either understand the prophetic inscription in v. 1, or the whole preceding context, considered as included in the general sense of *revelation*, as God's *testimony* to the truth and as a *law* or declaration of his will. The *disciples*, or those taught of God, are supposed by some to be Uriah and Zechariah, the two witnesses named in v. 2; by others the sons of the prophets or literal disciples of Isaiah; but it probably means the better portion of the people, those truly enlightened because taught of God (ch. 54: 13), to whom the knowledge of this revelation, or at least of its true meaning, was to be restricted. It is probable, therefore, that the preposition before לִמֻדָי does not mean *to* or *for* or *with* or *through*, but either *among* or *in*, i. e. in their minds or hearts. The act described is not that of literally binding and sealing up a material record, but that of spiritually closing and depositing the revelation of God's will in the hearts of those who were able and willing to receive it, with allusion at the same time to its concealment from all others. Kimchi regards these as the words of the Prophet—nothing now remains but *to bind and seal the testimony.* This, however, even if we make צֹר an infinitive, is a very harsh construction.

V. 17. *And I* (the Messiah) *will wait for Jehovah that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and will expect him.* Most writers make these the words of the Prophet; but since he is addressed in the verse preceding, without any intimation of a change of speaker here, and since the next verse is quoted in Heb. 2: 13, as the words of the Messiah, it seems better to assume, with Coccceius and Henderson, that throughout this pas-

sage the Messiah is the speaker. The phrase to *wait upon* has changed its meaning since the date of the English version, the prominent idea being now that of service and attendance, not as of old that of expectation, which is the meaning of the Hebrew verb. God's hiding his face from the house of Jacob implies not only outward troubles but the withholding of divine illumination, indirectly threatened in the verse preceding. The house of Jacob is the whole race of Israel, perhaps with special reference to Judah. The thing to be expected is the fulness of time when the Messiah, no longer revealed merely to a few, should openly appear. For a time the import of God's promises shall be concealed from the majority, and during that interval Messiah shall wait patiently until the set time has arrived.

V. 18. *Behold, I and the children which Jehovah hath given me* (are) *for signs and for wonders in Israel from Jehovah of Hosts, the* (*One*) *dwelling in Mount Zion.* Luther supplies a verb in the first clause—'Behold, here am I and the children, etc.' Augusti repeats a verb from the preceding verse—'I and my children trust in the Lord.' Most writers supply *are* after *given me*—'I and my children are for signs, etc.' *From* Jehovah, i. e. sent and appointed by him. Of the whole verse there are two distinct interpretations. 1. According to Kimchi, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, Barnes, and others, Isaiah is the speaker, and the children meant are his two sons *Shear-jashub* and *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, to which some add *Immanuel*. As all these names, and that of the Prophet himself, are significant, it is supposed that for this reason he and his children are said to be *signs and wonders*, personified prophecies to Israel, from Jehovah, who had caused the names to be imposed. 2. According to Henderson and many older writers, these are the words of the Messiah, and the children are his spiritual seed (Isai. 53: 10), whom the Father had given him (John 6: 37, 39. 10: 29. 17: 6, 7, 9, 11, 12). The great argument in favour of this last interpretation is the application of the verse to Christ by Paul (Heb. 2: 13), not as an illustration but an argument, a proof, that Christ partook of the same nature with the persons called his *children* and his *brethren*. It is true that many who regard Isaiah as the speaker suppose him to have been a type of Christ in this transaction. But a double sense ought not to be assumed where a single one is perfectly consistent with the context, and sufficient to explain all apparent contradictions, as in this case, where admitting that the Messiah is the speaker, we have no ellipsis to supply, and no occasion to resort to the hypothesis either of a type or an accommodation. It is not necessary, however, to restrict the terms, with Henderson, to the period of the advent, and to our Saviour's personal followers. Even before he came in the flesh, he and his disciples, i. e. all who looked for his appearing, were signs and wonders, objects of contemptuous astonishment, and at the same time pledges of the promise.

V. 19. *And when they* (indefinitely *any one*, or definitely *the unbelievers*) *shall say to you* (the disciples and children of Messiah, who is still speaking), *seek unto* (i. e. consult as an oracle) *the spirits* (or the spirit-masters, those who have subject or *familiar* spirits at command) *and to the wizards* (wise or knowing ones), *the chirpers and the mutterers* (alluding to the way in which the heathen necromancers invoked their spirits, or uttered their responses), *should not a people seek to* (or consult) *its God, for the living* (i. e. in behalf of the living should it resort) *to the dead?* Grotius explains the last clause as a continuation of the speech of the idolaters—'Consult familiar spirits; ought not a people to consult its gods?' But since Jehovah was the God of Israel, such an argument would defeat itself. It is better to regard this clause as the reply of the believing Jews to those who tempted them. Ewald and others give בְּעַד the meaning of *instead*—'Should a people consult the dead instead of the living God?' It is more consistent with the usage of the language to take the preposition in the sense of *for*, i. e. *for the benefit* or *in behalf of*. 'When you, my disciples, are invited by superstitious sinners to consult pretended wizards, consider (or reply) that as the heathen seek responses from their gods, so you ought to consult Jehovah, and not be guilty of the folly of consulting senseless idols or dead men for the instruction of the living.' Henderson supposes the Prophet to be speaking in his own person; but if the Messiah is the speaker in v. 18, it is gratuitous and therefore arbitrary to suppose another speaker to be introduced without any intimation of the change.

V. 20. Instead of resorting to these unprofitable and forbidden sources, the disciples of Jehovah are instructed to resort *to the law and to the testimony* (i. e. to divine revelation, considered as a system of belief and as a rule of duty)—*if they speak* (i. e. if any speak) *not according to this word* (another name for the revealed will of God), it is he *to whom there is no dawn*, or morning (i. e. no relief from the dark night of calamity).—The first clause is elliptical. Cocceius alone connects it immediately with what precedes, and understands ל as meaning *besides*—'in addition to the law and the testimony which we have already.' Others supply a new verb, *return*, *adhere*, *come*, *go*, etc. It is best, however, to repeat דָּרְשׁוּ from the preceding verse, especially as this verb is elsewhere followed by ל in the same sense. (See 2 Chron. 17: 3, 4. Comp. Job 10: 6.)—Piscator violates the accents by separating אִם לֹא from יֹאמְרוּ. 'If not (i. e. if they will not come to the law and the testimony), let them say,' etc. Junius takes אִם לֹא as equivalent to הֲלֹא, which it never is unless another interrogation precedes. Knobel refers to the הֲלֹא in v. 19; but this is too remote, and is moreover separated from אִם לֹא by the first clause of v. 20. Kimchi, Abarbenel, Cocceius, Hitzig, Maurer, make אִם לֹא the common elliptical formula of swearing

—'if they will not say,' i. e. they surely will say. Ewald adopts the same construction, and explains the verse to mean that when they are reduced to extremity (as those who have no dawn) they will begin too late to *speak according to this word*, i. e. join in the appeal *to the law and to the testimony*, which they now despise. Umbreit modifies this interpretation by giving אם its strict conditional meaning, and continuing the sentence through the next verse—'If they do not thus speak, to whom there is no morning, then they must pass through the land, etc.'—אשר, which is properly the relative pronoun, is omitted by the Vulgate, and explained in the English version and by Barnes as a causal particle. DeDieu, Vitringa, and some others make it a particle of asseveration, *certainly, surely;* Gesenius the sign of the apodosis, *then there is no dawn to them;* J. H. Michaelis, a substitute for כִּי, but in the sense of *that*, 'know ye that.' So the Dutch version, 'it shall come to pass that.' All these are needless and therefore inadmissible departures from the ordinary usage. Of those who give the word its proper meaning as a relative pronoun, some refer it to the noun immediately preceding—*this word which* (Lowth)—others to the people or to some individual among them—*they who have* or *he who has no morning* (Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit). But the best construction seems to be that of Hendewerk, who supplies the substantive verb before the relative, 'they are one who has no morning,' or better still, 'it is he who has (or they who have) no morning.' None can speak inconsistently with God's word—or, none can refuse to utter this word, viz. to the law and to the testimony—but one whom God has abandoned—"If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost." (2 Cor. 4 : 3.) Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat. Lowth renders שַׁחַר *obscurity*, from the analogy of שָׁחֹר *black* and שְׁחוֹר *blackness*. J. H. Michaelis, Dathe, and Augusti, make it equivalent to the Arabic سحر, meaning *magic*—'His word in which there is no magic,' i. e. no deception. But the Hebrew word is never used in this sense. Calvin, the English version, Barnes and others, give it the general sense of *light*—'it is because there is no light (i. e. knowledge or sound judgment) in them.' But according to usage, the word means specifically morning-light, the dawn of day succeeding night, and is so rendered by the Vulgate (matutina lux), Luther (Morgenröthe), and most modern writers. By this Vitringa understands the morning of the resurrection, and J. H. Michaelis the epiphany of Christ. But as night is a common figure for calamity, the dawn will naturally signify its termination, the return of better times. (See ch. 58 : 8. 47 : 11. Job 11 : 17.) They may be said to have no *dawn*, for whom there is nothing better in reserve.

V. 21. *And they* (the people) *shall pass through it* (the land) *hardly bestead* (i. e. distressed) *and hungry; and it shall be* (or come to pass)

that when they are hungry they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and shall look upward. Those interpreters who make the whole of the preceding verse conditional, explain the ו at the beginning of this as the sign of the apodosis—'if they speak not, etc. *then* shall they pass, etc.' So J. D. Michaelis, Dathe, and Augusti. The latter supplies *people* as the subject of עָבַר; Lowth and the Dutch Version, *every one of them;* but this is unnecessary. The verbs, though singular in form, like לֹ֫ in the preceding verse, refer to the subject of the plural יֹאמְרוּ. Jerome repeats שַׁחַר as the subject of עָבַר (lux pertransibit) light shall pass through the land, but not continue in it.—*Through it*, not the condition just described (Schroeder), nor the *law* (either in the sense of *searching* or in that of *transgressing* it), nor the *earth* or the gentile part of it (as some of the Jews explain it), nor *Zion* mentioned in v. 18 (Cocceius), but the *land* of Judah, which though not expressly mentioned till the next verse, is tacitly referred to by a common Hebrew idiom. (See Ps. 68 : 15. 87 : 1.) Grotius repeats his favourite suggestion, that the Prophet pointed to the ground when he said בָּהּ, so that the gesture and the word together meant *this land*—נְקְשָׁה is not *hardened* in a moral sense, but *hardly treated* or *distressed*, as appears from the addition of רָעָב. This last is not expressive of bodily hunger (Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer), nor of spiritual famine (Cocceius); nor is it a mere figure for the absence of all comfort and tranquillity of mind (Vitringa), but a term implying destitution both of temporal and spiritual good (J. H. Michaelis). Calvin, Lowth, and Barnes, understand וְהִתְקַצַּף as expressing self-reproach or anger with themselves; but this is not consistent with the subsequent description of their desperate impenitence. The reflexive form, which occurs nowhere else, more probably denotes to excite one's self to anger. *His king* is not his earthly sovereign, the king of Judah (Grotius), of Judah or Israel as the case might be (Hitzig), or his idol; particularly *Moloch* or *Milcom*, names derived from מֶלֶךְ (Targum, Calvin, Junius), but Jehovah considered as the king of Israel. So too אֱלֹהָיו is not his false god, his idol, but the God whom he was bound to serve, his God, who at the same time was his king (Henderson). As the verb to *curse* does not elsewhere take the preposition ב as a connective, Cocceius proposes to translate the phrase *he shall curse by his king and by his God*, by which he seems to understand the conduct of the Jews, who at one time cursed Cæsar in Jehovah's name, and at another time rejected Christ saying, We have no king but Cæsar! Thus they alternately cursed their king in God's name, and cursed God in their king's. The act of *looking up* is by some regarded as a sign of penitence or of conversion from idols to the true God; but this is inconsistent with the terms of the next verse. Junius, Piscator, and the Dutch annotators, connect it with the cursing as an accompanying gesture—'they shall curse their king and their god, looking

up.' But this clause is really in close connexion with the first of the next verse, and both together must be understood as indicating utter perplexity and absolute despair of help from God or man, from heaven or earth, from above or below.

V. 22. *And to the earth he shall look, and behold distress and darkness, dimness of anguish, and* into *darkness* (he shall be) *driven*—or, *the dimness of anguish and of darkness* is *dispelled.* Heaven and earth are here opposed to one another, as sea and land are in ch. 5 : 30. *Distress* and *darkness* are here identified, as *distress* and *light* are there contrasted. Junius and Henderson explain מָצוֹק as a participle, corresponding to מְנֻדָּח in the last clause (darkened with distress, driven into gloom) ; but there is no such participial form. Cocceius explains it as a noun denoting the dizziness and dimness of sight produced by great distress (vertigo arctationis), which may also be the meaning of the Septuagint version (*σκότος ὥστε μὴ βλέπειν*). The true sense of the Hebrew word is outward and inward gloom, distress of circumstances and despair of mind. It is separated from what follows by Calvin (caligo, angustia) and Barnes (gloom, oppression), but is really a construct form governing צוּקָה. As the latter originally signifies pressure or compression, Gesenius explains the phrase to mean *darkness of compression*, i. e. dense or compact darkness. But צוּקָה is here (as in Isai. 30 : 6. Prov. 1 : 27) a synonyme of צָרָה, both denoting straitened circumstances and a corresponding state of mind.—The Peshito translates מְנֻדָּח as an active verb, and the Vulgate as an active participle (caligo persequens). The Targum, Cocceius, and Vitringa, suppose the passive participle to be here used as an abstract noun (caligo, impulsio). Saadias, Munster, Barnes, and others, make מְנֻדָּח an epithet of אֲפֵלָה ('obscuritas impulsa,' 'deepened darkness'), but the latter word is feminine. Lowth as usual cuts the knot by proposing to read either אפל מנדחה or מנדחה, and Kocher by taking the latter as a neuter noun in apposition with the former. Jarchi, Kimchi, Calvin, Junius, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and others, refer מְנֻדָּח to the people or the person who is the subject of the verb רָבִיץ, and either supply a preposition before אֲפֵלָה, or explain it as an accusative after a verb of motion. The meaning will then be *thrust* or *driven into darkness.* The objections to this construction are, first, the necessity of supplying both a verb and preposition, and secondly, the unusual collocation of the words, אפלה מנדח for מנדח אל אפלה. On the other hand, it is strongly recommended by the analogy of Jer. 23 : 12, where the same idea is expressed by the union of the same verb and noun. Another construction is the one proposed by J. D. Michaelis, who connects מנדח with מצוק, and puts the latter in construction not only with צוקה but also with אפלה—'the dimness of anguish and of gloom is dissipated.' This construction is recommended by its freedom from gram-

matical anomalies, and by its rendering the use of כִּי at the beginning of the next verse altogether natural. The objections to it are, that it violates the accents; that it makes the Prophet speak of the darkness of darkness (but see Exod. 10 : 22); and that the transition from the threatening to the promise is, on this supposition, too abrupt. Either of the two constructions last proposed may be preferred without materially affecting the interpretation of the passage. Hitzig modifies that of Michaelis by taking the last word separately—*it is dispelled!*

V. 23. This darkness is to be dispelled—*for* (there shall) *not* (be) *darkness* (forever) *to her who is now distressed* (literally, to whom there is distress). The present calamity, or that just predicted, is not to be perpetual. The future state of things shall exhibit a strange contrast with the former. *As the former time degraded the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali, so the latter glorifies the way of the sea, the bank of the Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles.* The same region is described in both clauses, namely, the northern extremity of the land of Israel. This is designated, first, by the tribes which occupied it, then, by its relative position with respect to the Jordan and the sea of Tiberias. This part of the country, from being the most degraded and afflicted, should receive peculiar honour. Its debasement and distress both arose from its remote and frontier situation, proximity to the heathen, intercourse and mixture with them, and constant exposure to the first attacks of enemies, who usually entered Canaan from the north. To the former of these reasons may be traced the expressions of contempt for Galilee recorded in the books of the New Testament (John 1 : 46. 7 : 52. Matt. 26 : 69. Acts 1 : 11. 2 : 7). How this disgrace was to be exchanged for honour, is explained in the next verse. Besides this, which seems to be the most satisfactory interpretation, there are several others, more or less at variance with it. The English version supposes a contrast not merely between הֵקַל and הִכְבִּיד, but between these two and the subsequent deliverance. This requires הֵקַל to be taken in the sense of *lightly afflicting*, as distinguished from הִכְבִּיד to *afflict more grievously*. But this distinction is unauthorized by usage. The Vulgate renders הֵקַל *alleviata est*. Some of the Jewish writers make it mean to *lighten* the country by removing its inhabitants; but then הִכְבִּיד must mean to bring them back again. Koppe makes Judah the subject of the promise. As Galilee was first afflicted, then delivered, so should Judah be; but this is wholly arbitrary. Cocceius converts the promise into a threat by reading *there was not* (or has never been) *such darkness*. Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Ewald, and others, give to כִּי the sense of *but*, because what immediately precedes is understood by them not as a promise but a threatening. Vitringa and Junius retain the proper meaning *for*, but connect it with v. 16 or v. 18.

The necessity of either supposition is removed by explaining the last clause of v. 22, with J. D. Michaelis and Hitzig, as the beginning of the promise. The Vulgate connects לֹא מוּעָף with v. 22 and translates it *non poterit avolare*, as if from עוּף to fly; but it is obviously a cognate form to מֵעוּף in the preceding verse. Hitzig explains לֹא מוּעָף as a compound, meaning the negative or opposite of darkness, i. e. light, as לֹא עֵץ (ch. 10 : 15) means that which is not wood. Some regard כ as a temporal particle, *at* or *in the former time*. Junius, Rosenmüller, Gesenius and others make it a conjunction, *as the former time debased*, etc. The original construction seems to be *like the former time* (which) *debased*, etc. Of those who regard הֵקַל and הִכְבִּיד as descriptive of different degrees of affliction, some suppose the invasion of Tiglath-pileser to be compared with that of Shalmaneser; or the invasion of Israel with that of Judah; or the Assyrian with the Babylonian conquest; or the Babylonian with the Roman. The *sea* mentioned in the last clause is not the Mediterranean but the sea of Galilee, as appears from Matt. 14 : 15, 16. עֵבֶר is here used in the sense of *side* or *part adjacent*. The region spoken of was that *along the Jordan* (on one or both sides) near the sea of Galilee. According to Junius, *Galilee of the Gentiles* means *Galilaea populosa*. Gesenius admits that Isaiah has reference to the times of the Messiah in this promise of deliverance and exaltation to the Galileans.

CHAPTER IX.

The change for the better, which was promised at the close of the eighth chapter, is described in the ninth as consisting in the rise of a great light upon the darkness, in the increase of the nation and their joy, excited by deliverance from bondage and the universal prevalence of peace, arising from the advent of a divine successor to David, who should restore, establish, and enlarge his kingdom without any limitation, vs. 1–6.

From the times of the Messiah, the Prophet suddenly reverts to his own, and again predicts the punishment of Ephraim by repeated strokes. The people had been warned both by messages from God and by experience, but had continued to indulge their proud self-confidence, in consequence of which God allowed the Assyrians, after overthrowing Rezin, to attack them also, while at the same time they were harassed by perpetual assaults from their hostile neighbours, vs. 7–11.

Still they did not repent and return to God, who therefore cut off suddenly many of all classes, but especially the rulers of the nation and the false prophets, the flattering seducers of the wretched people, from whom he must now withhold even the ordinary proofs of his compassion, vs. 12–16.

All this was the natural effect of sin, like a fire in a thicket, which at last consumes the forest, and involves the land in smoke and flame. Yet amidst these strokes of the divine displeasure, they were still indulging mutual animosities and jealousies, insomuch that Israel was like a famished man devouring his own flesh. Manasseh thus devoured Ephraim and Ephraim Manasseh, while the two together tried to devour Judah, vs. 17–20.

The recurrence of the same clause at the end of vs. 11, 16, 20, and the fourth verse of the next chapter, has led the modern Germans to regard this as a case of regular strophical arrangement; and as the same form occurs above in ch. 5: 25, Ewald interpolates that verse between the sixth and seventh of this chapter, as a part of the same context. The objection to these critical hypotheses will be stated in the exposition.

It has been observed already that the division of the chapters is in this part of the book peculiarly unfortunate; the first part of the ninth (vs. 1–6) containing the conclusion of the eighth, and the first part of the tenth (vs. 1–4) the conclusion of the ninth.

The numbers of the verses in this chapter differ in the Hebrew and English Bibles; what is the last verse of the eighth in the former is the first of the ninth in the latter. The references in the commentary are all to the divisions of the Hebrew text.

V. 1. *The people* (just described, i. e. the people of Galilee), *those walking in the dark* (expressive both of spiritual blindness and extreme distress), *have seen a great light* (the change being presented to the Prophet's view as already past): *the dwellers in the land of the shadow of death* (i. e. of intense darkness), *light has beamed upon them.* These words, in a general sense, may be descriptive of any great and sudden change in the condition of the people, especially of one from ignorance and misery to illumination and enjoyment. They are still more appropriate to Christ as the *light of the world* (John 8: 12), *a light to the nations* (Isai. 42: 6. 49: 6), and the *sun of righteousness* (Mal. 4: 2), which rose upon the world when he *manifested forth his glory* by his teachings and his miracles in Galilee (John 2: 11). It was in this benighted and degraded region that he first appeared as a messenger from God; and in that appearance we are expressly taught that this prediction was fulfilled (Matth. 4: 12–17). Cocceius needlessly supposes these to be the words of a new speaker.

There is nothing to intimate a change of subject, and this verse is really a mere specification in positive form of the negative prediction in the first clause of the verse preceding. By *the people* we are not to understand all Israel (Maurer), nor the Jews as distinguished from the ten tribes (Kimchi, Calvin), nor the people of Jerusalem (Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Grotius), nor the people of God, the spiritual Israel (Cocceius), but the Galileans who had just been mentioned (Junius, J. H. Michaelis, Vitringa, Hendewerk).—By *darkness* Piscator understands sorrow; Gesenius, calamity in general; the Targum, Israel's sufferings in Egypt; Jarchi, Kimchi, and Grotius, those of Judah during Sennacherib's invasion; Calvin, those of the Jews, and Hendewerk those of the ten tribes, in exile. But it rather expresses the complex idea of a state of sin and misery (Psalm 107: 10, 11), including outward and inward darkness, the darkness of ignorance and the darkness of distress.—DeDieu and Fürst make צלמות a simple derivative of צלם with a feminine termination, like מלכות from מלך. The more common and probable opinion is that it is a compound of צל and מות. It is not the proper name of a particular valley (Hitzig), but a poetical designation of the most profound obscurity—as dark as death—deadly darkness—with a special allusion here to the spiritual death, under whose shade the Galileans sat.—Instead of *have seen*, Luther, J. H. Michaelis, Gesenius and others, have the present *see*, as if the Prophet while speaking beheld a sudden flash. *Light* is not merely an emblem of joy (Piscator) or deliverance (Gesenius), but of outward and inward illumination. Knobel understands by *the people* the exile of the ten tribes, and by the *land of the shadow of death* Assyria as the place of their captivity.

V. 2. The Prophet now, by a sudden apostrophe, addresses God himself, who, by bestowing on the Galileans this *great light*, would not only honour them, but afford occasion of great joy to all the true Israel, including those who should be gathered from the gentiles. *Thou hast enlarged the nation* (i. e. Israel in general), *thou hast increased its joy* (literally, to it thou hast increased the joy)—they *rejoice before thee like the joy in harvest, as* men *rejoice when they divide the spoil.* Luther and Umbreit explain גוי to mean the gentiles, and regard this not as a description of deliverance but of oppression. Hitzig supposes גוי to mean the returning exiles. All other writers seem to be agreed that it means the Israelites in general. The increase of the nation has been variously explained to mean the gathering of a great army by the king of Assyria, to whom the verse is then addressed (Grotius)—or the crowding of the Jews into Jerusalem during Sennacherib's invasion (Aben Ezra)—or an increase in the number of the Israelites while in captivity (Hitzig)—or the general diffusion of the Jewish race after the exile (Vitringa). It really means the increase of the people in their own

land, not a mere growth of population (Gesenius), but an increase of the true Israel by the calling of the gentiles (Hengstenberg, Christol. vol. I. pt. 2, p. 110). Symmachus separates הגדלת from what follows (ἐπλήθυνας τὸ ἔθνος ὃ οὐκ ἐμεγάλυνας), in which he is followed by J. D. Michaelis and Maurer. But this requires a change in the punctuation and division of the words to render it grammatical. DeDieu takes לא as equivalent to הלא—'hast thou not increased the joy?'—which is forced and arbitrary. Another construction is, *thou hast increased the nation* of the Jews, but *thou hast not increased the joy* of their enemies (Jarchi) or of the gentiles (Luther). But this assumes two different subjects in the two successive clauses. Hitzig and Hengstenberg thus construe it—*thou dost increase the nation* whose *joy thou hast not* heretofore *increased.* But this requires a relative to be supplied, and arbitrarily refers the verbs to different times. If the textual reading (לא) be retained, as it is by Hengstenberg, Maurer, Hitzig, Henderson, Umbreit, and the older writers, the best construction is that given by Calvin and Cocceius—*thou hast increased the nation*, but *thou hast not increased the joy* as thou art now about to do. It is best, however, to read לו instead of לא, with the Masora, several ancient versions, Gesenius, DeWette, and Knobel, or to regard the latter as a mere orthographical variation for the former (Ewald ad loc. and Heb. Gr. § 555). The same emendation is required by the context in several other places (e. g. ch. 49 : 5. 63 : 9). Junius and Tremellius suppose the former joy or prosperity of Israel, acquired by toil and bloodshed, as in a harvest or a battle, to be here contrasted with the joy which the Messiah would impart. Knobel supplies a relative before שמחו, gives כאשר the sense of *when*, and supposes the joy of actual victory to be compared with that of harvest—*thou hast increased the joy* wherewith *they rejoice before thee, like the joy of harvest, when they rejoice in their dividing the spoil.* But this makes the structure of the sentence artificial and complex. Rejoicing *before God* Calvin explains to mean rejoicing with a real or a reasonable joy; Piscator, with a secret spiritual joy, not before man but God; Cocceius, Vitringa, Hitzig, Hengstenberg, and Ewald, more correctly, as an act of religious worship, either simply in allusion to the rejoicing of the people before God at the tabernacle or temple under the law of Moses (Deut. 12 : 7. 14 : 26), or in reference to an actual performance of that duty. The Targum explains *harvest* as a metaphor for war or battle, which destroys the Prophet's beautiful comparison of the joy of victory, or joy in general, to that which accompanies the harvest in all countries, and especially in the East (Ps. 4 : 8. 126 : 6).—Kimchi makes the Assyrians the subject of יגילו, Knobel the Israelites themselves, but it is better to take it indefinitely or to supply *men* as in the English version. בקצירו is not a false reading for קציר or הקציר, which we find in a few manuscripts (Lowth), but

another instance of the idiomatic use of the construct form before a preposition, as in the preceding verse (ישבי באדץ). See Gesenius §114. 1. Ewald § 510. To the promise here given there is probably allusion in the language of the angel who announced the birth of Jesus to the shepherds (Luke 2: 10): *Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people* (παντὶ τῷ λαῷ), i. e. to the whole nation, all the Israel of God.

V. 3. This verse assigns the reason or occasion of the promised joy. They shall rejoice before thee, *that* (or because) *the yoke of his burden* (his burdensome yoke), *and the rod of his shoulder* (or back), *and the staff of the one driving him* (his task-master, slave-driver) *thou hast broken, like the day* (as in the day) *of Midian*, as Gideon routed Midian, i. e. suddenly, totally, and by special aid from heaven. This promise was not fulfilled in the deliverance of the Jews from Babylon (Calvin), which bore no resemblance to the victory of Gideon; nor in the destruction of Sennacherib's army (Grotius), the benefits of which event were only temporary; nor in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (J. D. Michaelis), to which there is no allusion in the context; but in the glorious deliverance of the Galileans (the first converts to Christianity), and of all who with them made up the true Israel, from the heavy burden of the covenant of works, the galling yoke of the Mosaic law, the service of the devil, and the bondage of corruption. Outward deliverance is only promised, so far as it accompanied the spiritual change or was included in it. Cocceius refines too much when he distinguishes between the rod and staff, as denoting the civil and the ceremonial law. The meaning, on the other hand, is lowered by restricting the prophetic figures to Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (Grotius), or the tribute paid to Assyria by Hezekiah (Jarchi) or Ahaz (Gesenius), or to mere dependence on a foreign power (Hitzig). The application of the terms by J. D. Michaelis to the persecution of the Galileans or first Christians by the Jews, seems al ogether fanciful. Barnes refers the pronoun in *his burden* to the oppressor *(which he made you bear)*, and Forerius in like manner explains *the rod of his shoulder* to mean the rod carried on the tyrant's shoulder. But the suffix in both cases relates not to the oppressor but to the oppressed, and שכם includes not merely the shoulders but the space between them, the upper part of the back. Forerius also refers בו to the oppressor—'thou hast broken the rod of the oppressor with himself.' Munster refers it to the rod—'with which he oppressed them.' Maurer refers it correctly to the sufferer, but gives the preposition the distinct sense of *against* or *upon*, because the tyrant presses or rushes upon his victim. It is no doubt, as Gesenius and Ewald hold,

a mere connective, taken here by נָגַשׂ as it is elsewhere by עָבַר (Ex. 1 : 14. Lev. 25 : 39). The *day* of any one in Hebrew often means the day in which something memorable happens to him, or is done by him (vide supra, ch. 2 : 12), and in Arabic is absolutely used for a day of battle. The rout of the Midianites, recorded in the seventh chapter of Judges, is here referred to, not because it took place in a single night, like the destruction of Sennacherib's army (Jarchi)—nor because the foes of Israel, like those of the church, destroyed each other (Cocceius)—nor because the truth, which overcomes the world, is in earthen vessels, like the lamps of Gideon (Vitringa)—nor because the preaching of the gospel may be likened to the blowing of trumpets (Dutch Annotations)—but because it was a wonderful display of divine power, without the use of any adequate human means—and also, as suggested by Herder (Heb. Poes. vol. II. p. 496), because it took place in the same part of the country which this prophecy refers to. Jezreel, where the battle was fought (Judg. 6 : 33), was in the territory of Manasseh, to which tribe Gideon himself belonged (Judg. 6 : 15) ; but he was aided by the neighbouring tribes of Asher, Zebulon, and Naphtali (Judg. 6 : 35).—Junius, in order to sustain his interpretation of the second verse, continues the construction into this, and gives to כְּ the sense of *when* —'they rejoiced before thee, etc., when (or whenever) thou didst break their yoke,' etc.—i. e. in every case of former deliverance. (See also the margin of the English version.) The Septuagint and Targum supply a verb in the first clause (ἀφῄρηται, אִתְּדִית), which is unnecessary, as the nouns in that clause are governed by the verb in the last part of the sentence. That verb does not mean to scatter (Septuagint), or to conquer (Vulgate), or to frighten (Cocceius), but to break, to break off, or to break in pieces. Vitringa takes מַטֶּה as a synonyme of מֹטָה a yoke ; but it no doubt denotes here, as in every other case, a staff or rod. Gesenius, in his Commentary, supposes an ellipsis of the preposition before יוֹם ; but, in the last edition of his grammar, he agrees with Maurer in supposing the noun itself to be used adverbially or absolutely in answer to the question *when?* The absolute form of סְבָלוֹ is written by Gesenius סַבָּל, by Ewald סִבֹּל. The Daghesh is euphonic, and the Sheva anomalous.

V. 4. The destruction of the oppressing power shall be followed by profound and universal peace. To express this idea, the Prophet describes the equipments of the soldier as consumed with fire. *For all the armour of the armed man* (or the man-at-arms, who mingles) *in the tumult* (of battle), *and the garment rolled in blood, shall be for burning* (and for) *food* (or fuel) *of fire*. In other words, the usual accompaniments of battle shall be utterly destroyed, and by implication, war itself shall cease. There is no need of supposing, with Vitringa, Lowth, Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Henderson, an allu-

sion to the ancient custom of burning the armour and equipments of the slain upon the field of battle as an act of triumph. It is not the weapons of the enemy alone, but all weapons of war, that are to be consumed; not merely because they have been used for a bad purpose, but because they are hereafter to be useless. It is not so much a prophecy of conquest as of peace; a peace however which is not to be expected till the enemies of God are overcome; and therefore the prediction may be said to include both events, the final overthrow of all opposing powers and the subsequent prevalence of universal peace. This last is uniformly spoken of in Scripture as characteristic of Messiah's reign, both internal and external, in society at large and in the hearts of his people. With respect to the latter, the prediction has been verified with more or less distinctness, in every case of true conversion. With respect to the former, its fulfilment is inchoate, but will one day be complete, when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and He who is the Prince of Peace shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. An allusion to this promise and its final consummation may be found in the words of the heavenly host who celebrated the Saviour's birth (Luke 2: 14), *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth* PEACE, *good will to men.* According to Jarchi, Kimchi, Calvin, and Grotius, this verse contains two distinct propositions, one relating to the *day of Midian* or to wars in general, and the other to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army or the deliverance of the Jews from exile. The sense would then be that while other battles are accompanied with noise and bloodshed, this shall be with burning and fuel of fire. But this construction, besides assuming a change of subject, of which there is no intimation in the text, departs from the natural and ordinary meaning of the words. The *fire* mentioned in the last clause has been variously explained as a poetical description of the Assyrian slaughter (Jarchi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Grotius), or of the angel by whom it was effected (Abarbenel)—of the destruction of Jerusalem (Vatablus, J. D. Michaelis), or of the world (Diodati)—or as an emblem of the Holy Ghost (Forerius), or of our Saviour's zeal for man's salvation (Gill). It is mentioned simply as a powerful consuming agent, to express the abolition of the implements of war, and, as a necessary consequence, of war itself. The verse, then, is not a mere description of Gideon's victory (Junius)—nor a comparison between that or any other battle and the slaughter of Sennacherib's army (Grotius)—nor a prediction of the fall of Jerusalem in spite of an obstinate and bloody defence (J. D. Michaelis)—but a prophecy of changes to take place when the *great light* and deliverer of *the nation* should appear. The כִּי־, at the beginning is translated *when* by Junius and Tremellius and in the margin of the English Bible; but it really means *for*, and assigns a second reason for the joy predicted in v. 2. סְאֹן, which occurs

nowhere else, is taken in the sense of war or battle, by David Kimchi, Luther, Calvin, and Grotius; in that of a military greave or sandal, boot or shoe, by Joseph Kimchi, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, Hengstenberg, Hendewerk, Henderson, and Ewald; and in that of armour or equipment in general, by Hitzig, DeWette, Umbreit and Knobel. סֹאֵן is a participle formed from this noun, and signifies a person thus equipped. The whole phrase therefore means the *armour of the armed man, the equipment of the soldier.* The obscurity of these terms to the old translators is sufficiently apparent from the στολὴν ἐπισυνηγμένην of the Septuagint, the *violenta praedatio* of the Vulgate, and the unintelligible version of the whole sentence given in the Targum. Hoheisel and Rosenmüller understand by רַעַשׁ the *noise* or *clatter* of the military shoe or sandal armed with nails; but it rather means noise in general, or more specifically, the shock and tumult of battle, the *mêlée.* The phrase בְּרַעַשׁ qualifies סֹאֵן—*the armour of him* who mingles *armed in the tumult* of battle, and whose שִׂמְלָה or upper garment is described as *rolled in blood*, not merely dyed of a red colour (Hitzig), but literally stained with the blood of conflict. J. D. Michaelis makes the first clause, by a harsh and ungrammatical construction, mean that he who arms himself arms himself only to tremble or to make to tremble. There is no need of supplying a verb in the first clause, with Calvin (fit) and Grotius (solet esse), much less two with Barnes. The nouns in this clause are the subjects of the verb at the beginning of the second, which agrees grammatically with the second, but logically with both. The Vav is conversive, and at the same time introduces the apodosis of the sentence (Gesenius § 152, 1, *a*). There is no need therefore of adopting J. D. Michaelis's construction of the last clause, that *whatever is destined for the fire* (מאכלת אש) *will certainly be burned* (היתה לשרפה).

V. 5. This verse gives a further reason for the joy of the people, by bringing into view the person who was to effect the great deliverance. *For a child is born to us* (or *for us*, i. e. for our benefit)—*a son is given to us* (i. e. by Jehovah, an expression frequently applied in the New Testament to Christ's incarnation), *and the government is upon his shoulder* (as a burden or a robe of office)—*and his name is called Wonderful* (literally, *Wonder*)—*Counsellor—Mighty God—Everlasting Father—Prince of Peace.* The figure of a robe or dress is preferred by Grotius and Hengstenberg, that of a burden by Gesenius, Hitzig, and Knobel, who cites analogous expressions from Cicero (rempublicam universam vestris humeris sustinetis), and the younger Pliny (bene humeris tuis sedet imperium). When it is said that his name should be called, it does not mean that he should actually bear these names in real life, but merely that he should deserve them, and that they would be descriptive of his character. The

verb יקרא may agree with יהוה, or be construed indefinitely—*he* (i. e. any one) *shall call his name*—which is equivalent to saying *they shall call his name*, or in a passive form, *his name shall be called*. The child here predicted or described is explained to be Hezekiah, by Jarchi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Grotius, Hensler, Paulus, Gesenius, Hendewerk. This explanation is rejected, not only by the older writers, but among the modern Germans by Bauer, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel. The vav conversive renders the futures וַיִּקְרָא and וַיְהִי perfectly equivalent, in point of time, to the preterites יֻלַּד and נִתַּן; so that if the latter refer to an event already past, the former must refer to past time too, and *vice versa*. The verse then either represents Hezekiah as unborn, or as already invested with the regal office, at the date of the prediction, neither of which can be historically true. The attempt to escape from this dilemma, by referring the two first verbs to something past, and the two next to something future, is a direct violation of the laws of Hebrew syntax. Besides, the terms of the description are extravagant and false, if applied to Hezekiah. In what sense was he *wonderful*, a *mighty God*, an *everlasting father*, a *prince of peace*? The modern Jews, in order to sustain their antichristian exegesis, have devised a new construction of the sentence, which applies all these epithets, except the last, to God himself, as the subject of the verb יקרא. *And* (he who is) *Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, calls his* (i. e. Hezekiah's) *name the Prince of Peace*. This construction, which is given by Jarchi and Kimchi, is supposed by some to have been suggested by the Chaldee Paraphrase, while others cite the latter as a witness in favour of applying all the names to the Messiah. (See the opposite statements in Vitringa and Henderson.) But how could even the last of these distinctive titles be applied to Hezekiah? Neither actively nor passively could he be called, at least with any emphasis, a Prince of Peace. He waged war against others, and was himself invaded and subjected to a foreign power, from which he afterwards revolted. To this it is replied by Gesenius and Maurer, that the Prophet may have entertained a groundless expectation. But even this bold conjecture is of no avail against a second objection of a different kind, viz. that a long enumeration of titles belonging to God himself is utterly irrelevant in speaking of a name which should be borne by Hezekiah. And this objection lies, with still more force, against Abarbenel's construction, which includes even *Prince of Peace* among Jehovah's titles, and takes יקרא שמו absolutely in the sense of giving a name or making famous. The hypothesis first mentioned is exposed moreover to the fatal grammatical objection, urged by Calvin and Cocceius, that, according to invariable usage, שמו must have stood between the names of God and the name of Hezekiah. These constructions are accordingly abandoned now, even by some who still identify the

child with Hezekiah. These assume the ground, maintained of old by Aben Ezra, that there is nothing in the epithets which might not be applied to Hezekiah. In order to maintain this ground, the meaning of the epithets themselves is changed. פלא is either made to mean nothing more than *remarkable*, *distinguished* (Grotius, Gesenius, Knobel), or is ungrammatically joined with יועץ in the sense of a *wonderful counsellor* (Ewald), or *wonderfully wise* (Hendewerk). יועץ itself is joined with אל גבור, as meaning a *consulter of the mighty God*, a construction which is equally at variance with the Masoretic interpunction and the usage of the word יועץ, which never means one who *asks*, but always one who *gives advice*, and more especially a public counsellor or minister of state. (Vide supra, ch. 1 : 26. 3 : 3.) But some who admit this explain the next title, אל גבור, to mean a *mighty hero* or a *godlike hero* (Gesenius, DeWette, Maurer), although they grant that in another part of this same prophecy it means the *Mighty God*. (Vide infra, ch. 10 : 21. cf. Deut. 10 : 17. Jer. 32 : 18.) אבי עד is explained to mean a *father of spoil*, a plunderer, a victor (Abarbenel, Hitzig, Knobel)—or a *perpetual father* i. e. benefactor of the people (Hensler, Doederlein, Gesenius, Maurer, Hendewerk, Ewald)—or at most, the *founder of a new* or everlasting *age* (Lowth), or the *father of a numerous offspring* (Grotius). All this to discredit or evade the obvious meaning of the phrase, which either signifies *a father* (or possessor) *of eternity*, i. e. an eternal being—or an author and bestower of eternal life. Possibly both may be included. The necessity of such explanations is sufficient to condemn the exegetical hypothesis involving it, and shows that this hypothesis has only been adopted to avoid the natural and striking application of the words to Jesus Christ, as the promised *child*, emphatically *born for us* and *given to us*, as the *Son* of God and the *Son* of man, as being *wonderful* in his person, works and sufferings—a *counsellor*, prophet, or authoritative teacher of the truth, a wise administrator of the church, and confidential adviser of the individual believer—a real man, and yet the *Mighty God*—*eternal* in his own existence, and the *giver of eternal life* to others—the great *peace-maker* between God and man, between Jew and gentile, the umpire between nations, the abolisher of war, and the giver of internal peace to all who *being justified by faith have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ* (Rom. 5 : 1). The doctrine that this prophecy relates to the Messiah, was not disputed even by the Jews, until the virulence of antichristian controversy drove them from the ground which their own progenitors had steadfastly maintained. In this departure from the truth they have been followed by some learned writers who are Christians only in the name, and to whom may be applied, with little alteration, what one of them (Gesenius) has said with respect to the ancient versions of this very text, viz. that the general meaning put upon it may be viewed as the criterion of a

Christian and an antichristian writer. It has been already mentioned that some writers even of this class have been compelled to abandon the application of this text to Hezekiah, and that one of the latest and most eminent interpreters by whom it is maintained, admits that there may be some allusion to the nascent doctrine of a personal Messiah. These concessions, partial and reluctant as they are, serve to strengthen the most ancient and most natural interpretation of this signal prophecy.

V. 6. The reign of this king shall be progressive and perpetual, because founded in justice and secured by the distinguishing favour of Jehovah. *To the increase of the government* (or power) *and to the peace* (or prosperity of this reign) *there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to establish it and to confirm it, in justice and in righteousness, from henceforth and forever, the zeal of Jehovah of Hosts shall do this.* According to Luther, Cocceius, Castalio, Gesenius, Maurer, Hitzig, DeWette, Ewald, the preposition at the beginning of the verse connects it with what goes before. He is born, or called by these names, *for the increase of power and for prosperity without end.* To this it may be objected, first, that the means and the end thus stated are incongruous, and then that אין, according to usage, is not a mere particle of negation, but includes the substantive verb. Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Umbreit and Knobel retain the old and common construction, which supposes a new sentence to begin here and connects the preposition with what follows. The government or power thus to be enlarged is of course that of the *child*, who is described as born and given in the foregoing verse. A striking parallel is furnished by the prophecy in Micah 5: 3. There, as here, a king is promised who should be the son of David, and should reign over all the earth in peace and righteousness forever. It is there expressed, and here implied, that this king should re-unite the divided house of Israel, although this is but a small part of the increase promised, which includes the calling of the gentiles also. *Peace*, though included in שלום, is not a full equivalent. The Hebrew word denotes not only *peace* as opposed to war, intestine strife, or turbulence, but welfare and prosperity in general as opposed to want and sorrow. The reign here predicted was to be not only peaceful but in every respect prosperous. And this prosperity, like the reign of which it is predicted, is to have no limit either temporal or local. It is to be both universal and eternal. There is nothing to preclude the very widest explanation of the terms employed. Ewald explains על as meaning *for the sake of, on account of;* but there is no need of departing from the sense of *on* which is its proper one, and that which it always has in other cases when prefixed to the noun כסא. A verb is introduced before על כסא by the Vulgate (sedebit) and Gesenius (komme), but without necessity. The construction

is what the grammarians call a pregnant one. The endless increase of power and prosperity *on the throne of David* means of course that the Prince, whose reign was to be thus powerful and prosperous, would be a descendant of David. This is indeed a repetition and explanation of a promise given to David (2 Sam. 7 : 11–16. 1 Kings 8 : 25) and repeatedly referred to by him (2 Sam. 23 : 1–5. Ps. 2, 45, 72, 89, 132). Hence the Messiah is not only called the *Branch* or *Son of David* (2 Sam. 7 : 12, 13. Jer. 23 : 5. 33 : 15), but David himself (Jer. 30 : 9. Ezek. 34 : 23, 24. 37 : 24. Hos. 3 : 5). The two reigns are identified, not merely on account of an external resemblance or a typical relation, but because the one was really a restoration or continuation of the other. Both kings were heads of the same body, the one a temporal head, the other spiritual, the one temporary, the other eternal. The Jewish nation, as a spiritual body, is really continued in the Christian church. The subject of the prophecy is the reign of the Messiah ; the effect predicted, its stability and increase ; the means to be employed, judgment and justice ; the efficient cause, the zeal of Jehovah. Grotius distinguishes between *judgment* and *justice*, as denoting righteous government on one hand, and righteous subjection to it on the other. The justice spoken of is that of the Messiah and his subjects. All the acts of his administration will be righteous, and the effect of this upon his people will be righteousness on their part, and this prevalence of righteousness will naturally generate the increase and stability here promised. The preposition ב does not merely mean *with* justice, as an accompanying circumstance, but *by* it, as a necessary means. The phrase מֵעַתָּה cannot mean *from that time*, as explained by Junius and Tremellius (ab isto tempore), but must have its ordinary sense, *from this time*. It is possible, however, that the Prophet, as in many other cases, takes his stand upon a point of future time, and speaks of it as actually present. Having spoken of the promised child in v. 5 as already *born and given*, he may now look forward from its birth into the future, and in this sense use the phrase *from henceforth*. Coccceius understands the words more strictly as meaning 'from the date of the prediction,' and referring to the whole series of events, from that time onwards, which are mentioned in this prophecy—the deliverance of Judah—the destruction of Ephraim and the overthrow of Syria—the deportation of the ten tribes—Sennacherib's invasion—Nebuchadnezzar's conquest—the Babylonish exile—the return—the subsequent vicissitudes—the rising of the *great light* upon Galilee—the increase of the church by the accession of the gentiles—the breaking of the yoke and staff of spiritual bondage—the destruction of the implements of war—the establishment and gradual enlargement of the Messiah's kingdom. These form a chain of great events succeeding one another without any interruption from the date of the prediction to the end of time. Whatever be the *terminus a quo* intended

by the Prophet, it is clear that he describes the reign of the Messiah as an endless one. The word עולם, though properly denoting mere indefinite duration, and therefore frequently applied to terms and periods of time, such as the length of human life, is always to be taken in its largest meaning, unless limited by something in the context or the nature of the case; much more in such an instance as the one before us, where the context really precludes all limitation by the strength of its expressions. To explain *forever* here, with Jarchi and Grotius, as meaning till the end of Hezekiah's life, is simply ludicrous, unless the other phrases, both in this verse and the fifth, are mere extravagant hyperboles. The Masoretic interpunction requires this phrase to be connected with what follows—'from henceforth and forever the zeal of Jehovah of Hosts will do this.' It is so read by Junius, Cocceius, and Gill; but most interpreters suppose it to qualify what goes before, and take the remaining words as a short independent proposition. The difference is little more than one of punctuation. Both constructions make the reign of the Messiah an eternal one. The word קנאה expresses the complex idea of strong affection comprehending or attended by a jealous preference of one above another. It is used in the Old Testament to signify not only God's intense love for his people but his jealousy in their behalf, that is to say, his disposition to protect and favour them at the expense of others. Sometimes, moreover, it includes the idea of a jealous care of his own honour, or a readiness to take offence at any thing opposed to it, and a determination to avenge it when insulted. There is nothing in this idea of the divine jealousy incongruous or unworthy as Umbreit supposes. The expressions are derived from the dialect of human passion, but describe something absolutely right on God's part for the very reasons which demonstrate its absurdity and wickedness on man's. These two ideas of God's jealous partiality for his own people, and his jealous sensibility respecting his own honour, are promiscuously blended in the usage of the word, and are perhaps both included in the case before us. Both for his own sake and his people's, he would bring these events to pass. Or rather the two motives are identical, that is to say, the one includes the other. The welfare of the church is only to be sought so far as it promotes God's glory, and a zeal which makes the glory of the church an object to be aimed at for its own sake, cannot be a zeal for God, or is at best *a zeal for God but not according to knowledge*. The mention of God's jealousy or zeal as the procuring cause of this result affords a sure foundation for the hopes of all believers. His zeal is not a passion but a principle of powerful and certain operation. The astonishing effects produced by feeble means in the promotion, preservation, and extension of Christ's kingdom, can only be explained upon the principle that the zeal of the Lord of Hosts effected it. The reign here described cannot be that

of Hezekiah, which was confined to Judah, and was neither peaceful nor progressive nor perpetual. It cannot be the joint reign of himself and his successors; for the line was broken at the Babylonish exile. It cannot be the reign of the Maccabees or Hasmonean princes, for these were not the sons of David but of Levi. The prediction, if fulfilled at all, could only be fulfilled in a reign which after it began was never interrupted, and has ever since been growing in extent and power. Is not this the reign of Christ? Does it not answer all the requisite conditions? The evangelists take pains to prove by formal genealogies his lineal descent from David, and his reign, unlike all others, still continues and is constantly enlarging. Hendewerk and other modern German writers have objected that this prophecy is not applied to Christ in the New Testament. But we have seen already, that the first verse of the chapter and the one before it are interpreted by Matthew as a prophecy of Christ's appearing as a public teacher first in Galilee; and no one has denied that this is part of the same context. Nor is this all. The expressions of the verse before us were applied to Christ, before his birth, by Gabriel, when he said to Mary (Luke 1 : 32–34), *He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* The historical allusions in these words show clearly that the person spoken of was one expected, or in other words a subject of prophecy, and though the terms are not precisely those used by Isaiah, they agree with them more closely than with any other passage. Indeed the variations may be perfectly accounted for, upon the supposition that the angel's message was intended to describe the birth of Christ as a fulfilment, not of this prediction only, but of several others also which are parallel with this, and that the language was so framed as to suggest them all, but none of them so prominently as the one before us and the earlier promise upon which it was founded. (Compare 2 Sam. 7 : 11, 12. Dan. 7 : 14, 27. Micah 4 : 7, etc.) The objection that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and that the mention of the throne of David shows that a temporal monarchy was meant, proceeds upon the supposition that there is no such thing as figurative language, or at least that it is never used in prophecy. The objection of the Jews, that wars have not ceased since Christ came, lies with still greater force against their application of the text to Hezekiah. It is founded moreover on a misconception of the promise, which was not made to the world but to the church, and not even to that, as something to be realized at once, but by a gradual process of pacification. The reference to Christ is not a mere typical and secondary one, but primary and positive. Some who refer this whole prediction, in its proper sense, to Hezekiah, at the same time grant that it has a higher reference to Christ. Why then assume

a lower sense without necessity or warrant? The violence thus done to the expressions of the text will be sufficiently evinced by stating that according to this view of the matter, as exhibited by Grotius, the *increase* here promised means continuance for nine and twenty years (*multiplicabitur ejus imperium*, id est, durabit per annos XXIX)—*from henceforth and forever* is from Hezekiah's birth until his death (*a modo et usque in sempiternum*, ab initio ad finem vitae)—and when the Prophet says the zeal of God shall do this, what he means is that his zeal will lead him to bestow upon his people such a prince as Hezekiah (*zelus Domini exercituum faciet hoc*, id est, ardens amor Dei erga pios, qui insunt populo, dabit nobis ac servabit tam bonum principem). This forced attenuation of the Prophet's meaning might be natural enough in the rabbinical expositors, whose only aim was to avoid the application of the prophecy to Christ; but it was utterly unworthy of a man like Grotius, who had nothing to gain by it, and who after all admits the very thing which he appears to be denying, but admits it in the questionable shape of a twofold fulfilment and a double sense, by which proceeding he gratuitously multiplies the very difficulties which interpretation is intended to remove. Upon the whole, it may be said with truth that there is no alleged prophecy of Christ, for which it seems so difficult with any plausibility to find another subject; and until that is done which all the Rabbins and a Grotius could not do, we may repose upon the old evangelical interpretation as undoubtedly the true one.—In nearly all editions and manuscripts, the first letter of the word מרבה presents the final form ם, an orthographical anomaly mentioned in the Talmud, and perhaps very ancient, but not to be regarded as a relic of Isaiah's autograph, and therefore involving some mysterious meaning. By different Jewish writers it has been explained as an allusion to the recession of the shadow on the dial—to the enclosing of Jerusalem with walls again after the captivity—to the captivity itself, as an enclosure—to the stability of Messiah's kingdom, as the open מ is said to have the opposite meaning in Neh. 2: 13. Some Christian writers have followed this rabbinical example by suggesting what may possibly have been intended by the unusual orthography, supposing it to be both ancient and intentional—e. g. the exclusion of the unbelieving Jews from the kingdom of Christ—the secret inward progress of that kingdom among men—the perpetual virginity of Mary—the concealment of the time when the prediction should be verified—the spread of the gospel to the four corners of the world—the birth of Christ six hundred years (of which ם is the cipher) after the prediction—the opening to the gentiles of the church which had been previously shut up and restricted to the Jews—the perfection of Christ's kingdom, as denoted by the perfect or square form—and its mystical nature, as denoted by the unusual form of the letter. It is suggested by Cocceius, that the unusual mode of writing may have been in-

tended to attract attention to this signal prophecy. But why should it have been resorted to in this one passage, and in this particular part of it? Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Henderson regard it as an accidental anomaly, occasioned by mistake and preserved by superstition; the only objection to which is the extreme care of the Jews as to all points of orthography, and the improbability of such an error, if it could occur, becoming general. Some have accordingly supposed the singularity to be connected, in its origin, with the criticism of the Hebrew text. Hiller (de Arcano Chethib et Keri) conjectures that the final *mem* was meant to show that the first two letters of לִמְרְבָה, according to some ancient reading, ought to be omitted, and the word read simply רִבָּה. Gesenius, Maurer, and Knobel adopt the supposition of Elias Levita, that it indicates a different division of the words, which is also noticed in the Masora, viz. לָם רִבָּה הַמִּשְׂרָה—*to them the dominion shall be great or multiplied.* There is, however, no example of the abbreviation לָם for לָהֶם, corresponding to the common one of בָּם for בָּהֶם.

V. 7. Having repeatedly interchanged the three great subjects of this prophecy—the deliverance of Judah from the power of Syria and Israel—its subsequent punishment by means of the Assyrians—and the reign of the Messiah, for whose sake the kingdom was to be preserved—the Prophet passes here abruptly from the last to the first, and again predicts the punishment of Ephraim. He reverts to this event, which had already been repeatedly foretold, for the purpose of declaring that the blows would be repeated as often and as long as might be needed for the absolute fulfilment of God's threatenings. He begins by showing that Israel had already been sufficiently forewarned. *The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it came down into Israel.* Calvin supposes an antithesis between the clauses, and explains the verse to mean that what had been *predicted* as to Israel should be *fulfilled* in Israel; but there is no such usage of נָפַל. Grotius adopts the same construction, with the additional error of applying *Jacob* to the whole race, and *Israel* to the ten tribes, which is altogether arbitrary. Equally groundless is the supposition that *Jacob* and *Israel* denote the rival kingdoms. The two names of the patriarch are here used as equivalents, denoting his descendants, and especially the larger part, the kingdom of the ten tribes, to which the national name *Israel* is wont to be distinctively applied. Another false antithesis is that between the verbs, referring one to past time and the other to the future. This is adopted even by Ewald; but according to the usage of the language, *Vav* is conversive of the preterite only when preceded by a future, expressed or implied. (See Nordheimer § 219. 1.) The LXX seem to have read דֶּבֶר a pestilence instead of דָּבָר a word. Castalio gives it here the sense of *thing* (rem mittet), Vitringa that of *threatening*, which is not expressed by this word, but suggested by the context. The

true sense is that of a *dictum* or authoritative declaration, not that which follows, nor that which goes before, but the whole series of threatenings and warnings which God had sent *by all the prophets and by all the seers* (2 Kings 17 : 13), perhaps with special reference to that respecting Pekah in the seventh chapter. The sending of the word here mentioned had either actually taken place, or was regarded by the Prophet in his vision as already past. The preposition does not mean *against*, or simply *to*, but *into*, as usual after verbs of motion. The Septuagint renders נפל *came*, the Targum *was heard*. In Josh. 21 : 45 and 1 Kings 8 : 56, this same verb is used with דָּבָר *word* in the sense of *failing*, or not coming to pass. Adopting this sense here, the meaning of the verse would be, that God had sent a word of warning, but that it had not yet been fulfilled. But in both the places cited, the idea expressed is not that of mere delay, but of entire failure, implying the falsity of the prediction. To give it the contrary sense of coming to pass or taking effect, as Jarchi and Calvin do, is altogether arbitrary. The great majority of writers take it in its usual and proper sense of falling or descending. There is no need, however, of supposing an allusion to the falling of an arrow, or of seed into the earth, or of rain upon it. A more obvious and natural association would be that of a thunderbolt, suggested by Gill and J. D. Michaelis, in reference to the threatening nature of the revelation ; especially as נפל ב is elsewhere used in the sense of *falling upon*, i. e. attacking (Josh. 11 : 7). The essential import of the phrase is to describe the word as coming down from God in heaven (compare Dan. 4 : 28), or, as Hendewerk supposes, from Jerusalem, his earthly residence, motion from which is always spoken of as downward in the Hebrew idiom. The word which God had uttered against Israel had reached them as a message from him, as a revelation, so that there could be no doubt as to its authority and genuineness. Gesenius and Hitzig render the verbs in the present tense, and regard this verse as a title or inscription of the following prophecy, because it makes the strophe and antistrophe unequal. But if this proves any thing, it is that the strophical arrangement is itself a fanciful misapplication of the principles of Greek and Latin prosody to the measured prose of the Hebrew prophets. The solemn repetition of the last clause of v. 8 would be just as natural in an oration as in an ode or a dramatic chorus. The injurious effects of this exaggerated theory of Hebrew versification on the criticism and interpretation of the sacred text have been already stated in the general introduction.

V. 8. The word which God had sent had reached the people ; they had heard and understood it, but continued to indulge their pride and self-security. *And they know* (the divine threatening), *the people, all of them* (literally *all of it*, the noun being singular but used collectively), *Ephraim*

and the inhabitant of Samaria (a limitation of the general terms preceding, so as to prevent their application to Judah), *in pride and in greatness of heart* (an equivalent expression), *saying* (the words recorded in the next verse). The apparent inversion in the last clause is well explained by Hendewerk, as arising from the fact that לֵאמֹר always stands immediately before the words spoken. Most writers understand the verbs as futures; but this is a question of no moment, as the past time which the Prophet has in view upon the other supposition, was actually future at the date of the prediction. Lowth arbitrarily translates the *vav* at the beginning of this verse *because*, and that at the beginning of v. 10 *therefore*, making one long sentence. Luther, Hendewerk, and Ewald render it by *that*, and make the construction a subjunctive one—'that they may know or feel it'—which is at least unnecessary. Umbreit not only gives the same construction, but takes ידעו in the absolute sense of having or obtaining knowledge (dass zu Erkentniss komme), which is less consistent both with usage and the context than the common opinion that the דבר of v. 7 is the object of the verb. Vitringa, Gesenius, and many others, understand the clause to mean that they should know the truth of these predictions by experience. It rather means that they had known and understood God's warning message. By *the people* we are not to understand the whole race (Junius), but the ten tribes, or perhaps the whole race and especially the ten tribes (J. H. Michaelis). The suffix in כֻּלּוֹ, is referred by Gill to דבר—the people shall know all of it, i. e. all the word—"they shall find that the whole of it will be accomplished, every punctilio in it." Gesenius, Hendewerk, and Umbreit render it *his* (sein ganzes Volk), as if referring to the names in v. 7. Its real antecedent is העם, as the construction is the common Hebrew one in all such cases—*the people all of it*, i. e. *all the people*. The Septuagint makes *people* govern *Ephraim* (*πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Ἐφραΐμ*); but in Hebrew this construction is forbidden by the article. The inhabitant of Samaria is distinctly mentioned, as the inhabitants of Jerusalem are in ch. 8: 14. Schultens (in his Animadv. Philol. ad Jer. 50: 11) gives to ב the sense of *for*, *because of*, and connects it with what goes before. It really means *in* or *with*, and connects the noun with what follows. גֹּדֶל is inaccurately rendered as an adjective, agreeing with לֵבָב, by the Septuagint (*ὑψηλῇ καρδίᾳ*) and Hendewerk (stolzem Herzen). Greatness of heart in Hebrew does not mean magnanimity, but pride and arrogance. (Vide infra, ch. 10: 12). The feeling here described is not "a desire of splendour, power, and magnificence, a purpose to be distinguished" (Barnes), but a misplaced confidence in the stability of their condition. לֵאמֹר, although an infinitive in form, is not incorrectly rendered as a gerund (dicendo) by Pagninus, Montanus, and Cocceius. A relative construction is preferred by Luther (die da sagen), Calvin (qui dicunt), J. H. Michaelis (dum dicunt), and many others. The

participial form of the English Version is given also by the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Dutch Versions, by Vitringa, and by Lowth. There is no necessity or ground for the interrogative construction given by DeDieu (an in superbia dicendum fuit ?). Forerius strangely understands the Prophet as sarcastically saying that the people shall be taught *to say*, in their pride and arrogance, what follows. Hitzig, without the irony—the people shall be made conscious of their own pride and arrogance in saying, etc. But this construction seems to overlook the preposition. אמר is not to be taken in the sense of purposing or thinking, which it sometimes obtains from an ellipsis of אל לבו *in his heart*, or *to himself* (Gen. 27 : 41), but in its proper sense of speaking, as the usual expression of intention and desire. The conjectural emendation of the text by changing וידעו to וירעו (Houbigant), וידברו (Secker), or ויגבהו (Lowth), is perfectly gratuitous.

V. 9. The very words of the self-confident Ephraimites are now recorded. Instead of being warned and instructed by what they had already suffered, they presumptuously look for greater prosperity than ever. *Bricks are fallen, and hewn stone will we build ; sycamores are felled, and cedars will we substitute.* The oriental bricks are unburnt, so that most of their brick structures are as little durable as mud walls. The sycamore is durable, but too light and spongy to be used in solid building. The latter is accordingly contrasted with the cedar, and the former with hewn stone, the two most highly valued building materials. By some interpreters these words are literally understood. According to J. H. Michaelis, they refer to the cities of the ten tribes which the Syrians destroyed ; according to Gill, to the houses outside of the cities and peculiarly exposed to the invaders. So Knobel understands the sense to be, that instead of the mean houses which the Assyrians had destroyed, the people of the ten tribes were determined to build better. Hitzig and DeWette suppose that sycamores and cedars are here mentioned, not as timber, but as living trees, and give נחלוף the specific sense of planting anew. Thus Calvin understands the people to be here represented as regarding the devastations of the enemy only as occasions for increasing the beauty of their houses and plantations. But as this implies a protracted process, we must either suppose it to be put into the mouth of the presumptuous Israelites as a foolish boast, or understand it figuratively. So indeed the whole verse is explained by many, of whom some regard the brick, stone, and trees as figures for great men in general (Targum), or for the kings of Israel in particular (Jarchi), or for the State considered as a building or a tree (Hendewerk), while others more correctly understand both clauses as a metaphorical description of a change from worse to better, by a substitution of the precious for the vile, without specific reference to the literal rebuilding of towns or houses. Bricks and sycamores are then mere

proverbial expressions for that which is inferior, and cedars and hewn stone for that which is superior. An illustrative parallel is found in ch. 60 : 17, where the same general idea is expressed by the exchange of stones for iron, iron for silver, wood for brass, brass for gold, of course without allusion to a literal exchange or mutual substitution. Jerome refers this verse to the low condition of Judah under Ahaz, and the boastful determination of the ten tribes to subdue and then restore it to its former splendour; but it really relates to what the ten tribes had themselves endured, and expresses their belief that these reverses would be followed by a better state of things than they had ever known. Cocceius understands the sense to be that the prosperity enjoyed already would be followed by still greater; but even an inferior degree of prosperity would hardly have been represented by the metaphor of fallen bricks and prostrate trees.

V. 10. Here begins a second stage in the progress of God's judgments. He had sent a warning prophecy before (v. 7), and they had been taught its meaning by experience (v. 8), but without effect upon their proud self-confidence. *And* (now) *Jehovah raises up above him* (i. e. Ephraim) *the* (victorious) *enemies of Rezin* (his late ally) *and* (besides these) *he will instigate his own* (accustomed) *enemies* (to wit, those mentioned in the next verse). The suffix in עליו refers, not to Rezin, but to Jacob, Israel, Ephraim, the inhabitant of Samaria, mentioned in vs. 8, 9. They who were to conquer Israel are called the *enemies of Rezin*, to remind the Israelites of their alliance with him, and to intimate that they who had so lately conquered Syria were soon to conquer Israel. There is no need therefore of the emendation שרי *princes*, which is found in many manuscripts and approved by Houbigant and Ewald, but which seems to be a mere attempt to escape the supposed difficulties of the common reading צרי, which has here no doubt its usual sense of enemies, with a particular allusion to its etymology as meaning those who press, oppress, and overcome, so that in this connexion it would really suggest the idea of Rezin's *conquerors*, which is expressed by Hitzig. Still less is it necessary to exchange רצין for צין or הרצין, as J. D. Michaelis is disposed to do, on the authority of the Septuagint (*ἐπὶ ὄρος Σιών*).—עליו may be properly translated, as it usually is, *against him*, which idea is undoubtedly included; but connected as it is with the verb ישגב, the preposition may be taken in its original and proper sense of *over* or *above*. 'Then he exalted Rezin's enemies above him.' By איביו we are to understand *his own foes*, those to whose attacks he was accustomed, in addition to the *enemies of Rezin*, the Assyrians. יסכסך is rendered by the Septuagint *scatter* (*διασκεδάσει*) and by the Vulgate *confound* (in tumultum vertet, misprinted in the London Polyglot *in tumulum*). It is taken in the sense of *mixing* or combining by Calvin (coadunabit),

Grotius (conglomeravit), Munster, Castalio, and others. J. H. Michaelis, who adopts this version, explains את as a preposition meaning *with* (eosque cum hostibus Israelis commiscebit). Others suppose an allusion to the mixture of nations in the Assyrian army (Calvin), or to the mixture of Assyrians with the Syrian population (Vatablus). Gesenius, in his Commentary and in the earlier editions of his Lexicon, follows Schultens and J. D. Michaelis in attaching to this word the sense of *arming*, which is adopted by Rosenmüller in the abridgment of his Scholia, and by Hitzig, Maurer, Hendewerk and DeWette. But Gesenius himself, in his Thesaurus, now explains the word as meaning to excite, raise up, or instigate, an explanation given in the Targum (יע־ר) and by Saadias, Abulwalid, and Cocceius (instigat).

V. 11. This verse contains a more particular description of Ephraim's *own enemies* who were to be stirred up against him, with a declaration that this was not to be the end of the infliction. *Aram* (or Syria in the widest sense) *before, and Philistia* (or *the Philistines*) *behind, and they devour Israel with open mouth* (i. e. ravenously). *For all this* (or notwithstanding all this) *his wrath does not turn back* (from the pursuit or the attack), *and still his hand is stretched out.* On the meaning of this last clause, vide supra, ch. 5: 25. The Syrians and Philistines are supposed by some to be referred to, as forming part of the Assyrian army. The reference may however be to separate attacks from these two powers. *Before* and *behind* may simply mean on opposite sides, or more specifically to the east and west, which are often thus described in Hebrew. בכל פה does not mean *in every place* (Targum) or *on all sides* (Lowth)—nor does it mean *with all their mouths* (Peshito), i. e. the mouths of all their enemies—but *with the whole mouth*, with the mouth wide open, as expressed by Luther (mit vollem Maul), Calvin (à pleine bouche), and most modern writers. J. H. Michaelis makes בכל זאת mean *on account* or *in consequence of all this.* It is clear, however, from the first clause and the whole connexion, that the reference is not to the people's sin but to their punishment.

V. 12. These continued and repeated strokes are still without effect in bringing the people to repentance. *And the people has not turned to him that smote them, and Jehovah of Hosts they have not sought.* Sin is described in Scripture as departure from God. Repentance, therefore, is returning to him. To *seek* God, in the idiom of Scripture, is to pray to him (Isai. 55: 6), to consult him (Isai. 8: 19), to resort to him for help (Isai. 31: 1), to hold communion with him (Amos 5: 4, 5). Hence it is sometimes descriptive of a godly life in general (Psalm 14: 2). So here it includes repentance, conversion, and new obedience. Calvin, followed by the English version, makes the *vav* at the beginning mean *because* or *for.*

This verse, however, does not assign the reason of the fact recorded in the one preceding, but continues the description. God went on punishing, *and* the people went on sinning. The strict sense of the particle may therefore be retained. The first verb agrees with עם in form as a singular; the second agrees with it in sense as a collective. The preposition עד, which strictly means *until, as far as*, is regarded by Cocceius as emphatic and as signifying that the people, if they turned at all, did not turn far enough. But as this preposition often follows שׁוּב when used in the sense of returning to God by repentance, it may be regarded merely as an idiomatic substitute for אל. A single manuscript reads על for עד. The unusual combination of the article and suffix in המכהו is regarded by Gesenius (Lehrg. p. 658) as a simple anomaly, and by Nordheimer (vol. 2, p. 13) as an emphatic form; but Ewald (§ 516. 3) explains it by supposing הוּ to be not a possessive but an objective suffix, governed by the participle. The difference of construction is the same as in the English phrases, *his smiter* and *the* (one) *smiting him*. God is thus described, as Aben Ezra has observed, in order to intimate that he was the inflicter of their punishment—the Assyrian being merely *the rod of his anger* (ch. 10: 5)—and also that his stroke sought to lead them to repentance.

V. 13. The next stroke mentioned is a sudden destruction among all ranks of the people, the extremes being designated by two figures drawn from the animal and vegetable world. *And Jehovah has cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush, in one day.* כִּפָּה does not mean a root (Aben Ezra), nor a branch in general (Kimchi), but a branch of the palm-tree (Gesenius in Comm.) or the tree itself (Gesenius in Thes.). This tree, though now rare in the Holy Land, abounded there of old, especially in the southern part, where several places were named after it (Deut. 34: 3. 2 Chron. 20: 2). Hence it appears on Roman coins as the symbol of Judea. It is highly esteemed in the east, both for beauty and utility. Its branches grow near the top of its lofty trunk and bend towards the ground, as its leaves do also, with a gentle curvature, resembling that of a hand partly closed, from which peculiarity the Hebrew name כפה and the Latin *palma* seem to be derived. It is here contrasted with the אגמון, not a smaller branch or twig (Jarchi), but a rush or reed, so called from אגם a marsh, because it is in such ground that it chiefly grows. The Targum seems to treat the figures as synonymous, not opposite in meaning, perhaps with some allusion to the Greek word *ἡγεμών*. *Palm* and *rush* are explained to mean the strong and weak by Kimchi and Cocceius, who refers them specifically to the young men and warriors, as contrasted with the widows and orphans in v. 16. It is best, however, to understand them as denoting more generally that which is superior and inferior, including every class in the com-

munity. The figures are correctly resolved by the Septuagint (*μέγαν καὶ μικρόν*), and strangely rendered by the Vulgate (incurvantem et refraenantem), perhaps with some allusion to the derivation of the Hebrew words. It is a singular conceit of Gill's that the use of the terms *head* and *tail* was intended to imply that the people had become beasts, which no more follows than it does from the use of the terms *branch* and *rush* that they had become plants.

V. 14. To the descriptive figures of the preceding verse, the Prophet now adds a specific application of the first. Jehovah had cut off from Israel, not only in a general sense the upper and lower classes of society, but in a more restricted sense, the wicked rulers, who were the corrupt *head* of the body politic, and the false prophets who, as their abject adherents, and on account of their hypocrisy and false pretensions to divine authority, might be regarded as its *tail*, because contemptible and odious, even in comparison with other wicked men, who laid no claim to a religious character. *The elder and the favourite* (or honourable person), *he* is *the head, and the prophet teaching falsehood, he* is *the tail.* On the meaning of זקן and נשׂיא פנים, vide supra, ch. 3 : 2, 3. That the *head* is not explained to mean the *king*, may be, as Hendewerk suggests, because the prophecy relates to the time which immediately succeeded the death of Pekah. Henderson transposes the conjunction in the last clause—*the prophet and the teacher of lies*—but מורה is properly a participle, and is needed to qualify נביא. It is not the *prophet*, as such, but the *prophet teaching falsehood*, who is called the *tail.* The teaching of falsehood does not mean the teaching of traditions (J. H. Michaelis) or of vice (Septuagint), but teaching in the name of God what he has not revealed. The Targum makes נביא denote a *scribe* (ספר) or doctor of the law ; but it must have its sense of *prophet*, as denoting one who claims to be inspired. The false prophets are called the *tail*, not because they were weak (Targum), or of low extraction (Gill), or of a mean spirit, like a dog which wags its tail upon its master (Musculus), nor because their false doctrine was like the poison in the stings of scorpions (Menochius), nor because the civil rulers and religious teachers were the two extremes, between which the mass of the people was included (Vitringa) ; but because the false prophets were morally the basest of the people, and because they were the servile adherents and supporters of the wicked rulers. With respect both to the head which they followed, and the body of which they were the vilest part, they might be justly called the tail. This verse has been rejected, as a gloss or interpolation, by Houbigant, Koppe, Cube, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald and Knobel, on the ground that it interrupts the natural consecution of the passage ; that it is too prosaic for a poetical context ; that it contains a superfluous explanation of a common

proverbial expresison; that it explains it in a manner inconsistent with the context, as the figures in v. 13 obviously mean the high and the low generally; that it explains only one of the two figures in that verse; that it has the very form of an explanatory gloss; that it breaks the strophical arrangement by giving to this strophe a supernumerary verse. To this it may be answered, that correctly understood it does not interrupt the train of thought, but sensibly advances it; that it is not too prosaic for the context, and that if it were, Isaiah was a prophet, not a poet by profession, and was always wise enough to sacrifice rhetoric and rhythm to common sense and inspiration; that if the verse contained an explanation not suggested by the context, it could not be superfluous; that it is not an explanation of the figures in v. 13, but a more specific application of the first of them; that the Prophet did not make a like use of the second, because it was not equally suited to his purpose of expressing his contempt for the false prophets; that the same form is used in cases where no interpolation is suspected; and lastly, that the strophical arrangement is itself a modern figment, founded on a kind of repetition which is not unusual in animated prose. (Vide supra ad v. 7.) Another answer to the last objection is given in Hendewerk's commentary on the passage, which, with this exception, is an admirable refutation of the adverse argument, as stated by Gesenius. The interpolation of these words is ascribed by Gesenius to some very ancient Jewish polemic. But if so old, why may it not be a little older, and the work of Isaiah himself, who was certainly no friend of the false prophets? The rhetorical objections to this obvious conclusion are not only insufficient because they are rhetorical, but because the rhetoric itself is bad.

V. 15. This verse gives a reason, not why all classes were to be destroyed, but why the rulers and false prophets had been specially mentioned. It arises, therefore, naturally out of the fourteenth, and thus incidentally proves it to be genuine. The truth expressed and implied is that the leaders of the people had destroyed them and should perish with them. *The leaders of this people have been seducers, and the led of them* (are) *swallowed up* (*or ruined*). On the double meaning of מאשרי, and the paronomasia erroneously introduced by some translators, vide supra, ch. 3: 12, where the verb בלע occurs in the same connexion. On Ewald's supposition, that the fourteenth verse was interpolated from that chapter, the verse before us ought to be rejected also. Luther explains מאשריו as meaning those who suffer themselves to be led (die sich leiten lassen); Hendewerk, those who were to be, or ought to have been rendered happy (seine zu beglückenden). But even supposing that the Hebrew word was intended to suggest both ideas, it cannot be correct to express one in the first clause and the other in the second, as the original expressions correspond exactly, and the primary sense must

be the same in both. The suffix in מאשריו, is omitted as superfluous by the Vulgate and Gesenius. Henderson refers it to מאשרי as its antecedent (*led by them*); but the true antecedent is העם (such of the people as are thus misled), and is correctly pointed out as such by Calvin (in eo), Vatablus (ex hoc populo), and others. According to J. D. Michaelis, they are said to be *swallowed up* in sloughs and pitfalls; according to Jarchi, in ways from which there is no exit. It is more probably, however, a strong figure for losing the way (Luther), or for destruction in general (Calvin).

V. 16. *Therefore* (because the people are thus incorrigibly impenitent) *the Lord will not rejoice over their young men* (literally *chosen ones*, i. e. for military service, the word being used in the general sense of *youths*, but seldom without reference to war), *and on their orphans and their widows* (elsewhere represented as peculiarly the objects of God's care) *he will not have mercy* (expressing in the strongest form the extent and severity of the threatened judgments), *for every one of them* (literally *of it*, referring to the singular noun *people*) *is profane* (or impious) *and an evil doer, and every mouth* (is) *speaking folly* (in the strong Hebrew sense of wickedness). *For all this his wrath is not turned back, and still is his hand outstretched.* The Vulgate, Aben Ezra, Calvin, Vitringa, Lowth, and Fürst give to חנף the sense of *hypocrite* or *hypocritical.* Gesenius, Ewald, and the other modern writers give it the general sense of *impious* or *wicked*, as expressed by the Septuagint (ἄνομοι). This explanation is supported by etymological analogy, the other by rabbinical tradition. Lee, from the analogy of Syriac, explains it to mean *heathenish, idolatrous* (Hebrew Lexicon, s. v.). The מ in מרע is taken as a preposition (*of evil*, made up or consisting of evil) by Hitzig (vom Argen), Ewald (vom Bösen), DeWette, and Knobel. Gesenius, Umbreit, and the older writers treat it as a participle from רעע. Calvin explains דבר נבלה as implying that they uttered their own wickedness, betrayed themselves; but it probably means nothing more than that they were wicked in speech as well as act. For אדני, Lowth reads יהוה on the authority of eighteen manuscripts.

V. 17. This verse assigns a reason why God's hand is still stretched out for the destruction of his people, by describing that destruction as the natural effect of their own wickedness, here likened to a fire beginning near the ground among the thorns and briers, then extending to the undergrowth or brushwood of the forest, which, as it consumes away, ascends in a volume of smoke. *For wickedness burneth as the fire, thorns and briers it consumes, then kindles in the thickets of the forest, and they roll themselves upwards, a column* (literally, *an ascent*) *of smoke.* Most of the older writers translate all the verbs as futures, thus converting the whole verse into a

threatening. But the interchange of preterite and future forms, as well as the connexion, seem to show that they should be explained as presents, and as expressing the natural effects of wickedness, in the form of a description or a general proposition. The vav conversive before תצת shows it to be dependent on the foregoing verbs and posterior in point of time, a relation which may be expressed in English by exchanging *and* for *then*. Henderson gives רשעה the specific meaning of idolatry (see Zech. 5 : 8–11), but Luther more correctly that of wickedness in general, of heart and life (das gottlose Wesen). Thorns and briers are often used as emblems of the wicked (Mic. 7 : 4. Neh. 1 : 10. 2 Sam. 23 : 6), and their burning as a figure for the punishment of sinners (Isai. 33 : 12. Ps. 118 : 12. 2 Sam. 23 : 7), especially by means of foreign enemies (Isai. 10 : 17. 32 : 13). Most of the recent German versions render the last Vav *so that*, in order to show that what precedes is related to what follows as the cause to its effect. The verb ויתאבכו, which occurs nowhere else, has been variously derived and explained as meaning to be pulverized (Coccceius, Junius), to move proudly (Castellus, J. D. Michaelis), to ascend (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Calvin). This last sense is combined with that of spreading out by J. H. Michaelis (ut expandant et elevent se.) Gesenius, Ewald, and other modern Germans, adopt the sense of rolling or being rolled together, which is given in the Vulgate and Peshito, and by Saadias, Abulwalid, Jarchi, and Rabbi Parchon. The Vulgate makes the verb agree with גאות (convolvetur superbia fumi), Eichhorn with תימם ; but it really agrees with the thickets of the forest—*and they* (the burning thickets) *are rolled* (or roll themselves) *together*. The meaning of גאות is not *pride* (Vulgate), but *elevation* or *ascent*, and in this connexion an ascending body, column, cloud, or volume. It may either be governed by the preposition *in* understood, or construed as he object of the verb, or put in apposition with its subject. *They roll upwards* (*in* or *as*) *a volume of smoke.*

V. 18. The figure of a general conflagration is continued in this verse, and then exchanged for a literal description of the miseries produced by civil war. *In the wrath of Jehovah of Hosts, the land is darkened* with the smoke—or *heated* by the flame—*and the people is like food* (or fuel) *of fire—one another* (literally, *man his brother*) *they do not spare*. Most writers understand the ב at the beginning in the sense of *by* or *through*, as denoting the cause or the means by which the effect is produced. Thus Hendewerk observes that the displeasure of Jehovah is described as the second source of misery ; and Henderson says that "instead of being further represented as resulting from wickedness, the conflagration is resolved into the anger of God as the avenger of sin." But this is not necessarily the meaning of the particle, and in ch. 13 : 13, where the same phrase

occurs—*in the wrath of Jehovah of Hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger*—the ב in one clause seems to mean the same thing as ביום in the other. It is probable therefore that in this case also it denotes not the cause but the time of the event, and should not be rendered *by* or *through*, but simply *in*, i. e. in the time or during. There is then no departure from the import of the figure in v. 17. That the sufferings of Israel were produced by the divine wrath, is abundantly implied though not expressed.—נעתם, which occurs only here, has been variously derived and explained as meaning to tremble (Peshito), to be disturbed (Vulgate), to be smitten (Saadias), to be wasted (Gesenius in Lex. Man.) etc. Kimchi, Luther, Calvin, the English Version, Vitringa, Lowth, J. D. Michaelis, Barnes, and Umbreit, make it mean to be *darkened*, which agrees well with the figures of the foregoing verse. But Gesenius (in Thes.), Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Ewald, Knobel, follow the Septuagint and Targum and the Arabic analogy, in giving it the sense of being *burnt* or *burnt up*. The agreement of ארץ with a masculine verb, here and in a few other cases (e. g. Gen. 13 : 6. Ps. 105 : 30), may be resolved into the rule of Hebrew syntax, that the verb, when it stands before its subject, often takes the simplest form without regard to the distinction of genders.—מאכלת, a derivative of אכל to devour, is peculiar not only to this book, but to this chapter. It denotes not the act of burning or consuming (Lee, Heb. Lex.), but the thing consumed. The particle before it is omitted by Gesenius and DeWette, but is really important as denoting that the language of the verse is metaphorical. The grammatical subject of יחמלו is not איש, but the people understood. The original construction is retained in the versions of Cocceius, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Barnes, and Ewald. The word *brother* may have merely its idiomatic meaning of *another person*, or be treated as emphatic, and as meaning that the nearest ties of blood were disregarded (Calvin). Kimchi supposes that although the figure of a conflagration seems to be dropped in the last clause, there is really a tacit allusion to the mutual ignition of one tree or piece of wood by another.

V. 19. The horrors of civil war are now presented under the fearful image of insatiable hunger, leading men to devour their own flesh. *And he tears on the right hand and is hungry* still, *and devours on the left and* still *they are not satisfied ; each the flesh of his* own *arm, they devour.* Ewald refers the first clause to the past and the second to the present ; Umbreit the first to the present and the second to the future. But the very intermingling of the past and future forms shows that the whole was meant to be descriptive. The first verb has been variously rendered to turn aside (Septuagint, Vulgate), to withdraw one's self (Pagninus, Montanus), to distribute (Schmidius), to plunder (Targum, Jarchi, Kimchi, Luther), to snatch

(Calvin, Grotius, English Version, Lowth); but the true sense seems to be to *cut* or *tear* (Junius, Cocceius, Henderson), particularly with the teeth (De Dieu), and thence to *devour* (Gesenius, DeWette, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel). The English version seems to make this verb agree with אִישׁ in v. 18 (he shall snatch); Calvin, Cocceius and Vitringa, with a distributive pronoun understood (rapiet quisque); J. D. Michaelis and the later Germans better still with an indefinite subject (*one devours* or *they devour*). The Prophet sees one assailing the other on the right, and the other in turn attacking him upon the left, and this double subject, corresponding to *a man* and *his brother* in verse 18, may have given occasion to the plural forms שִׂבְעוּ and יֹאכֵלוּ, corresponding to יַחְבֹּלוּ, the plural verbs referring to the people collectively, the singular nouns to the component individuals. The Targum explains *right* and *left* as meaning *south* and *north*; but they simply denote that the devouring should be mutual and extend in all directions. The *flesh of his own arm* is explained to mean the wealth of his kindred by the Targum (בנסי קריביה) and Grotius (res cognatorum); but the figures evidently have a stronger meaning. Eating and fighting are cognate ideas in the Hebrew etymology (compare לָחַם and נִלְחָם); but in this case the additional idea, that the fighting is between near kinsmen, is expressed by the strong figure of devouring one's own flesh, while the special mention of the arm may imply (as Hitzig and Hendewerk suggest) that the mutual destroyers ought to have been mutual protectors. Knobel indeed objects to this as a far-fetched explanation, and supposes simply an allusion to the fact that starving men do actually gnaw their arms, as the most convenient and accessible portion of the body. Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and Maurer give to *arm* itself the sense of *neighbour*, which is hardly justified by Jer. 19 : 9. Still less ground is there for an emendation of the text by reading רֵעִי for זַרְעִי, as proposed by Secker and approved by Lowth, on the authority of the Chaldee paraphrase (קריביה) and the Alexandrian text of the Septuagint (*τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ*) which varies from the common reading (*τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτοῦ*).

V. 20. The application of the figures in v. 19, is now made plain by the Prophet himself, who has been drawing no imaginary scene. It is Israel, the chosen race, that feeds on its own flesh. *They devour each the flesh of his own arm—Manasseh* (devours) *Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh*—and *together they* (are) *against Judah. For all this his wrath is not turned back and still his hand* (is) *stretched out.* The tribes here specified are chosen for two reasons: first, because Judah and Joseph were the most important branches of the stock of Israel, as well before as after the disruption; and secondly, because the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh were more nearly related to each other than to any of the rest, and therefore their

hostility afforded the most striking illustration of the mutual rancour which the Prophet had described as prevalent. The Targum, followed by Jarchi, greatly weakens the effect of the first clause by explaining את to be the preposition *with*, implying merely the conjunction of these two tribes against Judah, without any intimation of their mutual hostility. The repetition of the names in that case would be perfectly unmeaning. Gesenius, Hitzig, and Umbreit, also explain את as a preposition, but in the sense of *against*, which it seldom has, and which is in this case very far from being obvious. Ewald, DeWette, and Knobel, correctly adhere to the old construction given in the Septuagint, which takes את as the sign of the objective or accusative, and repeats the verb *devour* between the two proper names. Vitringa goes still further and makes all the names accusatives (Ephraimum Manassen, Manassen Ephraimum), which leaves the verb without a subject in the sentence, and wholly overlooks the objective particle. In the next clause various verbs have been supplied—they shall besiege (Septuagint), they shall unite (Targum), they make an attack (Augusti)—but the simplest method is to supply the verb of existence *are* or *shall be*. Hitzig denies that any joint action against Judah is ascribed to Manasseh and Ephraim. But יחדו seldom if ever means *alike* or *equally;* the cases cited by Gesenius (Thes. tom. 2. p. 589) may all be resolved into examples of the usual and proper sense, *at once*, *together*, implying unity of time, place, and action. Eichhorn's proposal to reject this clause as a gloss, upon the ground that it interrupts the sense and is at variance with the context (Hebr. Proph. II. p. 219), although not more unreasonable than the other propositions of the same kind which have been already stated, is nevertheless sufficiently absurd. Not only is it common for intestine wars to give occasion and give place to foreign ones, as Gesenius most truly says; but this clause really continues the description and adds greatly to its force, by suggesting the idea that the mutual enmity of these two kindred tribes could only be exceeded by their common hatred to their common relative, the tribe of Judah.—Grotius and Junius would refer this verse to the time of Sennacherib's invasion; but the kingdom of the ten tribes was then no longer in existence, and there seems to be no ground for Junius's assertion or conjecture, that the conquered Israelites were forced to serve in the Assyrian army against Judah. The allusions of the verse are not to one exclusive period, but to a protracted series of events. The intestine strifes of Ephraim and Manasseh, although not recorded in detail, may be inferred from various incidental statements. Of their ancient rivalry we have examples in the history of Gideon (Judges 8: 1–3) and Jephtha (Judges 12: 1–6); and as to later times, it is observed by Vitringa that of all who succeeded Jeroboam the Second on the throne of Israel, Pekahiah alone appears to have attained it without treachery or bloodshed. That Manasseh and Ephraim were both

against Judah, may refer either to their constant enmity or to particular attacks. No sooner did one party gain the upper hand in the kingdom of the ten tribes, than it seems to have addressed itself to the favourite work of harassing or conquering Judah, as in the case of Pekah, who invaded it almost as soon as he had waded to the throne through the blood of Pekahiah.—The repetition in the last clause intimates that even these extreme evils should be followed by still worse; that these were but the beginning of sorrows: that the end was not yet.

CHAPTER X.

The prophet first completes his description of the prevalent iniquity, with special reference to injustice and oppression, as a punishment of which he threatens death and deportation by the hands of the Assyrians, vs. 1–4. He then turns to the Assyrians themselves, God's chosen instruments, whom he had commissioned against Israel, to punish and degrade it, but whose own views were directed to universal conquest, to illustrate which the Assyrian himself is introduced as boasting of his tributary princes and his rapid conquests, which had met with no resistance from the people or their gods, and threatening Judah with a like fate, unaware of the destruction which awaits himself, imputing his success to his own strength and wisdom, and glorying, though a mere created instrument, over his maker and his mover, vs. 5–15. His approaching doom is then described under the figure of a forest suddenly and almost totally consumed by fire, vs. 16–19. This succession of events is to have the effect of curing the propensity to trust in man rather than God, at least among the elect remnant who survive; for though the ancient promises of great increase shall certainly be verified, only a remnant shall escape God's righteous judgments, vs. 20–23. To these the Prophet now addresses words of strong encouragement, with a renewed prediction of a judgment on Assyria similar to that on Midian at Oreb and on Egypt at the Red Sea, which is then described, in the most vivid manner, by an exhibition of the enemy's approach, from post to post, until he stands before Jerusalem, and then, with a resumption of the metaphor before used, his destruction is described as the prostration of a forest—trees and thickets—by a mighty axe, vs. 24–34.

It is commonly agreed that the close of the chapter relates chiefly, if not wholly, to the destruction of Sennacherib's army, recorded in ch. 37:

36. The exceptions to this statement, and the arguments on both sides, will be given in the exposition of v. 28.

For the best illustration of the geographical details in vs. 28–32, a general reference may here be given to Robinson's Palestine, § 9 (vol. 2. pp. 104—151).

V. 1. In these four verses, as in the different divisions of the ninth chapter, there is an accusation followed by a threatening of punishment. The sin denounced in the first two verses is that of oppression and injustice. The punishment threatened is desolation by a foreign foe, and its effect, captivity and death. *Woe unto them that decree decrees of injustice, and that write oppression which they have prescribed.* Many interpreters suppose two different kinds of public functionaries to be here described, viz. judges or magistrates and their clerks or scribes (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Abarbenel, Grotius, Junius), or evil counsellors and sovereigns or their secretaries (Clericus), or civil rulers and prophets (Hendewerk). The Piel form מְחֻקְּקֵי is explained as a causative by Pagninus, Montanus, Vatablus, and Munster (jubent scribere). Others suppose the distinction to be simply that between enacting and recording. But the more common and probable opinion is that the parallel verbs are here substantially synonymous, as חקק originally means to engrave, or inscribe by incision, which was probably the oldest mode of writing. Thus the Septuagint renders both *γράφοντι*. The metaphor of *writing* is used elsewhere to describe the decrees and providential purposes of God (Isai. 65 : 6. Job 13 : 26). Here the terms may include both legislative and judicial functions, which are not so nicely distinguished in ancient as in modern theories of government. The divine displeasure is expressed against all abuse of power. The primary sense of אוֶן seems to be inanity or nonentity ; then more specifically, the absence of truth and moral goodness ; and still more positively falsehood, injustice, wickedness in general. The primary import of עָמָל is *toil* or painful labour ; then (like the Greek and Latin *πόνος*, *labor*) suffering, vexation. It is related to אוֶן as the effect to the cause, as the oppression of the subject to the injustice of the ruler. The proper sense of both words is retained by Cocceius in his version (*statuta vanitatis, laborem scribentibus*). The masoretic accents require עָמָל to be governed by מְכַתְּבִים and separated from בְּכָתְבוֹ. This makes it necessary to supply a relative before the last verb. Otherwise, it would be more natural to understand מְכַתְּבִים as a title of office, and to supply the relative before עָמָל. This is pointed out by Aben Ezra as the true construction, and Luther accordingly has *Schriftgelehrte* as the subject of both clauses. Cocceius makes the whole refer to the elders of the people or hereditary magistrates, and the scribes or doctors of the law, by whom all public matters were controlled in our Saviour's time. By the חֹקְקֵי אָוֶן he under-

stands the traditions of the elders, and by עמל the yoke which they imposed upon the conscience. It is evident, however, that the Prophet is still describing the evils which existed in his own day, although not peculiar to it. The Piel form of the last verb, if it has any distinctive meaning, is a frequentative, and indicates repeated and habitual action.

V. 2. As the first verse describes the sinners and their sin, so the second sets forth its effect upon the people. *To turn aside* (or exclude) *from judgment the weak, and to take away* (by violence) *the right of the poor* (or afflicted) *of my people, that widows may be* (or so that widows are) *their spoil, and the fatherless they plunder.* The infinitive indicates the tendency and actual effect of their conduct. The Septuagint omits the preposition and governs judgment by the verb directly (ἐκκλίνοντες κρίσιν πτωχῶν). This form of expression frequently occurs in the sense of perverting justice or doing injustice (Deut. 27: 19. Lam. 3: 25. Ex. 23: 6. Deut. 26: 19. 24: 17. 1 Sam. 8: 3). Nearly allied to these, in form and meaning, is the phrase *to turn one aside in judgment* (Prov. 18: 5) *or in the gate*, as the place where courts were held in eastern towns (Amos 5: 12), or with an ellipsis of the second noun to turn the person aside, i. e. to deprive him of his right by false judgment (Mal. 3: 5. Isai. 29: 21), or with an ellipsis of both nouns (Exod. 23: 2). But the phrase here used is to turn one aside *from* the judgment, and seems intended to express not so much the idea of judging wrongfully as that of refusing to judge at all. 'Verus sensus est ut arceant pauperes a judicio, vel efficiant ut cadant causa (Calvin).' The same charge is brought against the rulers of Judah in ch. 1: 23. The expression *of my people* intimates, not only that the sufferers were Israelites, but that they sustained a peculiar relation to Jehovah, who is frequently described in Scripture as the protector of the helpless, and especially of widows and orphans (Ps. 68: 5). The second verb (גזל) means to take away by violence, and may here be understood either strictly, or figuratively in the sense of *violating* justice, as the Vulgate expresses it (ut vim facerent causae humilium).

V. 3. The wicked rulers are themselves addressed, and warned of an approaching crisis, when they must be deprived of all that they now glory in. *And* (though you are now powerful and rich) *what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the ruin* (which) *shall come from far* (though all may appear safe at home)? *To whom will ye flee for help, and where will ye leave your glory* (for safe-keeping)? The questions imply negation, as if he had said, you can do nothing to protect yourselves, there is no place of concealment for your glory. Junius and Tremellius make the construction hypothetical—what would you do?—to whom would you fly?—where could you

leave? But as this implies that the contingency alluded to might not occur, it virtually changes a threat into a promise, which would here be out of place, between the woe at the beginning of v. 1 and the menace at the end of v. 4. By the *day of visitation* Vitringa understands a day of inspection and examination; but this is a modern or a technical meaning of the term. Cocceius understands by the phrase, here and elsewhere, even in Ps. 8: 5, the time when God should be incarnate, and literally visit his people as a man. According to the usage of the Old Testament, the *day of visitation* is a time when God manifests his presence specially, whether in mercy or in wrath, but most frequently the latter. שׁוֹאָה originally signifies a noise or tumult, and is therefore peculiarly appropriate to the ruin caused by foreign invasions, such as those of the Assyrians and Babylonians, which appear to be alluded to. מִמֶּרְחָק תָּבוֹא is properly an independent clause—*from afar it shall come*—but in order to conform the expression to our idiom, a relative may be supplied as in the English version. The עַל, as Kimchi observes, is in this connexion simply equivalent to אֶל. The idea of fleeing for help is expressed by the same verb and noun in ch. 20: 6. By כָּבוֹד we are not simply to understand nobility (Musculus, Forerius, Henderson)—or wealth (Clericus, Lowth, Rosenmüller)—much less the gains of oppression and injustice (Jarchi)—least of all their idols (Hendewerk)—but whatever they now boasted of and trusted in.

V. 4. *It* (your glory) *does not bow beneath the prisoners, and* (yet) *they shall fall beneath the slain*—i. e. if they do not bow under the captives they shall fall under the slain—or, such of them as do not bow, etc. *Beneath* may either be strictly understood as meaning under their feet, or simply among them. Junius and Piscator understand it to mean *lower than* the captives and the slain. DeDieu and Rosenmüller make it an adverb meaning *down*. Ewald explains it to mean *instead of*, in the place or quality of, equivalent to *as*—as captives and as slain. Cocceius and Umbreit make the first clause interrogative—does he not bow among the captives? Kimchi, DeDieu, Gesenius, and DeWette, render בִּלְתִּי, *without me*, i. e. having forsaken me, or being forsaken by me (Junius)—without my interposition. Some make it mean *unless*, referring to what goes before—they can do nothing but bow, etc. (Ewald)—or to what follows—unless one bow, etc. they shall fall, etc. The Septuagint and Vulgate, Castalio and Clericus, take בִּלְתִּי in the sense of *lest* or *that not*, and continue the construction from the preceding verse—where will ye leave your glory, that ye bow not, etc. Luther adopts the same construction, but connects כָּרַע with כָּבוֹד in v. 3. Where will ye leave your glory, that it bow not, etc. This agrees well with Henderson's explanation of כָּבוֹד as meaning nobility or chief men, which would account also for the change to the plural form in

יִפֹּלוּ. DeDieu makes אסיר and הרוגים the subjects of the verbs—taking תחת as an adverb meaning down or beneath—'besides that the captive sinks, they shall fall down slain.' Knobel suggests, as a possible construction, that כרע may mean to bow down to the slaughter as in ch. 65 : 12, in which case both verbs would express the idea of a violent death. On the whole, the most natural interpretation of this difficult and much disputed verse is that which explains it as a solemn declaration that their glory and especially their noble chiefs must either go into captivity or fall in battle. The concluding formula—*for all this his wrath is not turned back and still his hand is stretched out*—again suggests the fearful thought that all these accumulated judgments would be insufficient to arrest the progress of the sinner or appease the wrath of God.

V. 5. The Assyrian is now distinctly brought into view, as the instrument which God would use in punishing his people. But instead of simply executing this task, the Assyrians would seek their own ends and exceed their commission, and for this they must themselves be punished. The Prophet begins therefore with a woe against them. *Woe unto Asshur* (the *Assyrian* or *Assyria* itself), *the rod of my anger, and the staff in their* (the Assyrians') *hand is my indignation*, i. e. its instrument. According to Kimchi, הוי is merely a לשון קריאה, or particle of calling, by which God summons the Assyrian to punish Israel. So Munster: O Assur (veni ut sis) virga, etc. It is also rendered *O* by Pagninus, Montanus, Forerius, Vatablus, and Calvin, who suggests however that it may be taken as an expression of grief (*alas!*) on God's part, at the necessity of punishing his people. Lowth translates it *Ho!* DeWette *Ha!* But the analogy of v. 1 and the subsequent threatenings are decisive in favour of the common version. A pronoun of the second person is supplied after הוי by Clericus (vae vobis Assyrii), and J. D. Michaelis (wehe dir, Assyrien), while DeDieu supplies the substantive verb after אשור (Heus! Assyria est virga, etc). But it is simpler to connect the particle as usual directly with the noun, as in the Septuagint (οὐαὶ Ἀσσυρίοις) and most other versions. Junius, Piscator, and the margin of the English Bible give to the second *vav* the sense of *for* or *though*, which is needless and unauthorized. The Vulgate, Aben Ezra, Luther, Calvin, DeDieu, Vatablus, and Clericus, take הוא as a demonstrative equivalent to *hic*, *ille*, *ipse*, or the like. Pagninus, Cocceius, Schmidius, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, treat it as a relative (*the rod which*), and Gesenius gives the same sense, by supposing an ellipsis of אשר, and making הוא the substitute or index of the verb *to be*. For בידם, Secker reads ביום (*in the day of my wrath*), a mere conjecture. The preposition is omitted by Luther and Clericus (est manus eorum). The words הוא בידם are rejected by Hitzig and Ewald as a gloss, on the ground that they render the

two clauses inconsistent, one describing Assyria as itself the rod, the other putting a rod into Assyria's own hand, whereas in v. 14 Assyria is still represented as the rod and not as the rod-bearer. Hendewerk, DeWette, and Knobel, avoid the conclusion by connecting שבט אפי with the verb to be supplied in the second clause—'the rod of my anger and the staff of my indignation, it is in their hand.' But in v. 24 (cf. ch. 9 : 3) Assyria reappears as a rod-bearer, and the chief point and beauty of the verse before us lies in the alleged inconsistency of representing the Assyrian, by whose rod the Israelites were smitten, as himself a mere rod in the hand of God. Such emendations are as puerile in taste as they are inconsistent with the favourite German canon, that the harder reading is presumptively the true one. Any school-boy can expound the hardest passage in the classics by omitting what he pleases on the score of *inconcinnity*. The disputed words are retained by Gesenius, Maurer, Hendewerk, DeWette, Umbreit, Knobel. According to Junius, Hendewerk, and DeWette, זעמי is governed by מטה (the staff is in their hand of my indignation), and Schmidius, Clericus, Rosenmüller and Gesenius, give the same sense by repeating מטה before זעמי (q. d. the staff in their hand is the staff of my indignation). The Septuagint connects the last word of this verse with the next (*τὴν ὀργήν μου ἀποστελῶ*).

V. 6. *Upon* (or against) *an impious nation* (i. e. Israel, including Ephraim and Judah) *will I send him* (the Assyrian), *and against the people of my wrath* (i. e. the people that provokes it and deserves it and is to experience it) *I will commission him* (or give him his orders), *to take spoil and to seize prey* (literally to *spoil spoil* and to *prey prey*), *and to place* (or render) *it* (the people) *a trampling* (a thing to be trodden under foot, a common figure for extreme degradation) *like the mire of streets*. See the same comparison in ch. 5 : 25 and Ps. 18 : 43.—According to Cocceius the use of the word גוי in application to Israel implies that they had now become gentiles or heathen. But the word seems to be simply used as a poetical equivalent to עם. On the meaning of חנף, vide supra ch. 9 : 16. Aben Ezra, Lowth, Gesenius and others, explain *people of my wrath* as meaning simply the people at whom I am angry ; but a stronger meaning seems to be required by the form of the expression and the context. Cocceius, with perverse ingenuity, refers the suffix in עברתי to עם, which could not take it in construction, and translates the phrase *populum excandescentiae meum*, implying that they were (or had been) his people, but were now the objects of his wrath. The Septuagint changes the sense by omitting עברתי (*τῷ ἐμῷ λαῷ*). The true sense is not ill expressed in the paraphrase of Forerius, *populum quem duriter tractare decrevi*. Piscator understands by גוי חנף the Jews exclusively, in which he is followed by Henderson, who argues from

vs. 9–11, that the kingdom of the ten tribes is regarded in this passage as destroyed already. But, as Vitringa had before observed, the Assyrians did not reduce Judah to an extreme of desolation, and in Sennacherib's invasion Jerusalem, though pre-eminently guilty, was unharmed. Besides, the connexion between this and the next chapter forbids the exclusive reference to Judah.

V. 7. The Assyrian is now described as an unconscious instrument in God's hand, and as entertaining in his own mind nothing but ambitious plans of universal conquest. *And he* (Assyria personified, or the king of Assyria) *not so will think* (will not *imagine* for what purpose he was raised up, or will not *intend* to execute my will), *and his heart not so will think* (or purpose); *for* (on the contrary) *to destroy* (is) *in his heart, and to cut off nations not a few*, i. e. by a litotes common in Hebrew, *very many nations*. According to Cocceius לא כן ידמה (from דמה to resemble) means *he will not* (or does not) *think as I do*. But the sense of imagining or purposing appears to be fully justified by usage.

V. 8. This verse introduces the proof and illustration of his selfishness and pride. *For he will say* (or giving it a descriptive form, *he says*) *are not my princes altogether kings*, or *at the same time kings*, mere princes with respect to me, but kings as to all the world besides? By exalting his tributary princes or the nobles of his court, he magnifies himself the more. The oriental monarchs, both in ancient and modern times, have affected the title of *Great King* (Isai. 36: 4. Hos. 8: 10), and *King of kings* (Ezek. 26: 7. Dan. 2: 37), corresponding to the Greek *μέγαλοι βασιλεῖς, βασιλεῖς βασιλέων*, and the Persian شاهنشاه. This is the more offensive because such titles properly belong to God alone (Ps. 95: 3. Dan. 2: 47. 8: 25. Matth. 5: 35).

V. 9. Having boasted of his princes, he now boasts of his achievements *Is not Calno like Carchemish?* Have they not been equally subdued by me? *Or* is *not Hamath like Arpad? Or* is *not Samaria like Damascus!* Similar boastings were uttered by Rabshakeh (ch. 36: 19, 20. 37: 12, 13). These conquests were the more remarkable because so speedily achieved, and because the Assyrians had before confined themselves within their own limits. All the towns named were further north than Jerusalem, and probably commanded the navigation of the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. *Carchemish* was a fortified town on an island in the Euphrates, at the mouth of the Chaboras, called by the Greeks *Κιρχήσιον*, and in Latin *Cercusium*. It had its own king (Isai. 37: 13) and its own gods (Isai. 36: 19), and was taken by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings 15: 29). *Calno* was

the *Ctesiphon* of the Greeks, on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite Seleucia. It is identified by Kimchi with the *Calneh* of Gen. 10 : 10, and by Bochart with the *Canneh* of Ezek. 27 : 23. *Hamath* was a city of Syria, on the Orontes, the mouth of which river, according to Keith (Land of Israel, ch. 2. § 3), is the *entering into Hamath*, sometimes mentioned as the northern boundary of Canaan in its widest extent (Num. 34 : 8. Josh. 13 : 5). It was called by the Greeks *Epiphania*. Abulfeda, the Arabian historian, reigned there about the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is now one of the largest towns in Asiatic Turkey, having about 100,000 inhabitants. *Arpad*, another town of Syria, near Hamath, with which it is several times named. Junius and Paulus regard it as the name of a region. Grotius, Döderlein and others, confound it with *Arvad* in Phenicia (Gen. 10 : 8) ; but none of the ancient versions do so, and ר is not interchangeable with ב. It is mentioned last in Jer. 49 : 23, and is probably no longer in existence. According to Jerome, there were two Hamaths, one the same with Epiphania, the other with Antioch, the Hamath Rabba of Amos 6 : 2. Vitringa supposes the Hamath here mentioned to be not the Epiphania but the Emesa (or Emissa) of the Greek and Roman writers. The latest authorities are all in favour of the other explanation. According to Jarchi, the Assyrian in this verse is still boasting of his tributaries—' as the sons of Carchemish are princes and rulers, so are those of Calno '—which is altogether arbitrary. The Targum, followed by Aben Ezra, Calvin, and Gill, refers the questions of this verse to the future. *Shall not Calno be as Carchemish ?* i. e. as I have subdued Carchemish, shall I not in like manner subdue Calno ? But the great majority of writers understand the passage as explained above, although they differ in the form of their translations. Some adhere strictly to the form of the original without supplying any thing (Vulgate, Calvin, Cocceius, Vitringa). Some supply the present of the verb *to be* (Luther, Piscator, Clericus, Lowth, Barnes, Henderson, Ewald, Knobel). Some introduce another verb—shall it not perish (Aben Ezra)—did it not happen (ging's nicht ? Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Umbreit). J. D. Michaelis omits the interrogation, and the Peshito substitutes *behold!*—אם לא, as usual, continues the interrogative introduced by הלא (Nordheimer, § 1090. 4. *a.*). It is most exactly rendered *or not* (oder nicht), by Hendewerk, Ewald and Umbreit—less exactly, as a simple interrogative without negation, by Luther, Lowth, Barnes and Henderson—as a negative interrogation, but without expressing אם, by Hitzig and Vitringa—as a mere disjunctive (oder) by Gesenius.

V. 10. *As my hand hath found* (i. e. reached and seized) *the idol-kingdoms* (worshippers of idols)—*and their images* (anglice, whose images were more) *than* (those of) *Jerusalem and Samaria*—the apodosis of the sen-

tence follows in the next verse. Barnes explains *found* as meaning *found them helpless;* and J. H. Michaelis, *found strength to subdue them;* both which are forced and arbitrary. Gesenius, Maurer, Umbreit, suppose it to mean *struck*, as an arrow *finds* the mark; but this idea is rather implied than expressed, both here and in Psalm 21 : 9. 1 Sam. 23 : 17. The ideas naturally suggested are those of detecting and reaching. The original import of אלילים is retained in translation by Cocceius and Vitringa (regna nihili), both of whom however understand it to mean idols. The singular form is retained by Theodotion (*τοῦ εἰδώλου*), the Vulgate (regna idoli), and Umbreit (des Götzen). Ewald renders the whole phrase *Götzen-Länder*. Cocceius supposes that in using this expression, the king of Assyria is made to speak rather in the person of a Jew than in his own (pro eo quod requirebat *τὸ πρέπον* personae, substituitur quod requirit veritas rei). Grotius understands him to express contempt of these foreign gods as in their nature inferior to his own; but the reference is rather to their having proved unable to protect their votaries. The heathen nations of antiquity do not seem to have denied the real existence and divinity of one another's gods, but merely to have claimed superior honours for their own.—Instead of the comparative sense *than*, the Vulgate gives to מִן its local sense of *from* (de), which seems to mean that the idols of the kingdoms were derived from Israel, a fact which Jarchi does not scruple to assert, though not only unsupported but directly contradicted by all history. Vatablus gives the same construction but refers the words, with less improbability, to the inferior and dependent towns of Israel, as having learned idolatry from the royal cities. On the whole, however, though the sentence is at best obscure, the most satisfactory construction, both in a grammatical and historical point of view, is that adopted by the great majority of writers, not excepting the most learned of the Rabbins, David Kimchi, and which takes מִן as a particle of comparison. Kimchi and Calvin govern *Samaria* and *Jerusalem* directly by the preposition; most other writers repeat *images* before them. The point of the comparison is not expressed in the original; those versions are too definite which render it more numerous, more precious, or more powerful, as all these particulars may be included. The second clause is parenthetical and disturbs the structure of the sentence by leaving the comparison, with which it opens, incomplete, although the remainder is sufficiently implied in the parenthesis itself. *As my hand has found the idol-kingdoms* [*so shall it find Samaria and Jerusalem.*] This, which would seem to be the natural apodosis, is formally excluded but substantially supplied by the last clause of the sentence as it stands. As if he had said, 'Since my hand has found the idol-kingdoms whose images exceeded those of Jerusalem and Samaria, much more shall it find Jerusalem and Samaria themselves.' But instead of a protasis without an apodosis, Gesenius and Maurer describe the

sentence as a double protasis with one apodosis. 'As my hand has found the idol-kingdoms (whose images exceeded those of Jerusalem and Samaria), and as I have done to Samaria itself, shall I not, etc.' This supposes Samaria to be regarded, even in v. 10, as already conquered.

V. 11. *Shall I not, as I have done to Samaria and to her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her gods?* The interrogative particle, which properly belongs to the second verb, is placed at the beginning of the sentence, in order to give prominence to its interrogative form, which involves an affirmation of the strongest kind. This effect is wholly neutralized by rendering הלא *much more* (Piscator), *furthermore* (Hendewerk), *yes* (Ewald), or *behold* (Gesenius, Hitzig). Because an interrogative construction is employed in Hebrew where in other tongues a simple exclamation would be used, it does not follow that the one can be substituted for the other without doing violence to the usage and genius of the language. The facts alleged by Gesenius (in his Thesaurus s. v.), that הלא, as used in the Books of Kings, is generally changed in Chronicles to הנה, and that the Septuagint frequently translates the former *ἰδού*, may prove a change of idiomatic usage, but cannot change the meaning of הלא itself, or make that meaning less acceptable to every unsophisticated taste than the arbitrary substitute proposed. Still more objectionable is the omission of הלא altogether. Luther, Vitringa, and J. D. Michaelis, give the verb in this interrogation a subjunctive form,—*may, might, could, or should I not do?* It is best however to retain the simple future, as most writers do.—The English Version and some others use the same word to translate אלילים and עצבים, which are in fact synonymous, although the latter signifies originally *trouble, sorrow*, with reference perhaps to the ultimate effect of image worship on the worshippers. The two words are differently rendered by the Septuagint (*χειροποιήτοις, εἰδώλοις*), the Vulgate (idolis, simulacris), the Targum, Junius, Vitringa, Gesenius, Ewald, Lowth (idols, images).

V. 12. To the boastful speech of the Assyrian succeeds a prediction of his fate. Although he had been suffered to proceed so far, and would be suffered to proceed still further, in the work of subjugation, till he reached the very verge of Zion and the portals of Jerusalem, God had determined that the work should go no further, but be there cut short by the infliction of a signal vengeance on the selfishness and pride of the invader. *And it shall be* (i. e. the end of all this glorying shall be) *that the Lord will cut his work short at Mount Zion and at Jerusalem.* (Yes, even there) *will I visit* (i. e. manifest my presence for the purpose of inflicting punishment) *on the fruit* (or outward exhibition) *of the greatness of heart* (i. e. arrogance and pride) *of the king of Assyria, and on the ostentation* (or display) *of*

his loftiness of eyes (or looks, a common scriptural expression for great haughtiness). *His work* may mean the Assyrian's work of conquest, or the Lord's own work of punishment, in reference either to Assyria or Israel. Either of these senses may be preferred without effect upon the meaning of the sentence. By the destruction of Sennacherib's army, God may be said to have cut short the work of that invader, or to have cut short his own work by accomplishing his purpose of destruction, or to have cut short his own work of punishing his people, by relieving them from danger. The last of these senses may, however, be retained, and yet the general meaning of the first clause wholly altered, as is actually done by nearly all interpreters, who take כִּי in the sense of *when*, and read the clause as it is rendered in the English Bible. *It shall come to pass, when the Lord hath performed his whole work on Mount Zion and in Jerasalem, that I will punish*, etc. i. e. the instrument of punishment shall be destroyed as soon as it has done its work. According to this view of the passage, the completion of God's work upon Mount Zion is a previous condition of his punishing Assyria; according to the other, the completion and the punishment are one and the same thing. The former interpretation is that unanimously given by all writers known to me, excepting Hitzig, who adopts a singular construction of his own, disregarding the accents and connecting *in Mount Zion and Jerusalem* with the second clause. He gives to כי however like the rest its more unfrequent sense of *when*, whereas the first interpretation above stated makes it as usual equivalent to *ὅτι*. The principal objection to this new construction, next to the great weight of authority against it, is the meaning which it puts upon the preposition before *Zion* and *Jerusalem*. This, it is said, can only mean *within* the walls, and cannot therefore have respect to the destruction of the host *without*. But the preposition sometimes denotes mere proximity, even when prefixed to nouns denoting place, e. g. בעין at the fountain, 1 Sam. 29: 1, בנהר כבר by the river of Chebar, Ezek. 10: 15, and בצור עורב at the rock Oreb, in this very chapter, v. 26. (See Gesenius's Thesaurus, tom. 1. p. 172.) To the common explanation it may be objected that יבצע does not mean simply to finish, but to finish abruptly or cut short (Isai. 38: 12. Job 6: 9), which is certainly not so appropriate to the deliberate execution of a purpose as to its sudden interruption. It is true that according to Cocceius, Vitringa, and Gesenius (in Thesauro), there is an allusion to the weaver's cutting out the web when it is finished; but there seems to be no sufficient ground for this assertion. J. D. Michaelis and Gesenius translate אפקד as a third person, which removes the appearance of grammatical irregularity, but only by the sacrifice of strict adherence to the form of the original, which, when attainable, adds greatly to the value of a version, both in point of utility and taste. In this case the enallage is highly emphatic—'the Lord will cut short'—

yes 'I will visit.' There is the same objection to the gratuitous omission of יהיה by Luther, Clericus, Piscator, J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Henderson and Ewald. That phrase is not an idiomatic pleonasm, or intended to determine the futurity of what directly follows—but an emphatic clause connecting this verse with the one before it—q. d.: such are the boasts and such the expectations of Assyria, *but it shall be*, i. e. the end shall be, the end of all this glorying and of all these threats shall be, *that the Lord will cut short*, etc. J. D. Michaelis is singular in giving to the verb אפקד the sense of *looking down upon* (wird er herabblicken). Here, as in ch. 9 : 8, *greatness of heart* is a temper opposite to that of the *lowly in heart* and the *poor in spirit*, who are represented in the New Testament as peculiarly acceptable to God. (Matt. 5 : 3. 11 : 29.) According to Henderson there is an implied antithesis between the looks considered as the *leaves* and the actions as the *fruit* of the same tree, all which is more ingenious than natural. Gesenius and Maurer seem to restrict the meaning of תפארת to mere ostentation and parade ; but it is best to take it in a wider sense, as including all the outward manifestations of an arrogant spirit.

V. 13. The Assyrian is again introduced as speaking, and as arrogating to himself the two most necessary qualities of a successful ruler, to wit, energy and wisdom, military prowess and political sagacity. The last clause gives the proofs of the assertion in the first, and mentions three things which the boaster had disposed of at his pleasure, political arrangements, money, and men. *For he saith* (in heart and life, if not in words) *by the strength of my* (own) *hand I have done* (all this), *and by my* (own) *wisdom, for I am wise* (as well as strong), *and* (in the exercise of these two attributes) *I remove the bounds of the nations, and rob their hoards, and bring down, like a mighty man* (as I am), *the inhabitants.* J. H. Michaelis takes עשיתי in the sense of *making* gain or profit, as in Ez. 28 : 4 ; but it is better to translate it *I have done*, and understand it as referring to the series of successes just before enumerated.—Cocceius and Vitringa make the next clause mean, *it is through my wisdom that I have acted prudently*, a construction far inferior, in simplicity and strength, to the obvious and common one proposed above. The removing of the bounds appears to be explained in the Targum as descriptive of his conquering progress from one province to another (ממדינא למדינא) ; but the true sense is the more specific one of destroying the distinctions between nations by incorporation in a single empire. עתידותיהם is variously rendered by the Septuagint (*τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν*), Junius (instructissima loca eorum), and Cocceius (et fixa eorum), but according to its etymology denotes things *laid up* or kept in store for future use ; hence treasures, with particular reference to their being hoarded. The Keri כביר for כאביר is unnecessary, as the כ in the latter is a *caph veritatis*, denoting

comparison, not with something wholly different, but with the class to which the thing itself belongs. Thus *like a mighty man* does not imply that the person spoken of was not of that description, but that he was—'*like a mighty man or hero* as I am.' As the primary meaning of ישב is to *sit*, some writers explain ישבים as meaning those who sit on high (Vulgate, J. D. Michaelis) or on thrones (Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel), and הורדתי in the sense of displacing or dethroning. There is no necessity, however, for departing from the less poetical but more familiar sense, *inhabitants* and *bringing down*, i. e. subduing.

V. 14. The rapidity and ease of the Assyrian conquests is expressed by a natural and beautiful comparison. In seizing on the riches of the nations, the conqueror had encountered no more difficulty than if he had been merely taking eggs from a forsaken nest, without even the impotent resistance which the bird, if present, might have offered, by its cries and by the flapping of its wings. *My hand has found* (i. e. reached and seized) *the strength* (or more specifically, the pecuniary strength, the *wealth*) *of the nations, and like the gathering of* (or as one gathers) *eggs forsaken, so have I gathered all the earth* (i. e. all its inhabitants and their possessions) *and there was none that moved a wing, or opened a mouth, or chirped.*—The present form, which Hendewerk adopts throughout the verse, is equally grammatical, but less in keeping with the context, which seems to represent the speaker as describing not his habits but his past exploits. Clericus renders חיל by *moenia*, as being the strength or defences of a besieged city, and the Vulgate takes it as an abstract meaning *strength* itself, which is its primary import; but interpreters are generally agreed in giving it the more specific sense of *wealth*, or strength derived from property, an idea which seems to be more fully expressed by our word *substance*. The meaning of עמים is here again obscured in the English Version by the use of the singular form *people*, for which Lowth has substituted *peoples*, thereby conveying the true sense of the original, but at the same time violating the prevalent usage of the English language. Hitzig gives to ידי מצא the sense of reaching after; but according to usage and the common judgment of interpreters, the particle is here a mere connective of the verb and object. The infinitive construction כאסף is expressed in the passive form by the Vulgate (sicut colliguntur), Calvin, Clericus, and Vitringa, and as a verb of the first person by Junius (quasi reciperem) and Cocceius (quasi auferrem), but as an indefinite construction by Luther (wie man aufrafft) and most modern writers. The pronoun before אספתי is omitted in some versions as unnecessary to the sense, but it is for that very reason emphatic and adds to the boastful tone of the Assyrian's language. Fürst and Ewald follow some of the Rabbins in making נדד, which is elsewhere intransitive, agree with כנף (flatternden

Flügels), which is itself construed adverbially by Calvin (qui abigeret alâ) and Cocceius (divagans alâ). The construction of מצפצפ as a gerund by Clericus (ad pipiendum) and Gesenius (zum Gezirp) is a needless departure from the form of the original. The word *peeped* (pipio) used in the English version is not only obsolete but liable to be confounded with another of like form from another root. (See Richardson's English Dictionary, vol. I. p. 1433.) The terms of the last clause may be understood as having reference to young birds; but in that case there are two distinct comparisons confusedly mingled in one sentence. In either case the language is designed to be descriptive of entire non-resistance to the progress of the Assyrian conquests, and although designedly exaggerated in expression, agrees well with the historical statements, not only of the Scriptures, but of Ctesias, Berosus, Herodotus, Diodorus, Justin, and Trogus.

V. 15. Yet in all this the Assyrian was but an instrument in God's hand, and his proud self-confidence is therefore as absurd as if an axe or a saw or a rod or a staff should exalt itself above the person wielding it. *Shall the axe glorify itself above the* (person) *hewing with it? Or shall the saw magnify itself above the* (person) *handling it?* (This is indeed) *like a rod's wielding those who wield it, like a staff's lifting* (that which is) *no wood* (viz. a man). The idea is not merely that of boastful opposition but of preposterous inversion of the true relation between agent and instrument, between mind and matter.—The potential form *may* or *can the axe* (Luther, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis), and the present form *does the axe* (Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, DeWette, Ewald), although not incorrect, are less emphatic than the future proper, *shall the axe glorify itself?* i. e. shall it be suffered so to do? Would not such assumption, if it were possible, be intolerable? Barnes corrects the common version by omitting the reflexive pronoun after *boast;* but יתפאר does not simply mean to use boastful language, but by boasting to exalt one's self in comparison with others. (Judges 7 : 2.) The preposition על therefore does not mean merely *in the presence of* (Hitzig), nor even *against* (English Bible), but should have its proper sense of *over* or *above*. Lowth, Barnes, and Henderson omit the *or* before the second question, perhaps because the English Bible gives it in italics; but the Hebrew word has often a disjunctive meaning, when preceded in construction by the common interrogative particle. A figurative sense is put upon יתגדל by Luther (trotzen), Gesenius (brüstet), and the later German writers; but the literal version *magnify itself* is perfectly intelligible and retains the precise form of the original. הניף is variously rendered *draw* (Septuagint, Vulgate), *shake* (Calvin), *guide* (Cocceius), *move* (Clericus), etc. The essential idea is that of motion, determined and qualified by the nature of the thing moved. The Hebrew verb is specially ap-

propriated to denote the handling or wielding of a tool or implement (Deut. 23 : 25. 27 : 5. Ex. 20 : 25). Piscator, Gataker, and others, take the כ before the verbs of the last clause as a specification of time—*when one shakes a rod* or *when a staff is lifted up*—but this construction, although not ungrammatical, introduces several very harsh ellipses. A writer quoted by Vatablus takes the double כ as the sign of a comparison, *as—so*, but this would be comparing a thing merely with itself. Most interpreters follow the Septuagint version in rendering the particle *as if*. This is no doubt the sense, but the precise construction is *like the lifting of a staff*, not in the passive sense of being lifted (*ὡς ἂν τις ἄρῃ ῥάβδον*), but in the active one of lifting something else, *like a rod's lifting those who lift it*. The construction which makes את a preposition meaning *in the power of, dependent on*, is arbitrary in itself and does not yield so good a sense. The Vulgate, the Peshito, and the English Version, give הרים a reflexive sense, and either read על for את, or take the latter in the sense of *against*, as Calvin and Piscator do. The margin of the English Bible gives another version, which is that of Junius and Cocceius, and the one now commonly adopted as the simplest and most natural.—Gesenius, Hitzig, DeWette, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel, make מרימיו a pluralis majestaticus designed to enhance the contrast between mind and matter. It is much more natural, however, to explain it as a plural proper, as is done by Maurer, Hendewerk, and Henderson.—As examples of misplaced ingenuity I add, that J. D. Michaelis (in his Notes for the Unlearned) explains שבט as the stock or handle in distinction from the iron of the axe or saw, and that DeDieu proposes to take הרים as the plural of הר a mountain—'as if the staff were *mountains*, not a piece of wood'—a construction which is not only forced, but inconsistent with the strict correspondence of כהניף and כהרים. The same objection lies against Forerius's construction of the last clause—'as if the lifting of a staff (were) not (the lifting of) *a piece of wood*.'—Junius, Cocceius, and most later writers, understand לא־עֵץ as a peculiar idiomatic compound (like לא־אֵל and לא־עָם, Deut. 32 : 21, לא־אִישׁ and לא־אָדָם Isai. 31: 8, comp. Jer. 5: 7), meaning that which is very far from being wood, of an opposite nature to wood, i. e. according to Cocceius and Henderson, *God* himself, but more correctly *man*, since the case supposed is that of a man brandishing a rod or staff, the relation between them being merely used to *illustrate* that between Jehovah and Assyria considered as his instrument. The last clause of this verse has not only been very variously explained by modern writers, but given great difficulty to the old translators, as appears from the inconsistent and unmeaning versions of it.

V. 16. *Therefore* (on account of this impious self-confidence) *the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, will send upon his fat ones leanness, and under his glory*

shall burn a burning like the burning of fire. The accumulation of divine names calls attention to the source of the threatened evil, and reminds the Assyrian that Jehovah is the only rightful Sovereign and the God of Battles. This combination occurs nowhere else, and even here above fifty manuscripts and twelve printed editions read יהוה for אדני, and thereby assimilate the form of expression to that used in ch. 1 : 24. 3 : 1. 10 : 33. 19 : 5. This emendation is approved by Lowth, Ewald, and Henderson, who says that "in consequence of Jewish superstition, the divine name has been tampered with by some copyist." It is much more probable, however, that an unusual form was exchanged for a common one in a few copies, than that Jewish superstition tampered with the divine name in a single place, and left it untouched in at least four others.—Gesenius and DeWette use the present form *sends ;* but in a case of threatening, the future proper is far more appropriate. This particular form of the Hebrew verb is often used with the same preposition to denote the infliction of penal sufferings. The best translation, therefore, is not *send among* but *send upon,* implying the action of a higher power (compare Ezek. 7 : 3 and 5 : 7). Hitzig regards משמניו as an abstract meaning *fatnesses* or *fatness,* and Cocceius, Vitringa, and J. H. Michaelis translate it by a plural neuter (pinguia) meaning fat things or parts ; Ewald more explicitly, *his fat limbs,* which supposes an allusion to a body. Most interpreters, however, understand it as an epithet of persons (fat ones), as in Ps. 78 : 31, viz. the Assyrian warriors or their chiefs, so called as being stout and lusty. The sending of leanness upon them seems to be a figure for the reduction of their strength, with or without allusion to the health of individuals. Some suppose an exclusive reference to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army, others a more general one to the decline of the Assyrian power. Both are probably included, the first as one of the most striking indications of the last.—By *glory* we are not to understand the splendid dress of the Assyrian soldiers (Jarchi), nor the army (Vitringa), nor the great men of the army or the empire (Lowth), nor the glorying or boasting of the king (Kimchi), but magnificence and greatness in the general, civil and military, moral and material. The preposition תחת may either mean *instead of, in exchange for* (Peshito), or *in the place of,* i. e. in the place occupied by (Junius), or literally *under,* which is probably the true sense, as it agrees best with the figure of a fire, which is then described as kindled at the bottom of the splendid fabric, with a view to its more complete destruction—Luther, Calvin, the English Version and some others, make יקד a transitive verb meaning to kindle and agreeing with Jehovah, or the king of Assyria ; but in all the other places where it occurs it is intransitive, and is so rendered by the Vulgate (ardebit) and the recent writers, agreeing with יקד, which is not here an infinitive, though so explained by Cocceius (ardebit ardendo), but a noun. Cocceius is singular in supposing that

this last clause is descriptive of the rage and spite excited in Sennacherib by his first repulse from Judah. Other interpreters regard it as descriptive of the slaughter of Sennacherib's army, as caused by a burning disease or pestilential fever (Junius, J. H. Michaelis, J. D. Michaelis)—others more naturally as a lively figure for the suddenness, completeness, and rapidity of the destruction, without direct allusion to the means or cause (Calvin, Clericus, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, Barnes, Henderson). Gesenius, who excludes any special reference to Sennacherib's army, understands by the fire here described the flames of war in general.

V. 17. *And the Light of Israel shall be for a fire* (i. e. shall become one, or shall act as one), *and his Holy One for a flame, and it shall burn and devour his* (the Assyrian's) *thorns and briers in one day* (i. e. in a very short time.)—אור always denotes *light*, literal or figurative. In the places cited by Barnes (ch. 44 : 16. 47 : 14. Ezek. 5 : 2), the idea of *fire* is denoted by a cognate but distinct form (אוּר). According to Jarchi, the Light of Israel is the Law of God, while another rabbinical tradition applies it to Hezekiah. It is no doubt intended as an epithet of God himself, so called because he enlightened Israel by his Word and Spirit, and cheered them by the light of his countenance. There may be an allusion to the pillar of cloud, and some think to the angel of God's presence who was in it. The Vulgate even renders לאש *in igne* which is wholly unauthorized. There seems to be no sufficient reason for supposing with Vitringa that the Prophet alludes to the worship of Light or the God of Light among the heathen under the names Ὧρος, *Horus*, probably derived from אור. There seems to be an antithesis between light and fire. He who was a light to Israel was a fire to Assyria. Some of the early Jews read קדושׁו as a plural, meaning *his saints*, i. e. the pious Jews in the days of Hezekiah. The thorns and the briers are explained by Jarchi as a figure for the chiefs of the Assyrians—by Lowth, Ewald, Umbreit and others, for the common soldiers as distinguished from the officers and princes, the forest-trees of the ensuing context—but by most interpreters, with more probability, as a figure for the whole body, either in allusion to their pointed weapons (Gesenius, Henderson), or to their malice and vexation of the Jews (Kimchi, Grotius, Hitzig), or to their combustible nature and fitness for the fire (Clericus, Barnes). Vitringa supposes a threefold allusion to their number and confusion as a great mixed multitude, their mischievous hostility, and their impending doom. Here as in the foregoing verse, fire is mentioned as a rapid and powerful consuming agent, without express allusion to the manner or the means of the destruction threatened.

V. 18. *And the glory* (i. e. beauty) *of his* (the Assyrian's) *forest and his fruitful field, from soul to body* (i. e. totally), *will he* (the Lord) *con-*

sume, and it shall be like the wasting away of a sick man.—Clericus reads *their forest*, but the reference is not so much to the Assyrians collectively as to the king who was their chief and representative. By *his forest* some writers understand *his host* collectively, his individual soldiers or their arms being the *trees* which composed it; others, the chief men as distinguished from the multitude, the *thorns and briers* of the verse preceding.—The Vulgate, Clericus, Rosenmüller and Augusti, take כרמלו as a proper name (*his Carmel*), the mountain or mountains of that name being noted for fertility. The name, however, is itself significant, being derived by some of the older writers from כר *a pasture*, and מלא *full* (Vitringa) or מול *to cut* (Bochart) —by others from כרם *a vineyard* and אל the name of God, *a vineyard of God*, i. e. a choice or fruitful vineyard (Lowth, Lee)—but by most of the recent lexicographers from כרם a vineyard, with the addition of ל, making it diminutive (Gesenius, Winer, Fürst). In its primary import it may be applied to any highly cultivated or productive spot, a garden, vineyard, orchard, or the like, and its appropriation as a proper name is altogether secondary. Henderson renders it *plantation.* Here it may either be equivalent and parallel to forest, in which case it would signify a park stocked with choice and noble trees (Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, DeWette)—or it may be in antithesis to *forest*, and denote a cleared and cultivated field (Ewald, Umbreit, etc.). Kimchi would understand by *forest* the chief men, and by *fruitful field* their wealth and especially their military stores. Vitringa thinks it possible that the *forest* is Nineveh the royal city, the *fruitful field* the country at large, and the *glory* of both the wealth and magnificence of the whole empire, as concentrated and displayed in Sennacherib's army. The obvious and true interpretation is, that the Prophet meant to represent the greatness of Assyria under figures borrowed from the vegetable world, and for that purpose uses terms descriptive of the most impressive aspects under which a fruitful land presents itself, forests and harvest-fields, the two together making a complete picture, without the necessity of giving to each part a distinctive import. The *forest* and the *fruitful field*, here applied to Assyria, are applied by Sennacherib himself to Israel (ch. 37: 24). Cocceius and Vitringa construe כבוד as an absolute nominative—*and as to the glory*—but it is rather governed by the verb in the next clause.—As the terms *soul* and *flesh* are strictly inapplicable to the trees and fields, we must either suppose that the Prophet here discards his metaphor, and goes on to speak of the Assyrians as men, or that the phrase is a proverbial one, meaning *body and soul*, i. e. altogether, and is here applied without regard to the primary import of the terms, or their agreement with the foregoing figures. Either of these explanations is better than to understand the clause with Vatablus, as meaning that the fire would not only take away the lives (נפש) of the Assyrians, but consume their bodies

(בשר)—or with the Dutch Annotators, that the destruction would extend both to men (בנפש) and to beasts (בשר)—or with Musculus, that the progress of the fatal stroke would be not *ab extra* but *ab intra*, which J. D. Michaelis regards as an exact description of the plague.—In the English Version, the construction is continued from the preceding verse, as if יכלה and the verbs of that verse had a common subject. But as those verbs were feminine to agree with להבה, so this is masculine to agree with Jehovah, or the Light of Israel, or the Angel of his Presence. Henderson restores the Hebrew collocation, but makes *it* the subject of the verb consume. Lowth and Barnes more correctly supply *he*. This verb is rendered by a passive or a neuter in the Vulgate, Luther, and Augusti, as if it were the Kal and not the Piel. The same construction is ascribed to the Peshito in the Latin version of the London Polyglott; but as the Syriac verb (ܒܥܪ) has both an active and a neuter sense, and as the rest of the clause is in exact accordance with the Hebrew text, this translation does injustice to the faithfulness and skill of that celebrated version.—Some of the recent versions render והיה *so that it is* (Ewald, Umbreit), or *so that he is* (Hendewerk). Coccеius makes נסס the nominative before היה, Junius the nominative after it. The most natural construction is to read with Hendewerk, *he shall be* (i. e. the king of Assyria), or with the English Bible, *they shall be* (i. e. the Assyrians collectively), or with Hitzig indefinitely, *it shall be*, i. e. the end, issue, consequence, shall be, or the final state of things shall be.—The remaining words of the verse have been very variously explained. Junius takes כ as a particle of time, which sense it often has before the infinitive: *as* (i. e. when) *he decays*. All other writers seem to give it its usual comparative meaning. Aben Ezra makes מִסֹּס a noun analogous in form to רִקּוּד, in v. 16. All other writers seem to make it the infinitive of מָסַס to *melt*, dissolve, or waste away, literally or figuratively, with fear, grief, or disease.—Jarchi explains נִסֵּס as a cognate form to מֵס, and as being the name of a worm or insect which corrodes wood—*he shall be like the wasting of a wood-worm*—i. e. pulverized. The ancient versions make נִסֵּס the participle of נָסַס (i. q. נוּס) *to flee*, and Junius reads the whole clause thus—*and it shall be* (i. e. this shall come to pass) *when the fugitive shall melt away* (or be destroyed)—i. e. when Sennacherib, fleeing from Judah, shall be murdered at home. Coccеius explains נִסֵּס to mean that which is lofty or eminent, and takes it as the subject of חָיָה—*that which is lofty shall be like corruption or decay*. Kimchi derives the meaning of נִסֵּס from נֵס, an ensign or standard—*like the fainting of an ensign*, or *as when a standard-bearer falls* (the soldiers fly). This is followed by Calvin, by the French, Dutch and English versions, by Vatablus, Piscator, Gataker, and Clericus (who explains מִסֹּס of the standard-bearer's heart failing him). To this it has been objected, that נֵס never means a military standard, but a signal or a signal-pole,

and that no such effect as that supposed would necessarily follow from the flight or the fall of an ensign. The first of these objections applies also to the very different interpretation of Tremellius—*and he shall be a standard-bearer* (to the Assyrians) *at the time of* (their) *decline*. The most recent writers are agreed in adopting the derivation of נֹסֵס proposed by Hezel and Schelling, who compare it with the Syriac ܢܣ to be sick (whence the adjective ܢܣܝܣܐ), and explain the clause to mean *it* (or *he*) *is* (or *shall be*) *like the fainting* (or *wasting away*) *of a sick man*. None of the ancient versions give a literal translation of this clause. The Septuagint renders both מָסֹס and נֹסֵס by ὁ φεύγων, and adds ἀπὸ φλογὸς καιομένης, upon which Lowth does not hesitate to found a change of text. The Chaldee paraphrase is, *and he shall be broken and a fugitive*—the Syriac, *he shall be as if he had not been*—the Latin, *erit terrore profugus*. To these may be added Luther's—*he shall waste away and disappear*—and Augusti's—*there shall remain a wasted body*. This disposition to paraphrase the clause instead of translating it, together with the various ways in which it is explained, may serve to show how difficult and doubtful it has seemed to all interpreters, ancient and modern. The paronomasia in the original is not very happily copied by Gesenius—*wie einer hinschmachtet in Ohnmacht*.

V. 19. *And the rest* (or *remnant*) *of the trees of his forest shall be few, and a child shall write them*, i. e. make a list or catalogue, and by implication *number* them.—The singular form of עֵץ is retained in translation by the Vulgate and Calvin (reliquiae ligni), and the sense of wood, though in the plural, by Junius (reliqua ligna). *His forest* is omitted by Hendewerk, changed to *this forest* by J. D. Michaelis, to *the forest* by Gesenius, and to *their forest* by Clericus. The Septuagint substitutes ἀπ' αὐτῶν, and the Targum an explanatory paraphrase, *the rest of his men of war*.—In the Hebrew idiom, *number*, when absolutely used, has an opposite meaning to its usual sense in English and in Latin. By *a number*, we generally mean a considerable number; Horace says, *nos numerus sumus*, meaning, *we are many* (numerous); but in Hebrew, *men of number* is a few men (Gen. 34: 30. Deut. 4: 27. 33: 6). The idea seems to be that small amounts may easily be reckoned, with some allusion, Rosenmüller thinks, to the ancient usage of weighing large and counting only small sums. Thus Cicero speaks of treasures so vast *ut jam appendantur non numerentur pecuniae*, and Ovid says, of another kind of property, *pauperis est numerare pecus*. The same idiom exists in Arabic, the *numbered days* often mentioned in the Koran being explained by the commentators to mean *few*.—The plural יִהְיוּ may either agree with שְׁאָר as a collective, or with a plural understood—as for *the rest, they shall be few*. So J. H. Michaelis and Rosenmüller. In order to remove the ambiguity, the words יִהְיוּ מִסְפָּר are paraphrastically rendered by

the Vulgate (prae paucitate numerabuntur), Luther, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, Ewald, Umbreit. The English Version and some others simply substitute for מִסְפַּר its peculiar idiomatic sense of *few*.—According to Rosenmüller, there is an allusion in the last clause to a child just beginning to count, and as yet only able to reckon on its fingers, which he thinks will account for the rabbinical tradition that a definite number (ten) is here predicted, and that just that number of Sennacherib's army did in fact escape. Gill quotes another Jewish legend which reduces the number to five and specifies the persons. The first of these traditions is explained by Jarchi as involving an allusion to the letter *yodh* (the alphabetic representative of 10), as the smallest and simplest of the Hebrew characters, so that a child who was barely able to form this one would be competent to write down the number of those who should escape the slaughter. According to Gataker and Knobel, the idea is, that there would be no need of an inspector or a muster-master, any child would be able to discharge the office.

V. 20. *And it shall be* (or come to pass) *in that day* (that is, after these events have taken place), *that the remnant of Israel, and the escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no longer add* (i. e. continue) *to lean upon their smiter* (him that smote them), *but shall lean upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in truth.* There is here an allusion to the circumstances which gave rise to this whole prophecy. Ahaz, renouncing his dependence upon God, had sought the aid of Assyria, which secured his deliverance from present danger, but subjected the kingdom to worse evils from the very power to which they had resorted. But even these oppressions were to have an end in the destruction of the hostile power; and when this should take place, Judah, now instructed by experience, would no longer trust in tyrants but sincerely in Jehovah. Cocceius, Brentius, and Schmidius, refer this promise to the times of Christ exclusively, because this is the usual application of the phrase *that day;* because reliance upon God in truth is a peculiar promise of the new dispensation; because Israel did continue to rely on foreign aid, even after the decline of the Assyrian power; and because vs. 22, 23, are referred by Paul (Rom. 9: 27, 28) to the times of the New Testament. But since this prophecy immediately follows and precedes predictions of the downfall of Assyria, and since that power seems distinctly mentioned in the phrase מַכֵּהוּ, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that *in that day* means *after that event*, and that the reference is not to a sudden and immediate effect, but to a gradual result of the divine dispensations, so that what is here predicted, though it began to be fulfilled from the time of that catastrophe, did not receive its final consummation before Christ's appearance. On this supposition, we are better able to explain the *remnant of Israel*, as meaning not merely those left in Judah after the carrying away of

the ten tribes—nor the Jews themselves who should outlive the Assyrian oppressions, and to whom the same phrase is applied 2 Kings 19 : 4, 31. 21 : 14—nor merely the Jews who should return from the Babylonish exile, and to whom it is applied Hagg. 1 : 2. Zech. 8 : 6—nor merely the spiritual Israel, the *remnant according to the election of grace*, Rom. 11 : 5—but all these at once, or rather in succession, should be taught the lesson of exclusive reliance upon God, by his judgments on his enemies.—The verbal form יוסיף *shall add* (expressing continued or repeated action) is suppressed not only in the English Version, but in many others, including the most recent. It is retained in the ancient versions and by Calvin and Cocceius, and accommodated to the idiom of other languages by Junius (pergat), Augusti (fortfahren), Hendewerk (aufhören).—The verb *stay* used in the English Version to translate נִשְׁעַן is equivocal, like *peep* in v. 14, because now employed chiefly in another sense. The idea expressed by the Hebrew word is simply that of leaning for support.—Calvin renders the ו at the beginning of the last clause *for*, and Hitzig *no!* Its true force may be best conveyed in English by the simple adversative *but*. For the usage of the phrase קדוש ישראל, vide supra, ch. 1 : 9. By the phrase *in truth*, Cocceius understands that the elect should trust in the *reality*, as distinguished from the types and shadows of the old economy. The common and obvious interpretation is, that they should trust God in *sincerity*, as opposed to a mere hypocritical profession, and with *constancy*, as opposed to capricious vacillation.

V. 21. *A remnant shall return, a remnant of Jacob, to God Almighty.* There is an obvious allusion in these words to the name of the Prophet's son *Shear-jashub*, mentioned in ch. 7 : 3. As the people were probably familiar with this name, its introduction here would be the more significant. The Targum expounds the *remnant of Jacob* to mean 'those who have not sinned, or have turned from sin.' It really means those who should survive God's judgments threatened in this prophecy, not merely the Assyrian invasion or the Babylonish exile, but the whole series of remarkable events, by which the history of the chosen people would be marked, including the destruction and dispersion of the nation by the Romans. There is no need, as Henderson supposes, of supplying the words *and only* in the text or in translation. That idea, as Hitzig well observes, is suggested by the repetition. The return here spoken of is one that was to take place at various times and in various circumstances. Under the old dispensation, the prophecy was verified in the conversion of idolatrous Jews to the worship of Jehovah, or of wicked Jews to a godly life, by means of their afflictions—under the new, in the admission of believing Jews to the Christian church, and prospectively in the general conversion of Israel to God, which is yet to be expected.

Grotius imagines that the return here mentioned is that of the Jews, whom Sennacherib's invasion had assembled in Jerusalem, to their own homes; but this is directly contradicted by the words that follow, *to the Mighty God*, which in that case would mean nothing. These words are understood by Gesenius, Hitzig, and DeWette, here as in ch. 9: 5, to mean *mighty hero*. Hendewerk, Umbreit, and Knobel, with all the early writers, give the words their proper sense. They shall return to Him who has thus shown himself to be the Mighty God. Jarchi supposes a special allusion to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army; Clericus, to the impotence of idols, from whose worship they would turn to that of the true God, the God truly and exclusively omnipotent. The present form given to the verb *turn* by the recent German writers, is less suited to so manifest a promise than the proper future.—The definite article (*the* remnant), which is used in the English Version and by Barnes, is less exact than the indefinite one employed by Lowth and Henderson.

V. 22. The Prophet now explains his use of the word *remnant*, and shows that the threatening which it involves is not inconsistent with the ancient promises. *For though thy people, oh Israel* (or Jacob), *shall be like the sand of the sea* (in multitude), only *a remnant of them shall return. A consumption is decreed, overflowing* (with) *righteousness.* The first clause is explained by Augusti, Hitzig, Hendewerk, DeWette, Ewald, Umbreit, as expressive only of a possible contingency (*were thy people*, or *even if thy people were*)—by Luther, Gesenius, and Barnes, as referring to their actual condition (*though thy people be now numerous*)—but more correctly by Calvin, Cocceius, and Lowth, as relating to a certain event, but one still future (*though thy people shall be* or *is to be*). There seems, as Calvin says, to be allusion to the promises given to the Patriarchs (e. g. Gen. 13: 16. 22: 17), and repeated by the Prophets (e. g. Hos. 2: 1), the fulfilment of which might have seemed to be precluded by the threatening in v. 21—to prevent which false conclusion, Isaiah here repeats the threatening with the promise—'though thy people shall indeed be numerous, *yet* etc. This particle, supplied in the English Version, though unnecessary, does not "evidently obscure the sense" (Barnes), but makes it clearer by rendering more prominent the apparent opposition between the threatening and the promise.—*Israel* is taken in the Septuagint and English Version, and by Henderson, as a nominative in apposition with *thy people*, God himself being the object of address; but the better and more usual construction regards *Israel* as a vocative. The name may be understood as that of the nation; but there is more force in the language if we suppose (with Calvin) an apostrophe to Israel or Jacob as the common ancestor, thus keeping up a distinct allusion to the ancient promises. *Thy people* will then mean *thy*

posterity—not the ten tribes exclusively, nor Judah exclusively, but the whole race without distinction.—*Like the sand of the sea* does not mean scattered and despised, as Augusti strangely imagines, but innumerable, as in every other case where the comparison occurs (e. g. Gen. 22: 17. Ps. 139: 18. Hos. 2: 1. cf. Gen. 13: 16). Henderson explains בּוֹ *to him*, i. e. to God, as in Hos. 12: 6; but it rather means *in it*, i. e. in thy people, as we express proportion by saying 'one *in* ten.' It is retained by Cocceius (in eo), Umbreit (darin), and Ewald (darunter); but in order to avoid the ambiguity arising from a difference of idiom, the *in* may be exchanged for *of* or *from*, as in the ancient versions and by most modern writers. Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk, and DeWette, use the present form *returns*, which is not so natural in this connexion as the future given by Ewald, Umbreit, and all the older writers. The return predicted is not merely that from the Babylonish exile, but a return to God by true repentance and conversion, as the only means of salvation—*reliquiae convertentur* (Vulgate). That a remnant only should escape, implies of course a general destruction, which is positively foretold in the last clause. Grotius and Clericus explain כלּיוֹן to mean a *reckoning*, or a *sum* as determined by a reckoning, here applied to the remnant of Israel as a small number, easily computed. This, according to Clericus, is also the meaning of the Vulgate version, *consummatio*. Forerius and Sanctius understand by it the remnant itself, as having been almost consumed—DeDieu, a decree or determination—J. D. Michaelis, the accomplishment or execution of a purpose—but the simple and true meaning is consumption or destruction, as in Deut. 28: 65.—Forerius strangely understands חרוּץ to mean a *harrow*, or a *threshing-machine*, figuratively applied to the sufferings of the people. Some explain it as an adjective, meaning *severe* (Umbreit) or *certain* (Vatablus)—the Vulgate as a participle, meaning *shortened*. Aben Ezra gives the true explanation of the word, as a participle meaning *decreed, determined* (1 Kings 20: 40). Henderson supposes an allusion to the primary meaning of the verb (to cut, carve, or engrave), implying permanence and immutability. Junius and Clericus make this phrase dependent on שׁטף as a transitive verbal form; but it is rather to be construed with the substantive verb understood—*a consumption is decreed*—or as a subject with שׁטף as a predicate—*the consumption decreed* (is) *overflowing*, i. e. overflows—a metaphor frequently applied to invading armies (ch. 8: 8. 28: 15, 18. Dan. 11: 20, 22)—so that there is no need of attaching to שׁטף the Chaldee sense of *hastening*, as proposed by Clericus. He also makes it agree with the name of God, as Grotius does with *remnant;* but it really agrees with *consumption*. Righteousness, according to DeDieu, here means goodness in general and mercy in particular. Calvin and Grotius too explain it to mean piety or virtue; but Vitringa and others take it more correctly in its strict sense of retributive and puni-

tive justice. A preposition is supplied before it by the Septuagint (*ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*) and Umbreit (mit Gerechtigkeit), making it merely an attendant circumstance. Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer, Hendewerk, DeWette, make it the object of שֹׁטֵף considered as an active verb—floating righteousness in, i. e. bringing it in like a flood. Ewald and others make the noun an adverbial accusative—*flowing* or *overflowing* (with) *righteousness*. The sense is not that the remnant of Israel should be the means of flooding the world with righteousness (Calvin), nor that they should be full of it themselves (Grotius), but that the destruction of the great mass of the people would be an event involving an abundant exhibition of God's justice. This clause is therefore not, as DeDieu alleges, a direct promise of deliverance to the elect, but a threatening of destruction to the reprobate.

V. 23. This verse contains a further explanation of the כִּי כָלָה חָרוּץ. *For a consumption even* (the one) *determined*, (is) *the Lord, Jehovah of Hosts, making* (or *about to make*) *in the midst of all the earth.*—Augusti makes כָּלָה a verb (abgemessen ist), Vitringa a participle (consummatum). Clericus takes it as a noun, but in the sense of *sum* or *reckoning*, Lowth in that of *full decree*. Castalio has *slaughter*, which is too specific; Gesenius *wasting*, which is not strong enough. Most writers follow the ancient versions in translating it *consumption* or *destruction*. Castalio and Umbreit make נחרצה an adjective, meaning *cruel* or *severe*. The Targum seems to treat it as an adjective without a substantive, used as a noun, synonymous with כָּלָה. Cocceius, Junius, Gesenius, Ewald and others, give it the sense of *something decreed*, a decree, a judgment. It may, however, be more strictly understood as a passive participle agreeing with כָּלָה—*a consumption, even a decreed* (consumption).—כל is omitted by the Targum, Lowth and Barnes, and rendered *all this* by Junius and Piscator, so as to give אֶרֶץ the restricted sense of *land*, which is the common explanation, although Ewald has *earth*, like the Septuagint (*οἰκουμένῃ*). This verse and the one before it are quoted by Paul (Rom. 9: 27, 28), to show that the Jews, as such, were not the heirs of the promise, which was intended for the remnant according to the election of grace. The words are quoted from the Septuagint with a slight variation. The sense of the Greek is correctly given in the English version.

V. 24. The logical connexion of this verse is not with that immediately preceding, but with v. 19. Having there declared the fate impending over the Assyrian, the Prophet, as it were, turned aside to describe the effect of their destruction on the remnant of Israel, and now, having done so, he resumes the thread of his discourse, as if there had been no interruption. *Therefore* (since this is soon to be the fate of the Assyrians) *be not afraid, oh my*

people inhabiting Zion, of Asshur (or *the Assyrian*). *He shall smite thee* (it is true) *with the rod, and shall lift up his staff upon* (or *over*) *thee in the way of Egypt.* There is consequently no need of departing from the ordinary meaning of לָכֵן, and rendering it *but*, as Gesenius, Hitzig, Henderson and Umbreit do.—Instead of *saith*, Clericus and J. H. Michaelis read *hath said* in the past tense, which seems to make the verse the record of a former revelation.—According to Aben Ezra and Kimchi, Zion is here put simply for Jerusalem, and the address is to the population of that city, whether permanent or temporary, during Sennacherib's invasion. But as Zion was the seat of the true religion, and the people of God are often said to inhabit Zion, not in a local but a spiritual sense, most interpreters understand the object of address to be Israel in general, while some restrict it to the pious and believing Jews, the remnant of Israel, who were now to be consoled and reassured amidst the judgments which were coming on the nation—אַשּׁוּר is properly the name of the whole people, and denotes the Assyrians in the strict sense, and not, as Cocceius suggests, the Syro-Grecian kings who succeeded Alexander, or the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar, though the terms of the consolation are so chosen as to be appropriate to other emergencies than that by which they were immediately occasioned.—Gesenius, Hitzig, DeWette, Hendewerk and Umbreit make יַכֶּה a description of the past (*he smote thee*), which is wholly arbitrary, if not ungrammatical. Ewald and Knobel translate it as a present, and supply a relative (*who smites thee*). Henderson has *he may smite thee*, which appears to render it too vague and dubious. By far the simplest and most natural construction is that which gives the future form its strict sense (*he shall smite thee*), and explains the clause as a concession of the fact, that Israel was indeed to suffer at the hand of Assyria—q. d. true, he shall smite thee with the rod etc. Aben Ezra supposes this to mean, that Assyria should smite them only in design, i. e. try to smite them—others, that he should do no more than smite them, he should smite but not kill, as a master treats his slave, or a rider his beast. It seems more natural, however, to explain it in a general way, as simply conceding that they should be smitten, the necessary qualification or restriction being afterwards expressed.—Here, as in ch. 9: 3, Vitringa understands by מַטֵּה a yoke, and by the whole phrase, *he shall lift up* (and impose) *his yoke upon thee.* This does not materially change the sense, but makes a distinction between the parallel expressions which, to say the least, is needless and gratuitous. The best interpretation is the common one, which takes *rod* and *staff* as equivalent figures for oppression. —The last words, *in the way of Egypt*, are ambiguous, and admit of two distinct interpretations. Some early writers, quoted by Calvin, make the phrase to mean, *on the way to* (or *from*) *Egypt*, in allusion to the fact, that Sennacherib attacked Judea in the course of an expedition against Egypt.

This view of the passage is adopted by Jerome, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis and Augusti, and has much to recommend it, as it seems to adhere to the literal import of the terms, and introduces a striking coincidence of prophecy with history. The principal objection is derived from the analogy of v. 26. The weight of exegetical authority preponderates in favour of a figurative exposition, making *in the way* synonymous with *in the manner, after the example* as in Amos 4 : 10. The sense will then be this : 'Assyria shall oppress thee as Egypt did before.'—An entirely different construction of this whole clause is that given by Junius and Tremellius, who make God himself the subject of the verbs וַכָּתָה and יִשָּׂא. *He shall smite thee with the rod* (i. e. with the Assyrian, so called in v. 5), *but his staff he will lift up for thee* (i. e. for thy deliverance) *as he did in Egypt* (when the Red Sea was divided by the rod of Moses). This construction, though ingenious, is to be rejected, on the ground that it supposes an antithesis and changes *and* to *but* without necessity, refers the *rod* and *staff* to different subjects, although both are applied to the Assyrian in v. 5, and gives the preposition עַל the sense of *for* or *in behalf of*, which it cannot naturally have in this connexion, especially when following the verb יִשָּׂא.

V. 25. This verse assigns a reason for the exhortation not to fear in v. 24. *For yet a very little, and wrath is at an end, and my anger* (shall go forth or tend) *to their destruction*, i. e. the destruction of the enemy. Interpreters are not agreed upon the question whether the first clause has reference to that destruction also, or to the restoration of God's people to his favour. Kimchi, Luther, Calvin, Clericus, J. H. Michaelis, Augusti, Rosenmüller, Hitzig and Hendewerk, refer both זַעַם and אַפִּי to God's displeasure with Assyria, and this seems to be the sense designed to be conveyed by the English Version. כָּלָה will then mean to exhaust or sate itself. But Jarchi, Junius, Cocceius, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Maurer, Barnes, DeWette, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel, refer זַעַם to God's anger against Israel, and אַפִּי to his wrath against Assyria. 'For yet a very little, and the indignation, which has caused these sufferings to my people, shall be ended, and my wrath shall turn to the destruction of their enemies.' The only objection to this exposition is that it supposes an ellipsis of some verb in the last clause, and in that respect is not so simple as the other, which construes both the nouns with כָּלָה. In favour of it may be urged, not only the authorities already cited, but the fact that it makes the connexion with the foregoing verse much more natural and easy—that it gives כָּלָה its usual sense of being terminated, coming to an end—and זַעַם its appropriated sense of God's displeasure with his own people. (Vide supra, v. 5. also ch. 30 : 27. 28 : 20. Dan. 8 : 19). The preterite form of כָּלָה is beautifully expressive of the change as already past in the view of the Prophet. This effect

is greatly weakened by a substitution of the future (*shall cease*) for the past (*has ceased already*). For תבליתם (from בלה) some MSS. read תכליתם from כלה, and Luzzatto תבל ית׳ם (my wrath against the world shall cease).

V. 26. The suddenness and completeness of the ruin threatened are expressed by a comparison with two remarkable events in sacred history, the slaughter of the Midianites by Gideon, and the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea. *And Jehovah of Hosts shall raise up against him* (the Assyrian) *a scourge* (or instrument of vengeance) *like the smiting of Midian at the rock Oreb, and his rod* (Jehovah's) shall again be *over the sea, and he shall lift it up* (again) *as he did in Egypt* (literally, *in the way of Egypt*, as in v. 24).—The *rock Oreb* is particularly mentioned because one of the Midianitish princes, who had escaped from the field of battle, was there slain by Gideon; and so Sennacherib, although he should survive the slaughter of his host, was to be slain at home (ch. 37: 38).—In the last clause there is a beautiful allusion to v. 24. As the Assyrians lifted up the rod over Israel in the manner of Egypt, so God would lift up the rod over them in the manner of Egypt. As they were like the Egyptians in their sin, so should they now be like them in their punishment.—According to the Rabbins שׁוֹט is something more than שֵׁבֶט, as *flagellum* is distinguished from *scutica* by Horace. They had lifted a *rod* over Israel, but God would raise up a *scourge* against them.—The construction of the last clause in the English Bible—*and* (as) *his rod was upon the sea*, (so) *shall he lift it up* etc.—puts an arbitrary meaning on the particles. According to the first construction given, *his rod* (shall be again) *upon the sea* is a poetical expression for 'his power shall again be miraculously displayed.'—Cocceius refers the suffix in מַטֵּהוּ to אַשּׁוּר, by which he understands the Syro-Grecian kings, and especially Antiochus Epiphanes, who invaded Cyprus and made an attempt upon Egypt, but was driven back by the Romans. Hence he reads —*and his* (the Assyrian's) *rod shall be over the sea, and he shall lift it up* (or *one shall take it away from him*) *in the way to Egypt.*

V. 27. *And it shall be* (happen or come to pass) *in that day* (when this prediction is fulfilled) that *his burden* (the burden imposed by him, the heavy load of Assyrian oppression, perhaps with special reference to the tribute imposed upon Hezekiah) *shall depart* (be removed) *from thy shoulder, and his yoke* (a poetical equivalent to *burden*) *from thy neck* (oh Israel!) *and the yoke* (itself) *shall be destroyed* (or broken off) *because of* (literally, *from the face of*) *oil* (or *fatness* or *anointing*). The only difficulty lies in the concluding words, which have been variously understood. Some have attempted to remove the difficulty by a change of text. Thus Lowth reads שכמכם on the authority of the Septuagint (*ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων*)—

Secker מִפְּנֵי שְׁמֶן *on account of my name*, or מִבְּנֵי שְׁמֶן *by the sons of oil*—J. D. Michaelis (for חֶבֶל) חֶבֶל the *band* of the yoke. Of those who retain the common text, some take שֶׁמֶן in its usual sense of *oil*, and suppose an allusion to the softening of the yoke with oil, or to its preservation by it. 'Whereas yokes are commonly preserved by oil, this on the contrary shall be destroyed by it' (Kocher). But in this interpretation, the explanatory fact is arbitrarily assumed. Others take שֶׁמֶן in the sense of *fat* or *fatness*, and suppose an allusion to the rejection of the yoke by a fat bullock, Deut. 32 : 15. Hos. 4 : 16. 10 : 11 (Gesenius), or to the bursting of the yoke by the increasing fatness of the bullock's neck (Hitzig, Hendewerk), or to the wearing away of the yoke by the neck, instead of the neck by the yoke (Kimchi). Of those who give this sense to שֶׁמֶן, some give to פָּנֶה its strict sense, *face*. Thus Doederlein—*the yoke shall be destroyed from off the fat-faced*, i. e. prosperous. Others read *the yoke shall be destroyed by the fatness* (i. e. the excessive wealth and prosperity of the Assyrian empire)—or *before the increasing prosperity of Judah*. Knobel supposes the face of the bullock to be meant (compare Job 41 : 6), and with J. D. Michaelis reading חֶבֶל, understands the verse as meaning that the yoke shall first slip from the *shoulder* of the animal, then from its *neck*, and lastly from its *fat face* or head. Jerome and Vitringa understand by שֶׁמֶן the *unction* of the Holy Ghost, as a Spirit of grace and supplications, with allusion to the influence of Hezekiah's prayers. Grotius and Dathe follow Jarchi and Kimchi in explaining שֶׁמֶן as an abstract used for a concrete, *anointing* for *anointed one*, which they apply to Hezekiah. The Targum gives the same construction, but applies the word to the Messiah, in which it is followed by Calvin and Henderson. The general meaning of the verse is plain, as a prediction of deliverance from Assyrian bondage.

V. 28. From the time of the Assyrian's overthrow the Prophet now reverts to that of his invasion, which he describes in the most vivid manner by rapidly enumerating the main points of his march from the frontier of Judah to the gates of Jerusalem. From the geographical minuteness and precision of this passage, Eichhorn and Hitzig have inferred that it was written after the event, because Isaiah could not know what route Sennacherib would take. Ewald supposes the description to be drawn from what had actually taken place in former cases, i. e. from the route of the Assyrians on previous occasions, but applied to an event still future. Gesenius and Hendewerk regard the description as ideal and intended to express, in a poetical manner, the quarter from which the invasion was to come and its general direction, by rapidly enumerating certain places as the points through which it was to pass. The same position is maintained in Robinson's Researches (vol. 2. p. 149), on the ground that the road here traced could never have

been commonly used, because impracticable from the nature of the ground. If passable at all, however, it may well have been adopted in a case of bold invasion, where surprise was a main object. The difficulties of the route in question must be slight compared with those by which Hannibal and Napoleon crossed the Alps. It is therefore not impossible nor even improbable, that Isaiah intended to delineate the actual course taken by Sennacherib. At the same time this is not a necessary supposition, since we may conceive the Prophet standing in vision on the walls of Jerusalem, and looking towards the quarter from which the invasion was to come, enumerating certain intervening points, without intending to predict that he would really pass through them. In this case, the more difficult the route described, the better suited would it be to express the idea that the enemy would come in spite of all opposing obstacles. J. D. Michaelis supposes the invasion here described to be that of Nebuchadnezzar—partly because that supposition, as he thinks, makes the connexion between this and the next chapter clearer and more natural—partly because the Babylonian army did pursue this course, whereas Sennacherib came against Jerusalem from the south (Isai. 36 : 2). That there is no weight in the former argument, will be shown in the proper place. That there is little in the other, will appear from the consideration, that the history contains no account of Sennacherib's own march upon the city, but only of Rabshakeh's embassy from Lachish, and it is expressly said that when that officer rejoined his master, he had already advanced further to the north. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that he may have chosen a circuitous and difficult approach, in order to take the city by surprise. Besides the inconclusiveness of these objections to the old interpretation, that of J. D. Michaelis is exposed to very serious objections ; for example, that the foregoing context has relation to Assyria, without any intimation of a change of subject ; that there is no hint of the city's being taken, much less destroyed ; that the description in the text is not one of a deliberate, protracted occupation, but of a rapid and transient incursion ; that the march is immediately followed by a great reverse and sudden overthrow, whereas Nebuchadnezzar was entirely successful. On these and other grounds, the passage is applied by most interpreters to the Assyrians, although some suppose Sennacherib's personal approach to be described, and others that of his representative (Junius, Robinson etc.).—The places here enumerated seem to have belonged chiefly or wholly to the tribes of Benjamin and Judah. Some of them are still in existence, and the site of several has been recently determined by the personal observations and inquiries of Robinson and Smith. The catalogue begins at the frontier of the kingdom of Judah, and, as J. D. Michaelis suggests, at the first place conquered by the Israelites on taking possession of the land. The language is precisely that of an eye-witness describing at the moment what he actually sees. *He is*

come to Aiath—he is passed to Migron—to Michmash he intrusts his baggage. Although the form *Aiath* nowhere else occurs, it is commonly supposed to be the same with *Ai*, the ancient royal city of the Canaanites, destroyed by Joshua (Josh. 8 : 1), and afterwards rebuilt (Ezra 2 : 28. Neh. 8 : 32). It is unnecessary, therefore, to suppose that the name here denotes the spot or the region in which Ai once stood, as explained by Junius (Hajanam regionem versus). The ancient Ai was situated on a height to the north-east of Jerusalem. Eusebius describes it as in ruins when he wrote, and Jerome says its remains were scarcely visible in his day. According to Robinson, its site is probably still marked by certain ruins, south of Deir Diwan, an hour from Bethel.—The present form, *he passes*, represents the thing as actually taking place; the preterite, *he has passed*, implies that he has scarcely reached a place before he leaves it, and is therefore more expressive of his rapid movements. Either is better than the future form adopted by the ancient versions. According to J. D. Michaelis, *he passes by Migron* without entering—according to others, *he passes to Migron* from Ai—according to Gesenius and the other recent versions, *he passes through Migron*, as the second landmark on the route of the invaders. The precise situation of this place is now unknown, as it is mentioned only here and in 1 Sam. 14 : 2, from which text it would seem to have been near to Gibeah. —*Michmash* is still in existence under the almost unchanged name of Mukhmas, to the north-east of Jeba, on the slope of a steep valley. The place is now desolate, but exhibits signs of former strength, foundations of hewn stone and prostrate columns. Some give to יַפְקִיד here its secondary sense of *depositing* his baggage, stores, etc. (called in old English, *carriages*), i. e. merely while he halted (Barnes), or leaving them behind to expedite his march (Grotius), or because not needed for the taking of Jerusalem (Jerome), or on account of the difficult passage mentioned in the next verse (Hendewerk).

V. 29. *They have passed the pass*, a narrow passage between Michmash and Geba (1 Sam. 13 : 3, 5 etc.), a spot no doubt easily maintained against an enemy. Their passing it implies that they met with no resistance, or had overcome it, and that there was now little or nothing to impede their march. *In Geba they have taken up their lodging* (literally, lodged a lodging). *Geba* appears from 1 Kings 15 : 22 to have been on or near the line between Benjamin and Judah. There is a small village now called *Jeba*, half in ruins, with large hewn stones and the remains of a square tower, on the opposite side of the valley from the ancient Michmash. This place Robinson and Smith supposed at first to be *Geba*, but afterwards concluded that it must be *Gibeah* of Saul, and that the site of Geba must be further down, where they heard of ruins, but had not time to explore

(vol. 2. pp. 114, 115). Knobel alleges that Geba and Gibeah of Saul were one and the same place, and adopts the Vulgate version of the phrase מָלוֹן לָנוּ (Gaba sedes nostra), which is also retained by Barnes (Geba is a lodging-place for us). This supposes the Assyrians to be suddenly introduced as speaking, to avoid which abrupt change of construction, Lowth, Doederlein, and Dathe, adopt the reading of the Targum, לָבוּז for לָנוּ. Most interpreters, however, follow Aben Ezra in explaining לָנוּ as a verb from לוּן. The construction of the verb with its derivative noun is analogous to that of *dreaming a dream*, and other like expressions. The form of the original is imitated by Junius and Tremellius (in diversorium diverterunt). This construction of לָנוּ as a verb is favoured by the parallelism, עברו מעברה being a similar combination of a noun with its verbal root.—Thus far he has described what the Assyrians themselves do—they cross the line at Ajath—pass through Migron—leave their baggage at Michmash—lodge at Geba. Now he describes what the places themselves do—*Ramah trembles—Gibeah of Saul flees.* Ramah was a city of Benjamin, near Gibeah, but further from Jerusalem. It is still in existence as *Er-ram*, which is the masculine form of the one here used, with the Arabic article prefixed. It is about half a mile nearly due west of Jeba, but hidden from it by intervening heights (Robinson, vol. 2. pp. 108—114). It is two hours north of Jerusalem, on the eastern side of the road to Nablus. Eusebius and Jerome describe it as a small village, six Roman miles from Jerusalem. The identity of this place with the ancient Ramah was long lost sight of, but has been clearly ascertained by Smith and Robinson. *Ramah trembles* (or *is afraid*) at the enemy's approach, a strong and beautiful personification, or the place may be simply put for its inhabitants, as in the Targum. The trembling and flight of these towns is naturally represented as occurring while the enemy was resting at Geba. It may imply either that Ramah was not in the direct line of the march, but within sight and hearing of it, or on the contrary, that it was the next place to be reached, and trembling in apprehension of it. A still stronger metaphor is used as to the next place. *Gibeah of Saul*—so called because it was his birth-place and residence, and to distinguish it from others of the same name—*is fled.* There is here a rapid but marked climax. While Ramah trembles, Gibeah flees.

V. 30. To terror and flight he now adds an audible expression of distress, representing one place as crying, another as listening, and according to some writers, a third as responding. At the same time he exchanges the language of description for that of direct personal address. *Cry aloud daughter Gallim* (or daughter of Gallim), *hearken Laishah*, ah *poor Anathoth!* The site of Gallim is no longer known, but it was no doubt somewhere in the neighbourhood of Gibeah. The personification is made more distinct by the

use of the word *daughter*, whether employed simply for that purpose and applied to the town itself, as explained by J. D. Michaelis (Stadt Gallim) and Rosenmüller (oppidum Gallim), with or without allusion to its beauty (Barnes) —or, as in many other cases, to the population, as an individual. The Targum and Augusti read the name *Bath-gallim*. Grotius and others render הקשיבי לישה *cause it* (thy voice) *to be heard to Laish* (with ה directive), i. e. to the northern extremity of the country, where stood the town of Dan, anciently called *Laish*, and often coupled with Beersheba to express the whole extent of Canaan—or to *Laish*, a town near the others here mentioned, but no longer in existence. Others suppose the name to be *Laishah*, and govern it directly by the verb—*cause Laishah to hear*—but הִקְשִׁיב always means to *listen*. Luther, Lowth, Augusti, Henderson and Umbreit, suppose an apostrophe to Laishah itself—*hearken oh Laishah!* Cocceius, Vitringa, Maurer, and DeWette: *hearken to* (or towards) *Laish*, which is then supposed to be crying itself, and the call to listen is addressed to Gallim or the next place mentioned, which implies a close proximity. *Anathoth*, now *Anâta*, a sacerdotal city of Benjamin, built upon a broad ridge, an hour and a quarter from Jerusalem. Ecclesiastical tradition has assigned another site to Anathoth, between Jerusalem and Ramleh; but the true site has been clearly ascertained and fixed by Robinson and Smith (vol. 2. p. 109). There are still remains of an ancient wall of hewn stone, old foundations, and fragments of columns. It commands an extensive view, and from it the travellers just mentioned beheld several of the places here enumerated. Lowth and Ewald take עניה as a verb with a suffix, Hendewerk or a verb with a paragogic letter, meaning *answer* or *answer her*, oh Anathoth! Lowth supposes an allusion to the primary meaning of the name, viz. answers, i. e. echoes or reverberations from the hills by which the city was surrounded. Hitzig takes עניה as a proper name with בית left out or understood before it, of which ellipsis there are several examples, and denoting *Bethany*, now called *Elaziriyah* (or the town of Lazarus) and situated on the eastern declivity of the Mount of Olives. (See Robinson's Palestine, vol. 2. p. 101.) But the majority of writers, old and new, make עניה, as in other places where it occurs, the feminine of עָנִי, *poor*, *afflicted*, *miserable*, and descriptive, not of its ordinary state, as a poor mean village, but of the Prophet's sympathy in view of the danger with which Anathoth was threatened. The introduction of the epithet in this case only may perhaps be ascribed to a designed paronomasia between the cognate forms עניה and ענתות. The position of the adjective, though certainly unusual, is not unparalleled, there being instances enough to justify its explanation as a case of emphatic inversion. These two words are construed as an independent clause by Doederlein (misera est Anathoth), which Gesenius thinks admissible, although he prefers the vocative construction of the Vulgate (paupercula Anathoth!).

V. 31. *Madmenah wanders* (or removes from her place), *the inhabitants of Gebim flee* (or *cause to flee* i. e. *carry off* their goods). These places are no longer in existence, nor are they mentioned elsewhere. The *Madmen* spoken of by Jeremiah (48 : 2), was a town of Moab, and *Madmannah* (Josh. 15 : 21) was too far south. In this verse, for the first time, the inhabitants are expressly mentioned and distinguished from the place itself. But Hiller (in his Onomasticon) makes יְשֻׁבֵי a part of the proper name (*Joshebehaggebim*), and Jerome, on the contrary, makes גֶּבִים an appellative (inhabitants of the hills).—The Vulgate renders הֵעִידוּ by *confortamini*, deriving it apparently from עָזַז, and a similar version is given in the Peshito. The English Version, *gather themselves to flee*, is substantially the same with that of Calvin and Junius. According to Vitringa, it means to flee with violence and haste. Gesenius, in his Commentary, gives it the simple sense of fleeing; but in the second edition of his German Version, and in his Thesaurus, he explains it as a causative, in which he is followed by Hitzig, Maurer, and Knobel.

V. 32. This verse conducts him to the last stage of his progress, to a point so near the Holy City that he may defy it thence. *Yet to-day in Nob* (he is) *to stand* (and there) *will he shake his hand* (a gesture of menace and defiance) *against the mountain of the house* (or daughter) *of Zion* (i. e. Mount Zion itself), *the hill of Jerusalem*.—Nob was a sacerdotal city of Benjamin near Anathoth (Neh. 11 : 32), and according to the Talmud and Jerome, within sight of Jerusalem. Robinson and Smith explored the ridge of Olivet for traces of this town, but without success. The Nob here mentioned is no doubt the same that Saul destroyed, although there was another in the plain towards Lydda, which Jerome seems to identify with this.—The first clause has been variously explained, according to the sense put upon עָמַד as signifying rest or arrival, and upon הַיּוֹם as an indefinite expression for *a day*, or a specific one for *this day* or *to-day*. Joseph Kimchi, J. D. Michaelis, and Rosenmüller, understand the clause to mean that *yet to-day* (but no longer, it will be safe for the inhabitants) *to stay in Nob*. Maurer and Henderson explain it to mean *yet a day* (or one day longer, he is) *to remain in Nob*. Of these and other constructions which have been proposed, the best is that which makes the clause mean that *to-day* (before to-morrow) *he shall stand* (i. e. arrive) *in Nob*—or that which makes it mean *yet this day* (he is) *to stand* (i. e. rest) *in Nob* (before commencing his attack). This last, which is given by the latest writers, is supposed to be most in accordance with the usage of the Hebrew verb.—According to the common explanation of the phrase בַּת צִיּוֹן as meaning Jerusalem itself (vide supra, ch. 1 : 8), the mountain of the daughter of Zion coincides exactly with the parallel phrase, *hill of Jerusalem*. The kethib בירת צירן can only

mean the temple, taking Zion in the widest sense as meaning the whole eminence on which Jerusalem was built. This reading is sustained by none of the ancient versions but the Targum, and although הר בית יהוה is no unusual combination, the phrase הר בית ציון does not occur elsewhere.—In this verse the Targum introduces a description of Sennacherib's army, and a soliloquy of Sennacherib himself, neither of which has the slightest foundation in the original.

V. 33. To the triumphant march and proud defiance now succeeds abruptly the tremendous downfall of the enemy himself, in describing which the Prophet resumes the figure dropped at v. 19, and represents the catastrophe as the sudden and violent prostration of a forest. *Behold, the Lord, Jehovah of Hosts,* (is) *lopping* (or about to lop) *the branch* (of this great tree) *with terror* (or tremendous violence), *and the* (trees) *high of stature* (shall be) *felled, and the lofty ones brought low.* According to Knobel, the excision of the ornamental crown or head-dress of the tree is mentioned first, because the destroying power is to be conceived as darting down from heaven like a thunderbolt, not creeping upwards from the earth, like the spreading fire in v. 17, and in the same verse of the foregoing chapter. Jerome applies these two last verses to the death of Christ, and the consequent downfall of the Jewish state; Calvin, Cocceius, and J. D. Michaelis, to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. But these interpretations, although recommended by a seeming coherence with the following chapter, are at variance with the foregoing context, where Sennacherib's invasion is described, and with the scope of the whole passage, which is to console the Jews in view of that event.—הִנֵּה, when followed by an active participle, commonly indicates a proximate futurity, at least with respect to the perceptions of the writer.—According to Kimchi, the divine names introduced imply that Sennacherib had hitherto supposed himself to be without a master, but was now to learn his error.—Hendewerk supplies *appears* before מסעף; but it is simpler and therefore better to supply the present of the verb *to be*.—פְּאֵרָה (from פָּאַר to adorn) means an ornamental branch, or the branches considered as the *beauty* of the tree.—בִּיעֻרצָה properly means terror, and in this case sudden and terrific violence. It is more vigorously rendered by Henderson (*a tremendous blow*), and Lowth (*a dreadful crash*). The ב denotes not so much the manner as the means, not only violently, but by violence. *Lofty of stature* is not to be applied to men directly, as descriptive either of their pride or their appearance, but to trees, as representing the Assyrians in general or their chief men in particular. For the same cause, גבהים should not be rendered *haughty*, an epithet which cannot be applied to trees, but *high* or *lofty*.

V. 34. *And he* (Jehovah) *shall cut down* (or away) *the thickets of the forest* (the Assyrian army) *with iron*, (i. e. with an instrument of iron, as an axe), *and this Lebanon* (this wooded mountain, this enormous forest, still referring to the host of the Assyrians) *with* (or by) *a mighty one*. It it is clear that the *iron* of this verse and the *fire* of v. 17 denote one and the same thing, both implying that the forest was to perish, not by slow decay, but by sudden violence, which shows the absurdity of giving a specific sense to all the particulars in such a picture. Thus the *thickets* are probably mentioned only to complete the picture of a forest totally destroyed, though Kimchi understands this as an emblem of Sennacherib's counsellors, by whose devices he had been entangled, while Grotius, Vitringa, and others, make it signify the common soldiers, as distinguished from the chiefs, before described as trees, and Hitzig applies it to the whole mixed multitude of the Assyrians. The general figure of a forest is made more specific by referring to Lebanon, a mountain celebrated for its woods. Ezekiel represents Sennacherib himself as a cedar of Lebanon (Ezek. 31 : 3). The name is not here put for the land of Israel, of which Mount Lebanon was the northern boundary, nor for Jerusalem or the temple, in allusion to the cedar-wood employed in their construction.—Calvin and others understand בְּאַדִּיר as an adverbial phrase, meaning *mightily* or *violently;* but most interpreters explain it to mean *by a mighty one*. This is applied by Gesenius and Maurer to God himself—by Cocceius, Schmidius, Alting and J. D. Michaelis, to Nebuchadnezzar—by Grotius, to the son of Sennacherib who slew him—by several of the Rabbins to the destroying angel—by Rosenmüller and Hitzig to the Messiah—by Vitringa and J. D. Michaelis to the Messiah and the angel considered as identical. To these interpretations may be added, as a mere suggestion, that אַדִּיר is possibly an epithet descriptive of בַּרְזֶל in the preceding clause—*and he shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron* (i. e. with the axe), *and this Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one* (i. e. by a mighty axe). This would be perfectly in keeping with the figurative cast of the whole sentence, while at the same time it would leave the application of the terms as open as it can be upon any other supposition.—נִקַּף is taken as a passive form by Luther, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, Hendewerk, DeWette, Ewald. Its agreement with the plural סְבָכֵי may in that case either be resolved into a common license of Hebrew syntax, or explained by supposing the agreement to be really with יַעַר. It is best, however, to take נִקַּף as a Piel of less usual form (Nordheimer § 238) governing סְבָכֵי and indefinitely construed (*one shall cut*), or agreeing with *Jehovah* understood.

CHAPTER XI.

This chapter is occupied with promises of restoration and deliverance, external safety and internal peace, to God's own people, as contrasted with the ruin previously threatened to their enemies. Borrowing his imagery from the fall of the Assyrian forest, just before predicted, the Prophet represents a shoot as springing from the prostrate trunk of Jesse, or rather from his roots, and invested by the Spirit of Jehovah with all the necessary attributes of a righteous judge and ruler, vs. 1–4. The pacific effect of the Messiah's reign is then described by the beautiful figure of wild and domestic animals dwelling and feeding together, and of children unhurt by the most venomous reptiles; to which is added an express prediction that all mutual injuries shall cease in consequence of the universal prevalence of the knowledge of Jehovah, vs. 5–9. To these figures borrowed from the animal creation, the Prophet now adds others from the history of Israel, but intended to express the same idea. The Messiah is here represented as a signal set up to the nations, gathering the outcasts of his people from all quarters, and uniting them again into one undivided body, free from all sectional and party animosities, vs. 10–13. Under figures of the same kind, the triumph of the church is then represented as a conquest over the old enemies of Israel, especially those nearest to the Holy Land; while the interposition of God's power to effect this and the preceding promises is vividly described as a division of the Red Sea and Euphrates, and a deliverance from Egypt and Assyria, vs. 14–16.

The evidently figurative character of some parts of this chapter seems to furnish a sufficient key to the interpretation of those parts which in themselves would be more doubtful.

V. 1. The figure of the preceding verse is continued but applied to a new subject, the downfall of the house of David and the Jewish state, which is contrasted with the downfall of Assyria. The Assyrian forest was to fall forever, but that of Judah was to sprout again. *And there shall come forth a twig* (or shoot) *from the stock* (or stump) *of Jesse, and a branch from his roots shall grow.* According to Aben Ezra, Hendewerk and others, this refers to Hezekiah exclusively, and according to Grotius as a type of Christ. But Hezekiah was already born, and the house from which he sprang was not in the condition here described. Others refer it to Zerubbabel, and others to the Maccabees, who were not even descendants of Jesse. The Targum explicitly applies it to the Messiah (אתא

משיחא). Eichhorn, Bauer, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, DeWette, Hitzig, Ewald, also apply it to an ideal Messiah whom Isaiah looked for. The modern Jews of course suppose it to be yet unfulfilled. The only application of the passage that can be sustained is that to Jesus Christ, who sprang from the family of Jesse when reduced to its lowest estate, and to whom alone the subsequent description is literally applicable. Abarbenel objects that Christ was not a descendant of Jesse unless he was really the son of Joseph. But even if Mary had been of another tribe, her marriage would entitle her offspring to be reckoned as a Son of David; much more when she herself was of the same lineage. It is enough to know, however, that the fact of Christ's descent from David is not only repeatedly affirmed, but constantly presupposed in the New Testament, as a fact too notorious to be called in question or to call for proof.—גֶּזַע is not the seed (Aben Ezra) nor the root (Septuagint) nor even the trunk or whole stem of a tree (Gesenius, Hitzig, Hendewerk), but the *stump* or part remaining above ground when the tree is felled, as translated by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion (κόρμον), and explained by Kimchi (מה שכשקר מן העץ על הקרקע). Together with the parallel term *roots*, it is an emblem not of mere descent or derivation, as alleged by Hitzig and Hendewerk, but of derivation from a reduced and almost extinct family, as explained by Calvin, Cocceius, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Ewald and Umbreit. Jesse is supposed by Hitzig and Hendewerk to be named instead of David for the purpose of excluding the latter, or of intimating a correlative descent from the same ancestor. According to Kimchi, he is named as the last progenitor before the family attained to royal rank; according to Umbreit, simply to indicate the antiquity of the house. Vitringa's explanation is more probable, viz. because Jesse resided at Bethlehem where Christ was to be born, and because the family is here considered as reduced to the same obscure condition in which Jesse lived, as contrasted with that to which David was exalted, and which the mention of the latter would naturally have recalled to mind. This last reason is also given by Calvin and Hengstenberg.

V. 2. The person, whose origin and descent are metaphorically described in the preceding verse, is here described by his personal qualities, as one endowed with the highest intellectual and moral gifts by the direct influences of the Holy Spirit. *And upon him shall rest the Spirit of Jehovah, a Spirit of wisdom and understanding, a Spirit of counsel and strength, a Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah.* The Targum seems to explain רוּחַ יְהוָה as the first item in the catalogue, meaning the spirit of prophecy or inspiration. Gataker takes it as the cause of which the others are effects. But Kimchi more correctly understands it as a general designation of the self-same spirit which is afterwards described in

detail. So Saadias and Aben Ezra understand it—'the Spirit of Jehovah which is a Spirit of wisdom' etc. Hengstenberg understands the *Spirit of Jehovah*, a stronger expression than the *Spirit of God*, the former having more explicit reference to the government and edification of the church. Gesenius, as usual, explains the *Spirit of Jehovah* as an influence, but it obviously means a person. The following genitives do not denote qualities but effects of the Spirit. The Spirit of Jehovah is not here described as being himself wise etc. but as the author of wisdom in others. This is evident from the last clause, where the fear of Jehovah cannot be an attribute of his Spirit, but must be a fruit of his influence. The qualities enumerated are not to be confounded as mere synonymes, nor on the other hand distinguished with metaphysical precision. That the latter process must be an arbitrary one, may be seen by a comparison of any two or more attempts to define the terms precisely. On the same etymological basis have been founded the most opposite interpretations. Thus the gift of prophetic inspiration is supposed to be intended both by the *Spirit of Jehovah* (Vitringa) and the *Spirit of counsel* (Reinhard), both suppositions being perfectly gratuitous. When Hengstenberg, who takes a just view of the principle on which the passage ought to be interpreted, departs so far from it in practice as to attempt a precise discrimination between חָכְמָה and בִּינָה, he proposes one directly opposite to that proposed by Hendewerk, though both agree that one relates to theoretical and the other to practical wisdom. The truth is that none of these terms is entirely exclusive of the others. Wisdom, understanding, the knowledge of God, the fear of God, are all familiar scriptural descriptions of religion or piety in general. Wisdom and understanding are often joined as equivalent expressions. The latter, according to its etymology, strictly denotes the power of discernment or discrimination. Both are applied to theoretical and practical wisdom, and especially to moral and religious subjects. Counsel and strength are the ability to plan and the ability to execute, neither of which can avail without the other. The knowledge of God does not in itself mean the love of him (Vitringa), although it may infer it as a necessary consequence. The correct knowledge of him certainly produces godly fear or holy reverence, and the two are probably put here for religion in the general, and are so explained in the Septuagint (*γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας*) and Vulgate (scientiae et pietatis). The six attributes here enumerated are grouped in three distinct pairs, the first and last of which, as Hengstenberg supposes, have respect to personal qualities, the second to such as are official; but Ewald distinguishes the first as theoretical, the second as practical, the third as spiritual or religious. Hendewerk ingeniously and earnestly maintains that all these epithets relate to Hezekiah and are verified in his history—the wisdom in 2 Kings 18: 7, *he acted wisely* (יַשְׂכִּיל) *whithersoever he went*—the spirit of counsel and

might in 2 Kings 18 : 20, and in his subduing the Philistines (2 Kings 18 : 8) etc. The simple statement of this exposition is sufficient to refute it. The only person in whom the terms of this prediction have been verified is Jesus Christ, whose wisdom displayed itself in early life and is expressly ascribed to a special divine influence ; who proved himself a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart ; whose ministry was not only characterized by fortitude and boldness, but attested by miracles and mighty deeds ; whose knowledge of divine things far surpassed that of all other men ; and who was himself a living model of all piety. This application is maintained, not only by the older Christian writers, and by Hengstenberg and Henderson, but also by Umbreit. It is an old opinion that the *seven spirits* of the Apocalypse have reference to the sevenfold רוּחַ of this passage.

V. 3. The Messiah is now described as taking pleasure in true piety and recognizing its existence by an infallible sagacity or power of discerning good and evil, which would render him superior to the illusions of the senses and to every external influence. This faculty is figuratively described as an exquisite olfactory perception, such as enables its possessor to distinguish between different odours. *And his sense of smelling* (i. e. his power of perception, with a seeming reference to the pleasure it affords him) shall be exercised *in* (or upon) *the fear of Jehovah* (as an attribute of others), *and* (being thus infallible) *not by the sight* (or *according to the sight*) *of his eyes shall he judge, and not by the hearing of his ears shall he decide.* The Septuagint (followed by J. D. Michaelis, Doederlein, Hensler, Koppe, Kuinöl, Cube) takes והריחו as a preterite with a suffix, and explains the verb as meaning to fill with the Spirit or inspire. Forerius, Clericus, Herder, Vanderpalm, Hendewerk and Ewald, make it mean to breathe. 'His breath is in the fear of Jehovah.' *Nihil nisi pietatem spirabit* (Forerius). Reinhart makes it mean to blow, as an expression of anger. But the only sense confirmed by usage is to smell—his smell is in the fear of Jehovah. Schmidius applies this to the sweet-smelling savour of our Lord's atoning sacrifice, and J. H. Michaelis to his sacerdotal functions. Sanctius and Paulus understand it to denote *his odour* as perceived by others. But it rather denotes actively his smelling or olfactory perception. This is understood by Jarchi, Kimchi, Eichhorn, Henderson and Umbreit, as a figure for discernment or discrimination between false and true religion ; and by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, Hitzig, DeWette, Barnes and Knobel, for the act of taking pleasure as the sense does in a grateful odour. But these two meanings are perfectly consistent, and the phrase is therefore best explained by Cocceius, Vitringa, Lowth and Hengstenberg, as comprehending an infallible discernment and a feeling of complacency. He shall take delight in goodness, and be able to distinguish it without fail from its counter-

feits. Gataker understands בְּיִרְאָתיהוה as denoting that this power of discernment should be exercised in sacred, not in secular affairs; Junius, Piscator, and Vatablus, that it should be joined with or attended by the fear of God. But the ב is really a connective, which the verb הֵרִיחַ commonly takes after it, and adds no more to the meaning of the phrase than the English prepositions when we speak of *smelling to* or *of* a thing instead of simply smelling it. The meaning therefore must be that the fear of God or piety in others would itself be the object upon which this faculty was to exert itself. Grotius, Clericus, Gesenius, and Henderson, understand by *the hearing of his ears* reports or rumours, Hitzig and others complaints and arguments before a judge, both which interpretations are too much restricted. The sight of the eyes and the hearing of the ears are put for the testimony of those senses by which men are chiefly governed in their judgments. The same erroneous view of the passage, which led Hitzig to restrict the hearing of the ear to forensic litigation, has led Barnes and Umbreit to apply the whole of the last clause to judicial partiality or respect of persons. Hendewerk extends this application only to the sight of the eye, and makes the hearing of the ear relate to actual deception of the judge by arguments or testimony. All this is implicitly included in the text, but it includes much more. It is no doubt true that as a judge the Messiah would be equally exempt from all disposition to favour the rich and the great at the expense of the poor, and from all liability to imposition; but it is also true, and here declared, that he should not judge of character at all by the senses, but by an infallible sagacity or power of discerning good and evil.—According to Cocceius, the mention of eyes and ears implies the real humanity of the Messiah. Aben Ezra explains the clause to mean that he would rely upon the sense of smelling rather than that of sight or hearing, and Kimchi even says *instead of* sight and hearing. This interpretation is connected with an old Jewish notion, that the Messiah may be known, when he appears, by his power to distinguish moral character through the sense of smell. In this way the famous false Messiah Bar Kokba (son of a star), is said to have been proved an impostor, and his name changed to Bar Kozba (son of a lie). The original authorities are cited by Gill in his Commentary on this place. Traces of this opinion have been found by some in the New Testament (Luke 7 : 39. John 1 : 49), but on very insufficient grounds. Grotius applies the verse to Hezekiah in the following manner. *His consolation* (הֲרִיחוֹ) *shall be in the fear of the Lord* (i. e. afforded by religion). *He shall not judge according to the sight of his eyes* (i. e. shall not despair even under the most discouraging appearances). *He shall not reason* (יוֹכִיחַ) *according to the hearing of his ears* (i. e. he shall draw no conclusions from the rumours that may reach him, but believe the declarations of the Prophets). Thus explained, the passage is certainly an accurate description

of that good king's conduct during the time of the Assyrian invasion. In the English Version and by Lowth, יוֹכִיחַ is explained as meaning to *reprove*—by Luther, Junius, Clericus and Hengstenberg, to *punish*—by the Septuagint, Vulgate, Calvin, Cocceius, and Vitringa, to *convince* or *convict* —but by J. H. Michaelis, Gesenius, Ewald, and others, to *decide*—and as this includes the others, and makes the parallelism more exact, it is undoubtedly to be preferred.

V. 4. The Messiah, as a righteous judge, is now exhibited in contrast with the unjust magistrates of Judah, as described in ch. 1 : 23. 10 : 2. 5 : 23. *And he shall judge in righteousness the weak* (or poor) *and do justice with equity* (or impartiality) *to the meek of the earth, and shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall slay the wicked.*—By the *earth* to be smitten, Gesenius and others understand the inhabitants of the earth. But the expression seems at least to include the smiting of the earth itself, which is elsewhere represented as the object of God's wrath, and is here described as cursed on man's account. By a *breath of his lips*, some understand a sentence of death, or command to kill (Cocceius, Clericus, Hitzig, Hendewerk)—others a natural expression of anger (Gesenius, DeWette)—others a secret, imperceptible influence, producing conviction (Kimchi, Abarbenel, Vitringa). But the true sense seems to be the one expressed by Calvin and Ewald—a mere word, or a mere breath, as something even less than a word, and yet sufficient to effect his purpose. The Targum adds to רָשָׁע the word ארמילוס, used by the old Jews to denote the last great enemy of their religion, who is to kill Messiah the son of Joseph, but to be killed by Messiah the son of David. Paul, in 1 Thess. 2 : 8, applies these words, with little change, to the destruction of Antichrist at the coming of Christ. It does not follow, however, that this is a specific and exclusive prophecy of that event, but only that it comprehends it, as it evidently does. If one of the Messiah's works is to destroy his enemies, it cannot be fulfilled without the destruction of the last and greatest of those enemies to whom the Scriptures make allusion. But as Hengstenberg observes, if the promise in the first clause is of general import, the threatening in the last must be coextensive with it.

V. 5. *And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins*, i. e. he shall be clothed or invested with these attributes, and they shall adhere closely to him. The metaphor of putting on or clothing one's self with moral attributes is not unfrequent in the Scriptures. The girdle is mentioned as an essential part of oriental dress, and that which keeps the others in their proper place, and qualifies the wearer for exertion. Calvin supposes a particular reference to decoration, and

Hendewerk to the military use of the girdle as a sword-belt. Lowth imagines אזור in one of the clauses to be an error for חגור, because all the ancient versions vary the expression except that of Symmachus, and because the common text is an inelegant tautology. But Gesenius gives a number of analogous examples from this very book, and the recurrence of the word has in fact a good effect, and none the less because the other words are varied. According to Hendewerk, the insertion of חגור would do violence to usage, because that is a generic term for all belts or girdles, including the אזור or military sword-belt, the קשר or female sash, and the אבנט or sacerdotal cincture. These distinctions are not noticed in the lexicons. The Septuagint takes אֵזוֹר in both clauses as a passive participle (אָזוּר) agreeing with the subject of the verb (ἐζωσμένος). The Chaldee paraphrase of this verse makes it mean, that the Messiah would be constantly surrounded by just and faithful men.

V. 6. Here, as in ch. 2 : 4 and 9 : 5, 6, universal peace is represented as a consequence of the Messiah's reign, but under a new and striking figure.—*And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and young lion and fatling together, and a little child shall lead them.* The נָמֵר, so called from its spots, includes the leopard and the panther, and perhaps the tiger. The כְּפִיר is a lion old enough to roar and raven. The רְבִיא, rendered *ox* by the Septuagint and Peshito, and explained to be a particular kind of wild ox by Aben Ezra and Bochart, denotes more probably any fatted beast, and may here be mentioned because beasts of prey select such as their victims. The wolf is introduced as the natural enemy of the lamb, and the leopard, as Bochart tries to prove from Aelian, sustains the same relation to the kid. גּוּר does not mean to dwell in general, but to sojourn as a stranger or a guest, and implies that the lamb should, as it were, receive the wolf into its home. The verb רָבַץ is specially appropriated to express the lying down of sheep and other animals. Here it may denote that the leopard, accustomed to crouch while waiting for its prey, shall now lie down peaceably beside it; or there may be an allusion to the restlessness and fleetness of the wild beast, now to be succeeded by the quiet habits of the ruminating species. The unusual construction נֹהֵג בָּם has led some to take ב in the sense of *among*, and others to regard נֹהֵג as a noun meaning leader or conductor. But the truth is that the insertion of ב between words which seem to cohere most closely, is a common idiom of Hebrew syntax. (Vide supra, ch. 9 : 1, 2.) נָהַג is properly to *lead*, but may include the idea of *driving*, as a shepherd does his flock.—Some supply the substantive verb with יִחְדָּו—shall be together—but a simpler construction is to connect it with the verb in the preceding clause—the leopard and the kid shall lie down together,

the calf, the young lion, and the fatted beast together.—Jerome speaks of the Jews and some judaizing Christians as believing that a literal change in the nature of wild beasts is here predicted. Kimchi regards it as a promise of immunity from wild beasts, to be enjoyed by the Jews alone in the days of the Messiah. Most Christian writers, ancient and modern, with Aben Ezra and Maimonides among the Jews, explain the prophecy as wholly metaphorical, and descriptive of the peace to be enjoyed by God's people—according to Grotius, after Sennacherib's retreat—but according to the rest, under the new dispensation. Cocceius and Clericus apply the passage to the external peace between the church and the world, but it is commonly regarded as descriptive of the change wrought by Christianity in wicked men themselves. Vitringa gives a specific meaning to each figure in the landscape, making the lamb, the calf, and the fatted beast, denote successive stages in the Christian's progress, the lion open enemies, the leopard more disguised ones, the wolf treacherous and malignant ones, the little child the ministry. This kind of exposition not only mars the beauty but obscures the real meaning of the prophecy. Calvin and Hengstenberg suppose the passage to include a promise of a future change in the material creation, restoring it to its original condition (Rom. 8: 19–22), while they agree with other writers in regarding the pacific effects of true religion as the primary subject of the prophecy.

V. 7. *And the cow and the bear shall feed—together shall their young lie down—and the lion like the ox shall eat straw.* According to Vitringa, there is here a climax, not in form but in sense; not only shall the nobler lion be at peace with the domesticated animals, but even the less generous and more ferocious bear. The Septuagint and Peshito repeat יַחְדָּו, in which they are followed by most interpreters, and Lowth inserts it in the text. But according to Hitzig, the wonder is not that the bear grazes *with the cow*, but that it grazes at all, the cow being mentioned only to show what kind of pasture is intended. The sense will then be simply that the bear grazes *like the cow*, the very form of expression used in the last clause with respect to the lion. He mentions straw as a common kind of fodder—*hordei stipulam bubus gratissimam—palea plures gentium pro foeno utuntur.* (Pliny, Nat. Hist. xviii. 30.) The lion's eating straw implies not only cohabitation with domestic cattle, but a change of his carnivorous habits. Vitringa carries out his allegorical hypothesis by making the cow the representative of Christians who have reached the point of giving as well as receiving instruction, of yielding milk as well as drinking it. He apologizes for the use of straw as an emblem of divine truth or the gospel, on the ground that its doctrines are so simple and uninviting to fastidious appetites. The arbitrary character of such interpretations is betrayed by Gill's remark

that straw here means true doctrine, elsewhere false (1 Cor. 3: 12). The truth is that neither the straw nor the lion means any thing by itself; but the lion's eating straw denotes a total change of habit, and indeed of nature, and is therefore a fit emblem for the revolution which the gospel, in proportion to its influence, effects in the condition of society, with some allusion possibly, as before suggested, to the ultimate deliverance of the κτίσις or irrational creation from that bondage of corruption, to which, for man's sake, it is now subjected.

V. 8. To express the idea still more strongly, venomous serpents are represented as innoxious, not to other beasts, but to the human species, and to the most helpless and unthinking of that species. *And the sucking child shall play on* (or *over*) *the hole of the asp, and on the den of the basilisk* (or *cerastes*) *shall the weaned child stretch* (or *place*) *its hand.*—חֹר is omitted by the Septuagint, and explained by Ewald as denoting the *feelers* of a horned snake, and the same sense is ascribed to מְאוּרָה by J. D. Michaelis. But both words really denote a hole or cavity, מְאוּרָה properly a light-hole or aperture admitting light. Gesenius in his commentary follows Bochart in deriving it by permutation from מצרה; but in his Thesaurus, he admits the derivation from אור. Aben Ezra and Kimchi make it mean the eye of the serpent itself, and Hitzig the shield between the eyes of the basilisk. The precise discrimination of the species of serpents here referred to, is of no importance to the exegesis. All that is necessary to a correct understanding of the verse is that both words denote extremely venomous and deadly reptiles. The weaned child means of course a child just weaned, which idea is expressed in translation by Vitringa (nuper depulsus a lacte), Lowth (the new-weaned child), and Gesenius (der kaum Entwöhnte). The parallel terms are rendered by Henderson the *suckling* and the *weanling*. According to Jerome, this verse predicts the casting out of devils by our Lord's disciples; according to Vitringa, the conversion or destruction of heretical teachers; while Cocceius makes it a specific prophecy of Luther, Calvin, and Huss, as the children who were to thrust their hands into the den of the antichristian serpents. It is really a mere continuation of the metaphor begun in v. 7, and expresses, by an additional figure, the change to be effected in society by the prevalence of true religion, destroying noxious influences and rendering it possible to live in safety.

V. 9. The strong figures of the foregoing context are now resolved into literal expressions. *They* (indefinitely, men in general) *shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, because the land is full of the knowledge of Jehovah* (literally, of knowing him) *like the waters covering the sea.*—Aben Ezra seems to think that the verbs in the first clause must agree with

the nouns in the preceding verse—*they* (the animals just mentioned) *shall not hurt*, etc. But the absence of the copulative shows that this is not so much a direct continuation of the previous description as a summary explanation of it. The true construction, therefore, is indefinite. Rosenmüller distinguishes the two verbs as meaning to injure others and to injure themselves; but they are evidently used as mere equivalent expressions. *My holy mountain* does not mean the whole land of Israel, so called as being higher than all other countries (Kimchi)—nor the mountainous part of it (Jahn), to which there could be no reason for specially alluding, and of which the singular form הַר is not descriptive—but Zion, or Moriah, or the city built upon them, not considered simply as a capital city, in which a reformation was particularly needed (Hitzig), but as the seat of the true religion, and at that time the local habitation of the church. What was true of the church there is true of the church everywhere. The first clause clearly shows that the foregoing description is to be figuratively understood. That the wolf and the lamb should lie down together, means in other words, that none should hurt or destroy in the Messiah's kingdom. The reason is given in the last clause. אֶרֶץ may mean the land of Israel as the abode of the true religion, and the whole earth so far as the church was to become coextensive with it. For the syntax of the verbal noun with the accusative, see Gesenius § 130. 1. *The sea*, according to Kimchi and Gesenius, means the bottom or the basin of the sea. The construction of this clause by Luther and Augusti (as if covered with the waters of the sea) is very inexact. The ל is used instead of the more usual עַל. The strict sense of the words is, *covering with respect to the sea.* The point of comparison is not the mere extent of surface (Vatablus) nor the depth (Vitringa), but the fulness of the land to the extent of its capacity. This passage is descriptive of the reign of the Messiah, not at any one period, but as a whole. A historian, as Vitringa well observes, in giving a general description of the reign of David, would not use language applicable only to its beginning. The prophecy is therefore one of gradual fulfilment. So far as the cause operates, the effect follows, and when the cause shall operate without restraint, the effect will be complete and universal. The use of the future in the first clause and the preterite in the second may imply, that the prevalence of the knowledge of Jehovah must precede that of universal peace. It is not till the land *has been filled* with that knowledge, that men *will cease* to injure and destroy.—It will be sufficient to record without comment, that according to Cocceius the holy mountain is the reformed church, as the basilisk's den was the church of Rome, and that the reconciliation here predicted is a mere external one between the people of God and their oppressors.

V. 10. Having described the Messiah's reign and its effects, he now brings his person into view again. *And in that day shall the root of Jesse which* (is) *standing* (or set up) *be for a signal to the nations—unto him shall the gentiles seek, and his rest* (or residence) *shall be glorious.*—Almost all interpreters take הָיָה in the indefinite sense, *it shall be* or *come to pass*, as a mere idiomatic introduction to what follows, leaving שֹׁרֶשׁ to be construed as a nominative absolute. But Ewald makes שֹׁרֶשׁ itself the subject of הָיָה, which is a simpler construction.—The *root of Jesse* is explained by Kimchi and most other writers to be put by metonymy for that which grows out of his roots and therefore equivalent to חֹטֶר and נֵצֶר in v. 1. So the ῥίζα Δαβίδ of Rev. 5: 5 and 22: 16 is explained by Stuart as meaning "not *root* of David, but a *root-shoot* from the trunk or stem of David." But Vitringa supposes the Messiah to be called the *root of Jesse*, because by him the family of Jesse is sustained and perpetuated; Cocceius, because he was not only his descendant but his Maker and his Saviour. Hitzig understands by the root that in which the root is reproduced and reappears. But Umbreit takes the word in its proper sense, and understands the prophecy to mean that the family of Jesse now under ground should reappear and rise to the height of a נֵס, not a military standard, but a signal, especially one raised to mark a place of rendezvous, for which purpose lofty trees are said to have been sometimes used. A signal of the nations then is one displayed to gather them. עֹמֵד describes it as continuing or permanently fixed. The reference is not to Christ's crucifixion, but to his manifestation to the gentiles through the preaching of the gospel. עַמִּים is here used as a synonyme of גּוֹיִם, meaning not the tribes of Israel but other nations. To *seek to* is not merely to inquire about, through curiosity—or to seek one's favour in the general—or to pay religious honours—but more specifically to consult as an oracle or depository of religious truth. By *his rest* we are not to understand his grave—or his death—or his sabbath—or the rest he gives his people—but his place of rest, his residence. There is no need of supplying a preposition before *glory*, which is an abstract used for a concrete—glory for glorious. The church, Christ's home, shall be glorious from his presence and the accession of the gentiles. Forerius and J. D. Michaelis needlessly read מִנְחָתוֹ his offering.

V. 11. *And it shall be* (or come to pass) *in that day*—not the days of Hezekiah (Grotius), nor the days of Cyrus and Darius (Sanctius), nor the days of the Maccabees (Jahn), but the days of the Messiah—*the Lord shall add his hand* (or add to apply his hand) *a second time*—not second in reference to the overthrow of Pekah and Rezin (Sanctius), or the return from Babylon (Forerius), or the first preaching of the gospel to the Jews (Cocceius), but to the deliverance from Egypt. שֵׁנִית is not pleonastic (Gesenius) but

emphatic. *His hand*—not his arm (Hitzig)—as a symbol of strength (Targum)—not in apposition with *the Lord*, the Lord even his hand (Hitzig, Hendewerk), nor governed by *show* understood (τοῦ δεῖξαι), nor qualifying לִקְנוֹת (Grotius), but either governed by לְשַׁלַּח understood (Luther, ausstrecken), or directly by יוֹסִיף (Vulg. adjiciet manum). קְנוֹת is not the infinitive of קָנָא (LXX. ζηλῶσαι, Clericus), but of קָנָה. It does not mean merely to possess (Vulgate) but to acquire (Luther), especially by purchase, and so to redeem from bondage and oppression (Vitringa), as עָבַר is to subject them to it (Gesenius), although the true opposite of the latter verb seems to be פָּדָה (Hendewerk). *The remnant of his people*—not the survivors of the original captives (Aben Ezra, Hendewerk)—but those living at the time of the deliverance, or still more restrictedly, the remnant according to the election of grace (Calvin).—*From Assyria* etc. to be construed not with לִקְנוֹת (Abarbenel), but with תִּשָּׁאֵר, as appears from v. 16. The countries mentioned are put for all in which the Jews should be scattered.—There is no importance to be attached to the order in which they are enumerated (Cocceius), nor is the precise extent of each material. Assyria and Egypt are named first and together, as the two great foreign powers, with which the Jews were best acquainted. *Pathros* is not Parthia (Calvin), nor Arabia Petræa (Forerius), nor Pharusis in Ethiopia (Grotius), nor Patures, in the Delta of the Nile (Brocard, Adrichomius), but Thebais or Upper Egypt, as appears not only from a comparison of Scriptures (Bochart), but also from the Egyptian etymology of the name (Jablonsky), as denoting the region of the south (Gesenius). It is distinguished from Egypt by the classical writers also.—מִצְרַיִם is a dual form, properly denoting either upper and lower or middle and lower Egypt.—*Cush* is not merely Ethiopia proper (Gesenius), or the land of Midian (Bochart), or Babylonia (Septuagint), or India (Targum), but Ethiopia, perhaps including part of Arabia, from which it appears to have been settled (Calvin, J. D. Michaelis).—*Shinar* is properly the plain in which Babylon was built, thence put for Babylonia. *Elam* is not the rising of the sun (Septuagint), but Elymais, a province of Persia, contiguous to Media, sometimes put for the whole country. *Hamath* is not Arabia (Septuagint), but a city of Syria on the Orontes. (Vide supra, ch. 10: 9.) *Islands of the sea*, not regions (Henderson) which is too vague, nor coasts in general (J. D. Michaelis), nor islands in the strict sense (Clericus), but the shores of the Mediterranean, whether insular or continental, and substantially equivalent to Europe (Cocceius), meaning the part of it then known, and here put last, according to Cocceius, as being the most important.—This prophecy does not relate to the gentiles or the Christian church (Cocceius), but to the Jews (Jerome). The dispersions spoken of are not merely such as had already taken place at the date of the prediction

(Gesenius), but others then still future (Hengstenberg), including not only the Babylonish exile but the present dispersion. The prophecy was not fulfilled in the return of the refugees after Sennacherib's discomfiture (Grotius), nor in the return from Babylon (Sanctius), and but partially in the preaching of the gospel to the Jews. The complete fulfilment is to be expected when *all Israel shall be saved.* The prediction must be figuratively understood, because the nations mentioned in this verse have long ceased to exist. The event prefigured is, according to Keith and others, the return of the Jews to Palestine ; but according to Calvin, Vitringa, and Hengstenberg, their admission to Christ's kingdom on repentance and reception of the Christian faith.

V. 12. *And he* (Jehovah) *shall set up a signal to the nations, and shall gather the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah shall he bring together from the four wings of the earth.*—נֵס is not necessarily a *banner* (Luther) but a sign or signal (LXX. σημεῖον, Vulg. signum) displayed for the purpose of assembling troops or others at some one point.—*To the nations*, not *among them* (Luther), nor *for them* (English Version), which though essentially correct, is not so simple and exact as *to the nations*, i. e. in their sight. The nations thus addressed are not the Jews but the gentiles, and, as most interpreters suppose, those gentiles among whom the Jews were scattered, and who are summoned by the signal here displayed to set the captives free, or to assist them in returning, or, according to the rabbins, actually to bring them as an offering to Jehovah, a figure elsewhere used in this same book (ch. 66 : 19, 20). Hitzig indeed with double assurance pronounces that passage to be not only written by another hand but founded upon a misapprehension of the one before us. But the very same idea is expressed in ch. 14 : 2. 49 : 22. There is, however, another view of the passage, which supposes the *nations* or gentiles to be here mentioned as distinct from the Jews, and unconnected with them. The verse then contains two successive predictions, first, that the gentiles shall be called, and then that the Jews shall be restored, which agrees exactly with Paul's account of the connexion between these events. *Blindness in part is happened to Israel until the fulness of the gentiles be come in* (Rom. 11 : 25, 26). On this hypothesis, the signal is displayed to the gentiles, not that they may send or bring the Jews back, but that they may come themselves, and then the gathering of Israel and Judah is added, as a distinct if not a subsequent event. This last interpretation is favoured by the analogy of a New Testament prophecy, the first by an analogous prophecy of Isaiah himself.—Israel and Judah are put together to denote the race in general. *Outcasts* and *dispersed* are of different genders. The latter, which is feminine in form, is supposed by the older writers to agree with

some word understood—such as souls (Pagninus), members (Junius), sheep (Piscator), families (Clericus), women (Gataker)—implying that no sex or rank would be passed by. According to Gesenius, the construction is an idiomatic one, both predicates belonging to both subjects, the exiled men of Israel and the scattered women of Judah, meaning the exiled men and scattered women both of Israel and Judah. (For other examples of this merismus or parallage elliptica, see ch. 18: 6. Zech. 9: 17. Prov. 10: 1.) At the same time he regards it as an example of another idiom which combines the genders to express totality. (Vide supra, ch. 3: 1.) But these two explanations are hardly compatible, and Henderson, with more consistency, alleges that there is no distinct allusion to the sex of the wanderers, and that the feminine form is added simply to express universality. Ewald, on the contrary, makes the distinction of the sexes prominent by adding to the participles *man and wife*. כְּנָפַיִם is properly the wing of a bird, then the skirt or edge of a garment, then the extremity of the earth, in which sense it is used both in the singular and plural. The same idea is expressed by the *four winds*, with which in the New Testament are mentioned the *four corners*, and this last expression is used even here by Clericus and in the old French version. The reference of course is to the cardinal points of the compass, as determined by the rising and setting of the sun.—If this verse be understood as predicting the agency of the gentiles in restoring the Jews, it may be said to have been partially fulfilled in the return from Babylon under the auspices of Cyrus, and again in all efforts made by gentile Christians to convert the Jews; but its full accomplishment is still prospective, and God may even now be lifting up a signal to the gentiles for this very purpose.—Hendewerk's notion that this prophecy was fulfilled when *many brought gifts unto the Lord to Jerusalem, and presents to Hezekiah king of Judah, so that he was lifted up* (וַתְּנַשֵּׂא) *in the sight of all nations from thenceforth* (2 Chron. 32: 23), neither requires nor admits of refutation. The same may perhaps be said of Coccceius's opinion, that this verse relates wholly or chiefly to the healing of divisions in the Christian church.

V. 13. *And the envy of Ephraim shall depart* (or cease), *and the enemies of Judah shall be cut off. Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex* (oppress or harass) *Ephraim.* Jacob, in his prophetic statement of the fortunes of his sons, disregards the rights of primogeniture and gives the pre-eminence to Judah and Joseph (Gen. 49: 8–12. 22–26), and in the family of the latter to the younger son Ephraim (Gen. 48: 19). Hence from the time of the exodus, these two were regarded as the leading tribes of Israel. Judah was much more numerous than Ephraim (Num. 1: 27, 33)—took precedence during the journey in the wilderness (Num.

2 : 3. 10 : 14)—and received the largest portion in the promised land. But Joshua was an Ephraimite (Num. 13 : 8), and Shiloh, where the tabernacle long stood (Jos. 18 : 1. 1 Sam. 4 : 3), was probably within the limits of the same tribe. The ambitious jealousy of the Ephraimites towards other tribes appears in their conduct to Gideon and Jephtha (Judges 8 : 1. 12 : 1). Their special jealousy of Judah showed itself in their temporary refusal to submit to David after the death of Saul—in their adherence to Absalom against his father—and in the readiness with which they joined in the revolt of Jeroboam, who was himself of the tribe of Ephraim (1 Kings 11 : 26). This schism was, therefore, not a sudden or fortuitous occurrence, but the natural result of causes which had long been working. The mutual relation of the two kingdoms is expressed in the recorded fact, that *there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and between Asa and Baasha, all their days* (1 Kings 14 : 30. 15 : 16). Exceptions to the general rule, as in the case of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, were rare, and a departure from the principles and ordinary feelings of the parties. The ten tribes, which assumed the name of Israel after the division, and perhaps before it, regarded the smaller and less warlike state with a contempt which is well expressed by Jehoash in his parable of the cedar and the thistle (2 Kings 14 : 9), unless the feeling there displayed be rather personal than national. On the other hand, Judah justly regarded Israel as guilty, not only of political revolt, but of religious apostasy (Ps. 78 : 9–11), and the jealousy of Ephraim towards Judah would of course be increased by the fact that Jehovah had *forsaken the tabernacle of Shiloh* (Ps. 78 : 60), that he *refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Zion which he loved* (ib. vs. 67, 68). To these historical facts Gesenius refers, as showing the incorrectness of DeWette's assertion, that the hatred and jealousy existed only on the part of Judah—a paradox which may indeed be looked upon as neutralized by the counter-paradox of Hitzig, that they existed only on the part of Ephraim! They were no doubt indulged on both sides, but with this difference, that Ephraim or Israel was in the wrong from the beginning, and as might have been expected, more malignant in its enmity. This view of the matter will serve to explain why it is that when the Prophet would foretell a state of harmony and peace, he does so by declaring that the hereditary and proverbial enmity of Judah and Israel should cease. It also explains why he lays so much more stress upon the envy of Ephraim than upon the enmity of Judah, viz. because the latter was only an indulgence of unhallowed feeling, to which, in the other case, were superadded open rebellion and apostasy from God. Hence the first three members of the verse before us speak of Ephraim's enmity to Judah, and only the fourth of Judah's enmity to Ephraim; as if it had occurred to the Prophet, that

although it was Ephraim whose disposition needed chiefly to be changed, yet Judah also had a change to undergo, which is therefore intimated in the last clause, as a kind of after-thought. The envy of Ephraim against Judah shall depart—the enemies of Judah (in the kingdom of the ten tribes) shall be cut off—Ephraim shall no more envy Judah—yes, and Judah in its turn shall cease to vex Ephraim. There is indeed another construction of the verse, ancient and sanctioned by very high authority, which makes the Prophet represent the parties as precisely alike, and predict exactly the same change in both. This construction supposes צֹרְרֵי יְהוּדָה to mean, not the *enemies of Judah* (whether foreign, as Cocceius thinks, or in the sister kingdom), but the *enemies* (*of Ephraim*) *in Judah*, or *those of Judah who are enemies* to Ephraim. This construction, which is copied by Rosenmüller and Gesenius from Albert Schultens, is really as old as Kimchi, who remarks upon the clause, *for of old there were in Judah enemies to Ephraim*. Against it may be urged, not only the general principle of Hebrew syntax, that a noun in regimen with an active participle denotes the object of the action, but the specific usage of this very word. Haman is called צֹרֵר הַיְּהוּדִים, *the enemy* (or oppressor) *of the Jews* (Esther 3 : 10), and Amos (5 : 12) speaks of those who treat the righteous as an enemy (צֹרְרֵי צַדִּיק). In all the cases where a different construction of the participle with a noun has been alleged, either the usual one is precluded by the connexion or the nature of the subject, or the syntax is more doubtful than in the case before us (e. g. Ex. 5 : 14. 1 Sam. 19 : 29. 1 Kings 2 : 7. 5 : 32). Knobel's assertion that the participle is used as a noun, and does therefore signify the object of the action, is contradicted by the usage of צֹרֵר, already stated. A still more arbitrary method of attaining the same end is that proposed by Secker and approved by Lowth, who read צָרְרֵי as an abstract meaning *enmity*, or the modification suggested by Gesenius, of taking the active participle itself as an abstract noun. These constructions are so violent, and the contrary usage so plain, that the question naturally arises, why should the latter be departed from at all? The answer is, because the favourite notion of exact parallelism requires it. All the writers who maintain this opinion assume that the second clause must express the same idea with the first, and in the same order. Luther indeed was satisfied with an inverted order, and by giving to the first phrase the sense of *envy against Ephraim* (which is not more unauthorized than to make the other mean *enemies in Judah*), has contrived to make the first clause correspond to the fourth, and the second to the third (und der Neid *wider* Ephraim wird aufhören, u. s. w.). But the modern writers must have a parallelism still more exact, and to this rhetorical chimera both the syntax and the true sense of the passage must be sacrificed. In this case we are able to produce an instance from another prophet, an older contemporary of Isaiah, in which the structure of the sentence coincides

precisely with the one before us, that is to say, there are several successive clauses relating to one of the parties mentioned, and then a final one relating to the other. This example is found in Hos. 3 : 3, *And I said to her, thou shalt abide for me many days—thou shalt not play the harlot—and thou shalt not be another man's—and I will also* (act thus) *to thee.* So here, the jealousy of Ephraim shall cease—the enemies of Judah among them shall be cut off—Ephraim shall then no longer envy Judah—and Judah in return shall no longer be the enemy of Ephraim. The objection that the passage in Hosea is mere prose, is not only gratuitous, but concedes the liberty of assuming the same thing in the case before us. The influence exerted on interpretation by this theory of perfect parallels is clear in this case, from the fact that Hengstenberg follows Gesenius without any hesitation, and that Ewald (though he modifies the meaning of צָרַר) adopts the same construction, in direct opposition to his own authority (Heb. Gr. § 208), which Hitzig had cited in defence of the true interpretation. The tendency of this theory is moreover apparent from the conclusion to which Hitzig himself comes, that although צֹרְרֵי יְהוּדָה can only mean the *enemies of Judah*, the second clause evidently puts the other sense upon it, and is therefore an interpolation! Umbreit alone of the recent German writers has the good sense and taste to reject at once this wanton mutilation of the text and the forced construction of the sentence, and to understand the sentence in the simple and obvious meaning put upon it by the ancient versions and by the older writers who have not been mentioned.—The fulfilment of this prophecy is found by Hendewerk in Hezekiah's efforts to reclaim the Israelites to the worship of Jehovah (2 Chron. 30). That it was not fulfilled in the return from exile, is sufficiently notorious. That it had not been fulfilled when Christ came, is plain from the continued enmity between the Jews, Samaritans, and Galileans. The only fulfilment it has ever had is in the abolition of all national and sectional distinctions in the Christian church (Gal. 3 : 27, 29. 5 : 6), to which converted Jews as well as others must submit. Its full accomplishment is yet to come, in the re-union of the tribes of Israel under Christ their common head (Hos. 1 : 11).—Jarchi explains the verse to mean that Messiah the son of Joseph and Messiah the son of Judah shall not envy one another—Aben Ezra, that Ephraim shall not be jealous because the Messiah is to come of Judah. Cocceius applies the prophecy exclusively to future reconciliations in the Christian church.—צָרַר is not to *envy*, as Schultens argues from the Arabic analogy, nor to be *turbulent*, as Ewald gives it, but to treat in a hostile manner. סָרָה is strictly to *depart*, i. e. cease or be removed, as in ch. 10 : 27.

V. 14. Instead of assailing or annoying one another, they are represented as making common cause against a common enemy. *And they*

(Ephraim and Judah, undivided Israel) *shall fly* (like a bird of prey) *upon the shoulder of the Philistines towards the sea* (or *westwards*)—*together they shall spoil the sons of the east* (the Arabians and perhaps the Syrians) —*Edom and Moab the stretching out of their hand* (i. e. the object of that action) *and the children of Ammon their obedience* (i. e. their subjects). All the names are those of neighbouring nations with whom the Hebrews were accustomed to wage war. Edom, Moab, and Ammon, may be specially named for an additional reason, viz. that they were nearly related to Israel, and yet among his most inveterate enemies. The Jews explain this as a literal prediction having respect to the countries formerly possessed by the races here enumerated. Most Christian writers understand it spiritually of the conquests to be achieved by the true religion, and suppose the nations here named to be simply put for enemies in general, or for the heathen world; this method of description being rendered more emphatic by the historical associations which the names awaken.—To *fly upon* means here to *fly at*, or, as Henderson expresses it, to *pounce upon*, the figure being that of an eagle or other bird of prey. The almost innumerable meanings put upon this verse and its peculiar expressions, may be found in Pool, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius.

V. 15. To the destruction of the enemies of Israel is added a prediction that all obstacles, even the most formidable, to the restoration of God's people, shall be overcome or taken away by his almighty power. This idea is naturally expressed by the dividing of the Red Sea and Euphrates, because Egypt and Assyria are the two great powers from which Israel had suffered and was yet to be delivered. *And Jehovah will destroy* (by drying up) *the tongue* (or bay) *of the sea of Egypt* (i. e. the Red Sea), *and he will wave his hand* (as a gesture of menace or a symbol of miraculous power) *over the river* (Euphrates), *in the violence of his wind* (or breath), *and smite it* (the Euphrates) *into seven streams, and make* (his people) *tread* (it) *in shoes* (i. e. dry-shod). The meaning of הַחֲרִים is not to split, divide (Knobel), for which there is nothing but an Arabic analogy and a doubtful interpretation of חָרַם Lev. 21 : 18—but properly to consecrate by an irrevocable vow, and then by implication to destroy, which in this case could be done only by *drying up*. This last idea, therefore, is included, but there is no need of reading החריב, as Houbigant, Lowth, and Rosenmüller do, on the authority of the ancient versions.—*Tongue*, which is applied in other languages to projecting points of land, is here descriptive of a bay or indentation in a shore. The *sea of Egypt* is not the Nile, as some suppose, although the name *sea* has been certainly applied to it from the earliest times—but the Red Sea, called the Sea of Egypt for the same reason that it is called the Arabian Gulf. The *tongue* of this sea

is the narrow gulf or bay in which it terminates to the north-west near Suez, called by the old writers the *Sinus Heroopolitanus*, to distinguish it from the *Sinus Elaniticus*, the north-east extremity. Through the former the Israelites passed when they left Egypt, and it is now predicted that it shall be utterly destroyed, i. e. dried up. At the same time the Euphrates is to be smitten into seven streams, and so made fordable, as Cyrus is said to have reduced the Gyndes by diverting its water into 360 artificial channels. Vitringa supposes a specific overthrow of Egypt and Assyria to be here predicted; Grotius, the division of the latter into several kingdoms. But the terms are probably strong figures drawn from the early history and experience of Israel. Gesenius, in the last edition of his lexicon, appears to favour the reading of עצם for ים (in the strength of his wind), suggested by Luzzatto, on the ground of the resemblance between ם and צ in the old Hebrew alphabet. The other reading, which occurs only here, is commonly explained to mean *violent heat*, and then secondarily violence in general.

V. 16. *And there shall be a highway for the remnant of my people, which shall be left, from Assyria, as there was for Israel, in the day of his coming up from the land of Egypt.* This verse admits of two intepretations. According to one, it is a comparison of the former deliverance from Egypt with the future one from Assyria and the neighbouring countries, where most Jewish exiles were to be found. According to the other, it is a repetition of the preceding promise, that previous deliverances, particularly those from Egypt and Assyria, should be repeated in the future history of the church. The fulfilment has been sought by different interpreters, in the return from Babylon, in the general progress of the gospel, and in the future restoration of the Jews. The first of these can at most be regarded only as a partial or inchoate fulfilment, and against the last lies the obvious objection, that the context contains promises and threatenings which are obviously figurative, although so expressed as to contain allusions to remarkable events in the experience of Israel. Such is the dividing or drying up of the tongue of the Red Sea, which must either be figuratively understood, or supposed to refer to a future miracle, which last hypothesis is certainly not necessary, and therefore can be fully justified by nothing but the actual event.—מְסִלָּה is not simply a *way*, as the ancient versions give it, nor a fortified way as Coccceius explains it (via munita), but a highway as explained by Junius (agger) and Henderson (causey), an artificial road formed by casting up the earth (from סָלַל to raise), and thus distinguished from a path worn by the feet (דֶּרֶךְ or נְתִיבָה). Knobel and some other of the later writers suppose an allusion to the desert after the crossing of the water, whereas all the older writers understand a way through the water itself. Grotius and Knobel connect לְשְׁאֵר with מְסִלָּה, others with הוֹתִיר, as in v. 11. The ambiguity of the Hebrew construction is skilfully retained in the English Version.

CHAPTER XII.

Taking occasion from the reference to Egypt and the exodus in the close of the preceding chapter, the Prophet now puts into the mouth of Israel a song analogous to that of Moses, from which some of the expressions are directly borrowed. The structure of this Psalm is very regular, consisting of two parts, in each of which the Prophet first tells the people what they will say, or have a right to say, when the foregoing promises are verified, and then addresses them again in his own person and in the usual language of prediction. In the first stanza, they are made to acknowledge the divine compassion and to express their confidence in God as the source of all their strength, and therefore the rightful object of their praise, vs. 1–3. In the second stanza, they exhort one another to make known what God has done for them, not only at home but among all nations, and are exhorted by the Prophet to rejoice in the manifested presence of Jehovah, vs. 4–6.

Ewald rejects this chapter, as an addition made by some reader or transcriber of Isaiah later than the exile. His reasons are, that the prophecy is wound up and complete at the close of the eleventh chapter, and that the style, phraseology, and tone, are not those of Isaiah. The first of these reasons he refutes himself by saying that the reference to Egypt in ch. 11: 16, probably suggested this addition to the later writer; a hypothesis which we are equally at liberty to apply to Isaiah himself, unless the passage is manifestly from another hand. This reduces Ewald's arguments to one, and to that one Umbreit gives a sufficient answer when he says that the Prophet, intending to wind up his prophecy with a composition in the nature of a psalm, adopts of course the general style, which from the time of David had been used for that purpose. That he did not rather copy the manner of Moses, may be explained, not only on the ground that the other style had now become familiar to the people, but also on the ground that such an imitation might have made the comparison with Egypt and the exodus too prominent for the Prophet's purpose, which was to express thanksgiving in a manner appropriate to all the deliverances of the church from evil, whether natural or spiritual. Hence too the indefiniteness of the language, and a seeming want of intimate connexion with the foregoing prophecy.

V. 1. *And thou*—Israel, the people of God—*shalt say in that day*—when the foregoing promise is accomplished—*I will praise thee*—strictly, *acknowledge thee* as worthy, and as a benefactor—*for thou wast angry with*

me, but thine anger is turned away and thou comfortest me.—The English version renders כִּי *though*, but according to the masoretic interpunction, it must be read with the preceding words. The apparent incongruity of thanking God because he was angry, is removed by considering that the subject of the thanksgiving is the whole complex idea expressed in the remainder of the verse, of which God's being angry is only one element. It was not simply because God was angry that the people praise him, but because he was angry and his anger ceased. The same idea is expressed by the English Version in another form, by intimating early in the sentence the relation of its parts, whereas it is characteristic of the Hebrew style to state things absolutely first, and qualify them afterwards. The same mode of expression is used by Paul in Greek, when he says (Romans 6 : 17), God be thanked that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have from the heart obeyed etc. This view of the matter precludes the necessity of taking אוֹדְךָ in the sense of *I acknowledge thee* to have been just in being angry at me. The force of the particle at the beginning of the second clause can be fully represented only by the English *but*.—יָשֹׁב is the abbreviated form of the future, commonly used to express a wish or a command, in which sense some explain it here, taking this clause as a prayer for deliverance. But this would confine the expression of thanksgiving to God's being angry, the very incongruity which has just been shown not to exist. It must be taken either as a poetical substitute for יָשׁוּב with a present meaning, or as contracted for וַיָּשָׁב in a past sense, which is given in most versions. The force of the verb in this connexion is enhanced by a comparison with chap. 10 : 4, and the parallel verses of the foregoing context, where it is said repeatedly that God's wrath had not turned back or away (לֹא שָׁב). *Thou comfortest me*, not by words only but by deeds, which may seem to justify the version *thou hast mercy on me*, given by some writers.

V. 2. *Behold, God is my salvation. I will trust, and not be afraid; for my strength and song is Jah Jehovah, and he is become my salvation.* Some exchange the abstract for the concrete, *my Saviour*, but with a great loss of strength in the expression. The first verb may be rendered in the present (*I trust*), as describing an actual state of mind; but the future form, while it sufficiently implies this, at the same time expresses a fixed determination, I will trust, be confident, secure. The next words contain a negative expression of the same idea. In certain connexions, עֹז seems to denote power as an element of glory, an object of admiration, and a subject of praise. Hence Gesenius and others assign *praise* as a secondary meaning of the word itself, which is pushing the deduction and distinction of senses to extremes. Jarchi observes that עָזִּי, with ŏ in the first syllable, is never used except in combination with זִמְרָה, the orthography elsewhere

being always עֻזִּי. This variation may, however, be euphonic, and have no connexion with a difference of meaning. *My praise and my song* gives a good sense, but no better, and assuredly no stronger, than *my strength and my song*, i. e. the source of my protection and the subject of my praise. Kimchi and others regard זִמְרָת, here and in the parallel passages, as an abbreviation of זִמְרָתִי; but the modern writers make it a collateral or cognate form of זִמְרָה, and supply the suffix from the preceding word.—Cocceius derives יָהּ from יָאָה to be suitable, becoming, and considers it an abstract denoting the divine perfection. It is much more probably an abbreviation of יְהוָה, and as such occurs at the end of many compound proper names. In the song of Moses, from which this expression is borrowed, יְהוָה is omitted (Ex. 15: 2), as also in Ps. 118: 14, which is copied from the same. Nor does the combination יָהּ יְהוָה occur elsewhere, except in Isai. 26: 4. Some of the modern writers, therefore, have contended that יְהוָה is superfluous. But the fact of its occurrence in another passage of this very book precludes this emendation in the absence of external evidence. There is really nothing more surprising in the combination than in the frequent accumulation of the other divine names.

V. 3. *And ye shall draw water with joy from the springs of salvation.* —This is a natural and common figure for obtaining and enjoying divine favour. There is no need of supposing a particular allusion to the doctrines of religion. By this verse the Talmudists explain and justify the custom of pouring out water from the fountain of Siloam at the feast of tabernacles, a ceremony no doubt long posterior to the time of Isaiah.

V. 4. *And ye shall say* (to one another) *in that day, praise* (or give thanks to) *Jehovah, call upon his name* (proclaim it), *make known among the nations his exploits* (or achievements), *remind* (them) *that his name is exalted.* Some take הַזְכִּירוּ in the sense of praising, celebrating, and translate כִּי for, because, in which case what follows is not the subject but the reason of the praise. The English Bible has *make mention;* but the strict sense of the Hiphil as a causative is perfectly appropriate and suits the context. *Name* is here used in the pregnant sense of that whereby God makes himself known, including explicit revelation and the exhibition of his attributes in all. On the usage of this word in the Psalms, see Hengstenberg on Ps. 8: 1.

V. 5. *Praise Jehovah* (by singing, and perhaps with instruments) *because he has done elevation* (or sublimity, i. e. a sublime deed). *Known is this* (or *be* this) *in all the earth.*—זמר means properly to play upon stringed instruments, then to sing with an accompaniment, then to sing in general,

then to praise by singing or by music generally. In this last sense it may govern the noun directly.—The English Version, *excellent things*, is too indefinite for the singular form גְּאוּת.—The Kethib מידעת is the Pual, the Keri מוּדַעַת the Hophal participle, of ידע *to know*. Both forms are causative and passive, *made known*, caused to be known. Knobel conjectures that מֻיְדַּעַת may have been a noun, synonymous with מוֹדַעַת, and analogous in form to מֻרְפַּאַת from רָפָא.—The English Version supplies *is*, and makes the last clause an appeal to the whole world for the truth of the thing celebrated. Most of the recent versions make it an imperative expression, exhorting to a general diffusion of the truth.

V. 6. *Cry out and shout* (or sing), *oh inhabitant of Zion* (the people or the church personified as a woman), *for great in the midst of thee* (residing in thee by a special manifestation of his presence) *is the Holy One of Israel* (that Holy Being who has bound himself to Israel, in a peculiar and extraordinary manner, as their covenant God).

CHAPTERS XIII, XIV.

Here begins a series of prophecies (chap. XIII—XXIII) against certain foreign powers, from the enmity of which Israel had been more or less a sufferer. The first in the series is a memorable prophecy of the fall of the Babylonian empire and the destruction of Babylon itself (chap. XIII, XIV) The Medes are expressly named as the instruments of its subjection, and the prophecy contains several other remarkable coincidences with history both sacred and profane. Hence it was justly regarded by the older writers, both Jews and Christians, as an extraordinary instance of prophetic foresight. As such, even J. D. Michaelis defends it against the hypothesis (then a novel one) of an *ex post facto* prophecy invented for the purpose of inducing Cyrus to befriend the Jews. He argues conclusively against this supposition, on the ground that the literary merit of the passage is too exquisite for such an origin, and that the writer, in the case supposed, could not have represented the destruction of Babylon as total without defeating his own purpose. The last objection also lies against Eichhorn's supposition of a prophecy written after the event but without any fraudulent design, the form of prediction being merely a poetical costume. Rosenmüller holds that it was written towards the close of the Babylonish exile, while the events which it describes were in progress, or so near at hand as to be

readily foreseen. This view of the matter is also taken by Gesenius and the later German writers on Isaiah. The arguments in favour of it, as recently stated by Knobel, may be reduced to three—(1) a spirit unworthy of Isaiah, i. e. one of bitter hatred and desire of revenge—(2) a want of resemblance in the style and diction to the genuine writings of Isaiah, and a strong resemblance to some later compositions—(3) a constant allusion to historical events and a state of things which did not exist for ages after Isaiah. The answer to the first reason is that it is false. Such is not the natural impression which the prophecy would make on an unbiassed reader. This perversion has been unintentionally aided by a rhetorical mistake of Calvin and other Christian interpreters in representing the fourteenth chapter as taunting and sarcastic in its tone, which on the contrary is characterized by pathos. But even on this erroneous supposition, there is nothing to justify the charge of bitter vengefulness, brought for the first time by the latest German writers, with an obvious design to strengthen their weak arguments derived from other sources. The second argument is unsound in principle and precarious in application. On the ground that every writer always writes alike, only one composition of any author can be certainly proved genuine. The Satires of Horace must be spurious because he was a lyric poet—the Georgics of Virgil because he was an epic poet—the Plaideurs of Racine because he was a tragic poet. One half of Aristophanes and Shakspeare might be thus made to prove the other half a forgery. This mode of criticism is peculiarly German and will never commend itself to the general taste and judgment of the learned world. The same thing may be said of the attempt to ascertain the age of ancient writings by a comparison of words and phrases. One critic singles out whatever, taken by itself, appears to favour his own foregone conclusion, and leaves the rest unnoticed. Another, with another end in view, might prove the contrary by the self-same process. This is not only possible but actually done. Thus Gesenius and Hitzig prove that Isaiah could not have written the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, by an enumeration of diversities in diction, phraseology, grammatical construction, style etc. Hendewerk just as clearly proves, by a specification of minute but remarkable coincidences, that Isaiah must have been the author. Admitting that the second demonstration is worth no more than the first, they may at least serve to cancel one another, and to show the fallacy of all such reasoning. This argument proves nothing by itself because it proves, or may be made to prove, too much. The true strength of the doctrine now in question lies not in the *moral* or *philological* arguments which have been noticed, but in the *historical* one, that these chapters contain statements and allusions which imply a knowledge of what happened long after Isaiah's

death. Hitzig says expressly that a prophecy against Babylon before the time of Jeremiah is impossible. This of course is tantamount to saying that prophetic inspiration is impossible. And this is after all the only question of importance. If there cannot be prophetic foresight, then of course a reference to subsequent events fixes the date of the writing which contains it. If, on the other hand, there is such a thing as inspiration and prophetic foresight, there is nothing to weaken the presumption created by a uniform tradition, the immemorial position of this prophecy, and the express terms of a title not less ancient than the text, of which, according to oriental usage, it is really a part. The point at issue therefore between Christian and infidel interpreters has reference not to words and phrases merely but to the possibility and reality of inspiration. Assuming this, we can have no hesitation in regarding the prophecy before us as a genuine production of Isaiah.— Of those who take this ground, Cocceius seems to stand alone in questioning the literal application of the prophecy to Babylon in the proper sense. He refers it partly to ancient Israel, partly to Antichrist, a theory which condemns itself as equally arbitrary and inconsistent. Grotius as usual goes to the opposite extreme of supposing that this is a hyperbolical description of evils which were to be experienced by Babylon before it reached the zenith of its greatness under Nebuchadnezzar, a hypothesis as arbitrary as the other, and moreover chargeable with contradicting history. Some particular absurdities of both these schemes will be brought to view in the exposition. The great majority of Christian writers understand these chapters as a specific prophecy of the downfall of the Babylonian empire occasioned by the conquests of the Medes and Persians. To this event there are repeated unequivocal allusions. There are some points, however, in which the coincidence of prophecy and history, on this hypothesis, is not so clear. This is especially the case with respect to the total destruction and annihilation of the city itself, which was brought about by a gradual process through a course of ages. The true solution of this difficulty is that that the prediction is generic, not specific ; that it is not a detailed account of one event exclusively, but a prophetic picture of the fall of Babylon considered as a whole, some of the traits being taken from the first and some from the last stage of the fatal process, while others are indefinite or common to all. The same idea may be otherwise expressed by saying, that the king of Babylon, whose fall is here predicted, is neither Nebuchadnezzar nor Belshazzar, but the kings of Babylon collectively, or rather an ideal king of Babylon, in whom the character and fate of the whole empire are concentrated. Some of the terms applied to him may therefore be literally true of one king, some of another, some individually of none, although descriptive of the whole. This hypothesis, while it removes all discrepa

cies, still retains the wonderful coincidences of the prophecy with history, and makes them more remarkable by scattering them through so vast a field. Even if the allusions to the conquest of Cyrus could be resolved into conjecture or contemporary knowledge, how shall we account for a description of the fate of the great city, not once for all, but down to the present moment? Even supposing that the writer of this prophecy lived at the time of Cyrus, how will the infidel interpreter account for his prediction of that total desolation, which was not consummated for ages afterwards, but which now exists to the full extent of the prophetic description in its strongest sense. On the one hand, we have only to believe that Isaiah was inspired of God. On the other, we must hold that a writer of the very highest genius either personated the Prophet or was confounded with him by the ancient Jews, and that this anonymous writer, whose very name is lost, without any inspiration, uttered a prediction which then seemed falsified by the event, but which has since been accidentally fulfilled!—It is universally admitted that the thirteenth chapter, and the greater part if not the whole of the fourteenth, constitute a single prophecy. The division of the chapters is, however, not a wrong one. Both parts relate to the destruction of Babylon, setting out from God's decree and winding up with the threatening of total desolation. Ch. XIV is therefore not a mere continuation of ch. XIII, but a repetition of the same matter in another form. The difference of form is chiefly this, that while ch. XIII is more historical in its arrangement, ch. XIV is dramatic or at least poetical. Another point of difference is that in ch. XIII the downfall of Babylon is represented rather as an act of divine vengeance, in ch. XIV as a means of deliverance to Israel, the denunciations of divine wrath being there clothed in the form of a triumphant song to be sung by Israel when Babylon is fallen.—Cocceius, as we have already seen, applies this part of the prediction secondarily but strictly to the fall of Antichrist. Many other of the older writers make this the mystical or secondary sense of the whole prophecy, because they understand it to be so explained in the Apocalypse. The truth, however, seems to be, first, that the downfall of Babylon, as a great antitheocratic power, an opponent and persecutor of the ancient church, affords a type or emblem of the destiny of all opposing powers under the New Testament; and secondly, that in consequence of this analogy, the Apocalyptic prophecies apply the name Babylon to the Antichristian power. But these Apocalyptic prophecies are new ones, not interpretations of the one before us.

CHAPTER XIII.

After a title, the prophecy opens with a summons to the chosen instruments of God's righteous judgments upon Babylon, who are described as mustered by the Lord himself, and then appearing, to the terror and amazement of the Babylonians, who are unable to resist their doom, vs. 1–9. The great catastrophe is then described in a series of beautiful figures, as an extinction of the heavenly bodies, and a general commotion in the frame of nature, explained by the prophet himself to mean a fearful visitation of Jehovah, making men more rare than gold, dispersing the strangers resident at Babylon, and subjecting the inhabitants to the worst inflictions at the hands of the Medes, who are expressly mentioned as the instruments of the divine vengeance, and described as indifferent to gain and relentless in their cruelty, vs. 1–18. From this beginning of the process of destruction, we are then hurried on to its final consummation, the completeness of which is expressed by a comparison with the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and by a prediction that the site of Babylon shall not be frequented even by the wandering Arab, or by shepherds and their flocks, but only by solitary animals whose presence is itself a sign of utter desolation, vs. 19–22.

V. 1. *The Burden of Babylon* (or threatening prophecy respecting it), *which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw* (received by revelation). There are two interpretations of מַשָּׂא, both very ancient. The one makes it simply mean a *declaration* (from נָשָׂא to utter), or more specifically a divine declaration, a prophecy, oracle, or vision. The Septuagint translates it by ὅρασις or ὅραμα and sometimes by λῆμμα (from נָשָׂא to receive). The Vulgate has *visio*. This interpretation is adopted by Cocceius, Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis, Lowth, and all the recent German writers. Henderson has *sentence*. The other explanation gives the word the sense of a minatory prophecy. So Luther, Calvin, and in our own day Hengstenberg, who denies that the word is ever applied to any prediction but a minatory one, even Zech. 12 : 1 being no exception. (See his exposition of Zech. 9 : 1, in his Christologie, vol. 2. p. 102.) He also alleges that the word is never joined like נְאֻם with the name of God or of any other person but the subject of the prophecy. For these reasons, and because מַשָּׂא in other connexions always means a *burden*, it is best to retain the common explanation, which is also given by Barnes. This word occurs in the titles of all the distinct prophecies of this second part. The one before us is rejected by Hitzig and Ewald, as the addition of a copyist or compiler, but without the least external evidence or sufficient reason.

V. 2. The attack of the Medes and Persians upon Babylon is now foretold, not in the proper form of a prediction, nor even in that of a description, which is often substituted for it, but in that of an order from Jehovah to his ministers to summon the invaders, first by an elevated signal, and then as they draw nearer by gestures and the voice. *Upon a bare hill* (i. e. one with a clear summit, not concealed by trees) *set up a signal, raise the voice,* (shout or cry aloud) *to them* (the Medes and Persians), *and let them enter the gates of the* (Babylonian) *nobles.*—Forerius takes נשפה as the proper name of a mountain, dividing Chaldea from Persia and Media. The Vulgate renders it *caliginosum,* which Jerome applies to the spiritual darkness of the Babylonians, and Grotius to the fogs and mists arising from the marshy situation of the city. The Targum paraphrases the expression as denoting a city secure and confident of safety. Kimchi, Luther, Calvin, and most of the early Christian writers, with Augusti, Barnes, and Lee, in later times, give it the sense of *lofty.* But the latest lexicographers and commentators seem to be agreed that the true sense is that of *bare* or *bald.* The Septuagint version (ὄρους πεδινοῦ) is explained by Gesenius as descriptive of a mountain with a flat or level top, but the older writers understand it as denoting a mountain surrounded by a plain, a metaphorical description of Babylon. It is not, however, a description of the city, but an allusion to the usual method of erecting signals on a lofty and conspicuous spot. As the expression is indefinite—a mountain—there is no need of supposing with Vitringa a particular allusion to the Zagrian mountains between Media and Babylonia.—Jerome and Cocceius suppose the angels to be here addressed; Knobel and others, the captive Jews; but it is best to understand the words indefinitely as addressed to those whose proper work it was to do the thing commanded. Jehovah being here represented as a military leader, the order is of course to be conceived as given to his heralds or other officers. They are not commanded to display a banner as a sign of victory (Cyril), but to erect a signal for the purpose of collecting troops. There is no need of supposing with Vitringa and Henderson that קול means the sound of the trumpet. The subjunctive construction of ויבאו given by most writers (*that they may enter*), is not only unnecessary but much less expressive than the obvious construction which supposes the command to be continued. The nobles are not those of Media and Persia, to whose doors Clericus supposes the soldiers to be summoned for the purpose of enlisting in this service, but those of Babylon. The specific sense of *tyrants,* which Gesenius and the later Germans put upon this word, is wholly unauthorized by the analogy of Job 21 : 28, unless we assume that parallel terms must always be synonymous. Other constructions of the last clause have been given by the Septuagint (ἀνοίξατε οἱ ἄρχοντες)—the Vulgate (ingrediantur portas duces) —Schmidius (ut veniant portae principum)—Koppe (voluntarii portas

aperite)—Döderlein (ut veniant enses evaginati voluntariorum)—J. D. Michaelis (dass meine Freywillige sich vor meiner Pforte versammlen) etc. All these involve a change of text or a harshness of construction. Lowth omits לחם, as of no use and rather weakening the sentence. On the contrary it strengthens it by an abrupt reference to the invaders without naming them, as being too well known already.

V. 3. The enemies thus summoned are described as chosen, designated instruments of the divine vengeance, and as already exulting in the certainty of their success. *I* (myself) *have given command* (or a commission) *to my consecrated* (chosen and appointed instruments). *Yes* (literally, *also*), *I have called* (forth) *my mighty ones* (or heroes) *for* (the execution of) *my wrath, my proud exulters.*—The insertion of אני is not an idiom of the later Hebrew, as explained by Gesenius (Lehrg. p. 801), but as Maurer has correctly stated, an emphatic designation of God as the sole efficient agent, *I myself*, or *I even I.* מקדשי has no reference to the moral character or purpose of the instruments, but simply to God's choice and preparation of them for their work. The Chaldee paraphrase makes the last of these ideas, that of preparation, too exclusively prominent. Henderson and Knobel suppose a special reference to the religious ceremonies practised before going out to war (1 Sam. 7 : 9. 13 : 9. 2 Chron. 13 : 12. Comp. Gen. 14 : 14). But as this would not be strictly applicable to the Medes and Persians, it seems more natural to suppose that קדש is here used in its primary and proper sense of separating, setting apart, or consecrating to a special use or service. The גם at the beginning of the second clause is arbitrarily omitted by Gesenius and DeWette, but retained by Ewald and Umbreit. To *call* out is here explained by Rosenmüller as denoting specially a call to military service. It may, however, have the general sense of summoning or calling upon by name. גבורי is commonly regarded as simply equivalent to מקדשי; but Knobel understands the former as a specific epithet of chiefs or officers. Augusti, Barnes, and most of the older writers, understand the last words of the verse as meaning *those who exult in my greatness*, or *in my great plan* (Barnes,) Kimchi and Jarchi; those by whom I glorify myself. But the other modern writers have adopted the construction of Cocceius and Vitringa, who refer the suffix to the first word or the whole phrase, a common Hebrew idiom (Gesen. § 119. 3)—*my exulters of pride*, i. e. my proud exulters. This may be understood as a description of the confidence with which they anticipated victory; but most interpreters suppose an allusion to the natural character of the Persians as described by Croesus in Herodotus (*φύσιν ἔοντες ὑβρισταί*)—by Herodotus himself (*νομίζοντες ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μαχρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους*)—by Æschylus (*ὑπέρκομποι ἄγαν*)—and by Ammianus Marcellinus (abundantes inanibus verbis insanumque loquentes et

ferum, magnidici et graves ac tetri, minaces juxta in adversis rebus ac prosperis, callidi, superbi). The same idea is expressed by the Septuagint version (*χαίροντες ἅμα καὶ ὑβρίζοντες*).

V. 4. The Prophet, in his own person, now describes the enemies of Babylon who had just been summoned, as actually on their way. He hears a confused noise, which he soon finds to be that of confederated nations forming the army of Jehovah against Babylon. *The voice* (or sound) *of a multitude in the mountains! the likeness of much people! the sound of a tumult of kingdoms of nations gathered* (or gathering themselves)! *Jehovah of Hosts mustering* (i. e. inspecting and numbering) *a host of battle* (i. e. a military host)! The absence of verbs adds greatly to the vividness of the description. The sentence really consists of a series of exclamations, describing the impressions made successively upon the senses of an eye and ear-witness. The expression is weakened by supplying *is heard* (Junius) or *there is* (Cocceius). Gesenius and Ewald insert *hark!* at the beginning of the sentence, which is better, though unnecessary. By the mountains some suppose Media to be meant, to which Henderson adds Armenia and the other hilly countries from which Cyrus drew his forces. This supposes the movement here described to be that of the levy or conscription. But it seems more natural to understand it, as most writers do, of the actual advance of the invaders. The mountains then will be those dividing Babylonia from Media or Persia.—The symbolical interpretation of mountains as denoting states and kingdoms (Musculus), is entirely out of place here. דמית is commonly explained here as equivalent to *as* or *like;* but J. D. Michaelis and Rosenmüller seem to take it in its proper sense of *likeness* or similar appearance, and refer to the indistinct view of a great multitude approaching from a distance. The reference to sound before and afterwards, makes the reference of this clause to the sense of sight improbable.—The rendering of קול שאון *tumultuous noise* is not only a gratuitous departure from the form of the original, but a weakening of the description. The object presented is not a tumultuous noise merely, but the noise of an actual tumult.—Calvin, Gesenius, and others, separate *kingdoms* from *nations*, as distinct particulars. The construction *kingdoms of nations*, which is retained by Ewald, is the one required by the Masoretic accents, and affords a better sense.—The Niphal participle may be taken in a reflexive sense, in which case the description would refer to the original assembling of the troops. There is no necessity however for departing from the ordinary usage, according to which it describes the nations as already assembled.—It is commonly agreed that there is here a direct reference to the mixture of nations in the army of Cyrus. Besides the Persians and the Medes, Xenophon speaks of the Armenians, and Jeremiah adds the names of other nations (Jer. 50: 9. 51: 27).

Most interpreters suppose the event here predicted to be subsequent in date to the overthrow of Croesus, while Knobel refers it to the first attack of Cyrus upon Babylonia, recorded in the third book of the Cyropedia. But these distinctions seem to rest upon a false view of the passage as a description of particular marches, battles etc., rather than a generic, picture of the whole series of events which ended in the downfall of Babylon. For a just view of the principles on which such prophecies should be explained, with particular reference to that before us, see Stuart on the Apocalypse, vol. 2, p. 143. The title *Jehovah of Hosts*, may here seem to be used unequivocally in the sense of *God of Battles*, on account of the obvious allusion to the word *host* following. But as this explanation of the title is not justified by scriptural usage (vide supra, ch. 1 : 9), it is better to understand the words as meaning that the Lord of the Hosts of Heaven is now mustering a host on earth. Lowth, on the authority of a single manuscript, reads לצלחמה *for the battle* or *for battle*. But the last word appears to be added simply for the purpose of limiting and qualifying that before it. This was the more necessary as the same word had been just used in another sense. He who controls the *hosts of heaven* is now engaged in mustering a *host of war*, i. e. an army. The Septuagint and Vulgate construe these last words with the following verse—the Lord of Hosts has commanded an armed nation to come etc.—which is a forced and ungrammatical construction.—The substitution of the present for the participle in the English Version (*mustereth*) and most others, greatly impairs the force and uniformity of the expression by converting a lively exclamation into a dispassionate assertion. Hendewerk carelessly omits the last clause altogether.

V. 5. *Coming from a distant land* (literally, *a land of distance*), *from the* (visible or apparent) *end of the heavens—Jehovah and the instruments* (or weapons) *of his wrath—to lay waste* (or destroy) *the whole land* (of Babylonia).—Junius and most of the later writers construe באים as a present (*they come* etc.). It is better to make it agree with צבא as a collective, and to continue the construction from the foregoing verse, as above.—The *end of heaven* is of course regarded by Gesenius as a proof of ignorance in the writer. Others more reasonably understand it as a strong but natural hyperbole. The best explanation is that given by J. D. Michaelis and Barnes, who suppose the Prophet to refer to the *horizon* or *bounding line* of vision. He is not deliberately stating from what region they set out, but from what point he sees them actually coming, viz. from the remotest point in sight. This view of the expression, not as a geographical description, but as a vivid representation of appearances, removes the necessity of explaining how Media or Persia could be called a distant land or the extremity of heaven. Schmidius evades this imaginary difficulty by

applying the terms to the distant nations from which Cyrus drew his forces —Clericus by referring *distant* not to Babylonia but Judea, and supposing the Prophet to be governed in his use of language by the habitual associations of his Jewish readers. Cocceius, partly for this very reason, understands the whole passage as a threatening against Judah.—*Jehovah and the weapons of his wrath.* According to the Michlol Jophi, *and* is here put for *with*, and some translators actually make the substitution, which is wholly unnecessary. The host which Jehovah was before said to be mustering is now represented as consisting of himself *and* the weapons of his wrath. This intimation of his presence, his co-operation, and even his incorporation, with the invading host, adds greatly to the force of the threatening. The Hebrew word כְּלִים corresponds to our *implements* in its widest sense, as including *instruments* and *vessels.* It has here the active sense of weapons, while in Rom. 9: 22, Paul employs a corresponding Greek phrase in the passive sense of vessels. *Weapons of wrath* are the weapons which execute it, *vessels of wrath* the vessels which contain it.—The ambiguous phrase כל הארץ is explained by the Septuagint as meaning the whole world (*πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην*), and this interpretation is approved by Umbreit, on the ground that Babylon was a type or symbol of human opposition to divine authority. In its primary import it no doubt denotes the land of Babylonia or Chaldea. Cocceius alone understands the land of Israel or Judah to be meant, in accordance with his singular hypothesis already mentioned.

V. 6. *Howl* (ye Babylonians, with distress and fear), *for the day of Jehovah* (his appointed time of judgment) *is near. Like might* (i. e. a mighty stroke or desolation) *from the Almighty it shall come.*—Calvin points out a *lusus verborum* in the combination of שַׁדַּי almighty, and שֹׁד desolation or destruction, both derived from שָׁדַד. As if he had said, you shall know with what good reason God is called שַׁדַּי. This is described by Calvin as a *concinna allusio ad etymologiam*, by Barnes as a "paronomasia or pun, a figure of speech quite common in the Scriptures." *Paronomasia* and *pun* are not synonymous, and the application of the latter term in this case, if not irreverent, is inexact. Gesenius denies that it is even a paronomasia in the proper sense. He also take כ as a *caph veritatis*—'like a destruction from the Almighty (as it is).' But Hendewerk takes it in its proper sense—a destruction as complete and overwhelming *as if* it were an act of reckless violence. Kimchi explains the clause to mean, as a destruction (not from man, but) from a mighty one who cannot be resisted or avoided. Vitringa labours to explain and justify the derivation of a divine name from a root of evil import like שדד to plunder or destroy. But this etymological difficulty is removed by the later lexicographers, who give the root the

general sense of being strong or mighty, as in Arabic. The specific sense of tempest or destructive storm, which Gesenius puts upon שׁד here and in Joel 1 : 15, is perfectly gratuitous. Jehovah's days are well defined by Cocceius : in genere dies Domini dicuntur *divinitus constitutae opportunitates* quibus judicium suum exercet. (Vide supra, ch. 2 : 12.) This day is said to be *near*, not absolutely with respect to the date of the prediction, but relatively, either with respect to the perceptions of the Prophet, or with respect to what had gone before. For ages Babylon might be secure ; but after the premonitory signs just mentioned should be seen, there would be no delay. The words of the verse are supposed to be uttered in the midst of the tumult and alarm of the invasion.

V. 7. *Therefore* (because of this sudden and irresistible attack) *all hands shall sink* (fall down, be slackened or relaxed), *and every heart of man shall melt.* Clericus supposes an allusion to the etymology of אנוש as denoting frailty or infirmity (omne aegrorum mortalium cor) ; but most interpreters explain the phrase as simply meaning *every mortal heart* or the heart of every mortal. Cocceius understands by the sinking of the hands the loss of active power, and by the melting of the heart, the fear of coming evil. Junius supposes an antithesis between the *hands* or body and the *heart* or mind. But both the clauses, in their strict sense, are descriptive of bodily effects, and both indicative of mental states. Each of the figures is repeatedly used elsewhere. (See Jos. 7 : 5. Ps. 22 : 13. Jer. 50 : 43. Job 4 : 3.) Knobel quotes from Ovid the analogous expression, *cecidere illis animique manusque.*

V. 8. *And they* (the Babylonians) *shall be confounded—pangs and throes shall seize* (them)—*like the travailing* (woman) *they shall writhe—each at his neighbour, they shall wonder—faces of flames* (shall be) *their faces.*—The Vulgate, Peshito, and Lowth, connect the first word with the verse preceding, which is, to say the least, unnecessary.—The translation *fear* or *tremble*, is too weak for יבהלו, which includes the ideas of violent agitation and extreme perplexity. The Septuagint strangely gives to צירים here the sense of ambassadors or messengers (vide infra, ch. 18 : 2. 57 : 9), which is precluded by the whole connexion, and especially by the combination with חבלים.—Solomon ben Melech explains ן in יאחזן as an anomalous suffix used instead of ם. Lowth as usual corrects the text by reading יאחזום, on the alleged authority of the Septuagint, Targum, and Peshito, which supply the suffix. Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald and Knobel, adopt a construction mentioned by Kimchi, which makes *pangs and throes* the object not the subject of the verb—they shall take pangs and throes—as we speak of a house *taking fire* or a person *taking a disease*, and as Livy says

capere metum. This form of expression occurs, not only in Arabic, but in Job 18: 20. 21: 6. The construction is also recommended by its rendering the suffix unnecessary, and by its giving to יאחזון the same subject with the verbs before and after it. The objection to it, strongly urged by Hendewerk, is that the construction, even in Job, is Arabic not Hebrew, the idiom of the latter being clear from other cases where the same verb and nouns are combined (Isai. 21: 3. Jer. 13: 21), or the same nouns with other verbs (1 Sam. 4: 19. Isai. 66: 7. Jer. 22: 23. Dan. 10: 16. Hos. 13: 13), or other nouns and verbs of kindred meaning (Ex. 15: 14. Isai. 35: 10. Deut. 28: 2), but in all without exception the noun is the subject not the object of the verb. The construction thus proved to be the common one, may at least be safely retained here, the rather as the collocation of the words is evidently in its favour.—The sense of *trembling* given to יחילון by several of the recent writers is too weak. The best translation seems to be that of Henderson—*they shall writhe*—i. e. with pain. The expression *wonder at each other* occurs once in historical prose (Gen. 43: 33). It seems here to denote not simply consternation and dismay, but stupefaction at each other's aspect and condition—q. d. *each man at his friend shall stand aghast.*—The last clause is referred by J. H. Michaelis to the Medes and Persians, and explained as a description of their violence and fierceness, in which sense the same figures are employed in Isaiah 66: 15 and Rev. 9: 17. It is commonly and much more naturally understood as a continued description of the terror and distress of the Chaldeans. Aben Ezra mentions an interpretation of להבים as the proper name of an African race descended from Mizraim the son of Ham (Gen. 10: 13. 1 Chron. 1: 11), and probably the same with the *Lubim* (2 Chron. 16: 8) or *Libyans.* 'Their faces shall be (like) the faces of Africans' i. e. black with horror and despair. This explanation is approved by Gataker; but all other writers seem to take להבים as the plural of להב a flame. The point of comparison, according to Kimchi, is *redness*, here referred to as a natural symptom of confusion and shame. But as this seems inappropriate in the case before us, Hitzig and Knobel understand the aspect indicated to be one of *paleness*, as produced by fear. Calvin, Gesenius, and many others, understand the *glow* or *flush* produced by anguish and despair to be intended. For the classical usage of fire and flame as denoting a *red* colour, see Gesenius's Thesaurus, tom. 2, p. 743. In the last edition of his Lexicon by Robinson, the phrase before us is explained to mean "ruddy and burning with *eagerness*," an expression applicable only to the conquerors. Instead of *eagerness*, the Thesaurus has *internum animi aestum.*—Cocceius refers this, as well as the preceding verses, to the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions of the Holy Land. He also makes the verbs descriptive presents, in

which he is followed by J. D. Michaelis and the later Germans. There is, however, no need of departing from the strict sense of the future.

V. 9. All this must happen and at a set time—for *behold the day of Jehovah cometh—terrible—and wrath and heat of anger—to place* (or make) *the land a waste—and its sinners he* (or *it*, the day) *will destroy from it* (or *out of it*).—According to Cocceius, the mention of Jehovah throughout this passage, sometimes in the first person, sometimes in the third, has reference to the plurality of persons in the Godhead.—He also renders אכזרי as an abstract noun (immanitas), in which he is followed by Vitringa, while Ewald gives it an adverbial sense (grausamer Art), but most interpreters regard it as an adjective synonymous with אכזר. The application of this term to God, or to his judgments, seems to have perplexed interpreters. *Crudelem diem vocat* (says Jerome) *non merito sui sed populi. Non est enim crudelis qui crudeles jugulat, sed quod crudelis patientibus esse videatur. Nam et latro suspensus patibulo crudelem judicem putat.* "The word (says Barnes) stands opposed here to *mercy*, and means that God would not spare them." It is dubious, however, whether the word in any case exactly corresponds to the *crudelis* of the Vulgate or the English *cruel*. The essential idea is rather that of vehemence, destructiveness, etc. It is rendered accordingly in various forms, without any implication of a moral kind, by the Septuagint (*ἀνίατος*), Lowth (inexorable), Gesenius (furchtbar), and others.—The following words, as well as אכזרי, are construed by Cocceius as in apposition with יום יהוה—the day itself being described as cruelty, wrath etc. Gesenius, in his commentary, repeats יום, *fearful, and* (a day of) *wrath* etc. In his translation he supplies another word—*full of anger* etc. Ewald and others supply a preposition—*with wrath* etc. Another possible construction would be to suppose a change of subject—'The day of Jehovah is coming and (so is) his wrath etc.' In that case, יהוה is of course the subject of וישמיד. Upon the other supposition it may agree with יום, but without a change of meaning. The most vigorous though not the most exact translation of these epithets is Luther's (*grausam, grimmig, zornig*.) Most interpreters, from Jarchi downwards, understand הארץ to be Babylonia; but the Septuagint makes it mean the earth or world (*οἰκουμένη*) as in v. 5. This explanation is revived by the three latest writers whom I have consulted, Ewald, Umbreit, and Knobel, the last of whom understands the term as an allusion to the universal sway of the Babylonian empire.—The moral causes of the ruin threatened are significantly intimated by the prophet's calling the people of the earth or land *its sinners*. As the national offences here referred to, Vitringa enumerates pride (v. 11. 14: 11. 47: 7, 8), idolatry (Jer. 50: 38), tyranny in general (14: 12, 17), and oppression of God's people in particular (47: 6).—In the laying of the land

waste, Junius supposes a particular allusion to the submerging of the Babylonian plains, by the diversion of the waters of Euphrates.

V. 10. The day of Jehovah is now described as one of preternatural and awful darkness, in which the very sources of light shall be obscured. This natural and striking figure for sudden and disastrous change is of frequent occurrence in Scripture (see Isai. 24: 23. 34: 4. Ezek. 32: 7, 8. Joel 2: 10. 3: 15. Amos 8: 9. Matth. 24: 29). Well may it be called a day of wrath and terror—*for the stars of the heavens and their signs* (or constellations) *shall not shed their light—the sun is darkened in his going forth—and the moon shall not cause its light to shine.*—It can only be from misapprehension of the connexion between this verse and the ninth, that Lowth translates כִּי *yea!*—According to Hitzig and Knobel, the darkening of the stars is mentioned first, because the Hebrews reckoned the day from sunset.—Vitringa and J. D. Michaelis understand the image here presented to be that of a terrific storm, veiling the heavens, and concealing its luminaries. But grand as this conception is, it falls short of the Prophet's vivid description, which is not that of transient obscuration but of sudden and total extinction.—The abrupt change from the future to the preterite and back again, has been retained in the translation, although most modern versions render all the verbs as presents. From simply *foretelling* the extinction of the stars, the Prophet suddenly *describes* that of the sun as if he saw it, and then adds that of the moon as a necessary consequence.—Clericus explains כסיליהם as a synonyme of כסל in the sense of *hope* or *confidence*, and refers the suffix to the Babylonians, who were notoriously addicted to astrology and even to astrolatry. *The stars of heaven which are* (literally, *and* or *even*) *their confidence* etc. This ingenious exposition seems to have commended itself to no other writer, though Malvenda does likewise suppose a special allusion to the astrological belief and practice of the Babylonians. Theodotion and Aquila retain the Hebrew word (*χεσιλεαμ*). Jerome gives the vague sense *splendour*, the Peshito that of *strength* or *host*. Calvin and others render it by *sidera*. Vitringa makes it mean the *planets*, Junius the *constellations*, as distinguished from the *stars*. Rabbinical and other writers make כסיל the name of a particular star, but differ as to its identity. The latest writers have gone back to the version of the Septuagint (*ὁ Ὠρίων*) and Luther (sein Orion), except that they restore the plural form of the original. The proofs of the identity of Nimrod and Orion, as hunters transferred to the heavens, in the oriental and classical mythology, have been arrayed, with a minuteness of detail and a profusion of learning out of all proportion to the exegetical importance of the subject, by J. D. Michaelis, in his Supplement ad lexx. Hebr. p. 1319 seq.—Gesenius on the passage now before us—and Lee on Job 9: 9. It is commonly agreed that

the word, which occurs elsewhere only in the singular (Job 9: 9. 38: 31. Amos 5: 8), is here used in the plural to give it a generic sense. *Orions* i. e. Orion and other brilliant constellations. To express this idea most of the recent versions exchange the proper name for an appellative. The word *Bilder* used by the latest German writers seems to have reference to the *signs* of the Zodiac. Ewald alone retains the primary meaning (seine Orionen). In this, as in many other cases, the spirit of the passage is no where more felicitously given than in Luther's energetic paraphrase. *Die Sterne am Himmel und sein Orion scheinen nicht helle; die Sonne gehet finster auf, und der Mond scheinet dunkel.*

V. 11. The Prophet according to his custom (vide supra, ch. 1: 22. 5: 7. 11: 9), now resolves his figures into literal expressions, showing that the natural convulsions just predicted are to be understood as metaphorical descriptions of the divine judgments. *And I will visit upon the world* (*its*) *wickedness* (i. e. manifest my presence for the purpose of punishing it)—*and upon the wicked their iniquity—and I will cause to cease the arrogance of presumptuous sinners—and the pride of tyrants* (or oppressors) *I will humble.* The primary meaning of תֵּבֵל is retained in the versions of Junius (orbis habitabilis) and Cocceius (frugiferam terram), who regards the use of this word as a proof that the prophecy relates to Israel (populus per verbum Dei cultus.) It is no doubt a poetical equivalent to אֶרֶץ, and is here applied to the Babylonian empire, as embracing most of the known world. Thus the Roman empire, as Lowth shows, was called *universus orbis Romanus*, and Minos, in Ovid, speaks of Crete as *meus orbis*. Hitzig makes תֵּבֵל רָעָה mean *the evil world*, but the parallel expression which immediately follows, and the analogy of Jer. 23: 2. Ex. 20: 5, are decisive in favour of the usual construction.—The Septuagint makes עָרִיצִים synonymous with זֵדִים (ὑπερηφάνων), and the Vulgate makes it simply mean the powerful (fortium). But active violence is an essential part of the meaning. The English Version and some others adopt the sense of *terrible* (from עָרַץ to terrify); but the latest interpreters prefer the meaning given by Calvin, Clericus, and others (tyrannorum).

V. 12. To the general description in the foregoing verse he now adds a more specific threatening of extensive slaughter, and a consequent diminution of the population, expressed by a strong comparison. *I will make man more scarce* (or rare) *than pure gold, and a human being than the ore of Ophir.*—אנוש and אדם cannot here denote a difference of rank, as איש and אדם sometimes do, because neither of them is elsewhere used in the distinctive sense of *vir* or ἀνήρ. They are really poetical equivalents, like *man* and *mortal* or *human being*, which last expression is employed by Henderson.

פָּז is regarded as a proper name by Bochart, who applies it to the Coromandel coast, and by Huet, who supposes it to be a contraction of אוּפָז, and this a variation of אוֹפִיר. Gill speaks of some as identifying פז with Fez, and אופיר with Peru. פז and כתם are either poetical synonymes of זהב, or emphatic expressions for the purest, finest, and most solid gold. The Septuagint version of the last words is *ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐν Σουφίρ*, instead of which the Arabic translation founded on it has *the stone which* (*comes*) *from India*. The disputed question as to the locality of Ophir, although not without historical and archaeological importance, can have no effect upon the meaning of this passage. Whether the place meant be Ceylon, or some part of continental India, or of Arabia, or of Africa, it is here named simply as an *Eldorado*, as a place where gold abounded, either as a native product or an article of commerce, from which it was brought, and with which it was associated in the mind of every Hebrew reader. For the various opinions and the arguments by which they are supported, see the geographical works of Bochart and Rosenmüller, Winer's Realwörterbuch, Gesenius's Thesaurus, and Henderson's note upon the verse before us.—Instead of *making rare* or *scarce*, the meaning put upon אוקיר by Jerome and by most modern writers, some retain the original and strict sense of *making dear* or *costly*, with allusion to the impossibility of ransoming the Babylonians from the Medes and Persians. This interpretation, which Henderson ascribes to Grotius, was given long before by Calvin, and is indeed as old as Kimchi. Barnes, and some older writers, understand the words as expressive of the difficulty with which defenders could be found for the city. Henderson speaks of some as having applied the verse, in an individual sense, to Cyrus and to the Messiah. The latter application is of Jewish origin and found in the book Zohar. Jarchi explains the verse as having reference to the honour put upon the prophet Daniel as the decipherer of the writing on the wall. The Targum makes it a promise of protection to the godly and believing Jews in Babylon. Cocceius, while he gives the words the sense now usually put upon them, as denoting paucity of men in consequence of slaughter, still refers them to the small number of Jews who were carried into exile.—From the similar forms איקיר and אופיר at the beginning and the end of the sentence, Gesenius infers that a paronomasia was intended by the writer, which as usual he imitates, with very indifferent success, by beginning his translation with *seltener* and ending it with *seltene Schätze*. Henderson, with great probability, denies that the writer intended any assonance at all. On the modern theory of perfect parallelisms, it would be easy to construct an argument in favour of understanding אופיר as a verb, and thereby rendering the clauses uniform. Such a conclusion, like many drawn from similar premises in other cases, would of course be worthless.

V. 13. The figurative form of speech is here resumed, and what was before expressed by the obscuration of the heavenly bodies is now denoted by a general commotion of the frame of nature. *Therefore I will make the heavens tremble, and the earth shall shake* (or be shaken) *out of its place in the wrath of Jehovah of Hosts and in the day of the heat* (or *fierceness*) *of his anger.* Henderson translates עַל־כֵּן *because*, which is not only inconsistent with the usage of the words, but wholly unnecessary. *Therefore* may either mean because of the wickedness mentioned in v. 11, or for the purpose of producing the effect described in v. 12. In the last clause, some give ב the sense of *by* or *on account of* in both members. Others explain the first ב thus, but take the other in its proper sense of *in*. It is highly improbable, however, that the particle is here used in two different senses, and the best construction, therefore, is the one which lets the second ב determine the meaning of the first—*in the wrath* i. e. during (or in the time of) the wrath.

V. 14. *And it shall be* (or come to pass, that) *like a roe* (or antelope) *chased* (or driven by the hunters) *and like sheep with none to gather them* (literally, *like sheep and there is no one gathering*)—*each to his people, they shall turn—and each to his country, they shall flee.*—The English Version seems to make the *earth* the subject of תִּהְיֶה, with which, however, it does not agree in gender. Gesenius and Hitzig make the verb indefinite, *one shall be.* Aben Ezra and Jarchi supply Babylon or the Babylonians. The best construction is that given by DeWette, Umbreit, and Knobel, who take תִּהְיֶה in its common idiomatic sense of coming to pass, happening. Kimchi refers the verse to the foreign residents in Babylon (העם הנכרי שבה)—what Jeremiah calls the *mingled people* (50: 37) and Æschylus the *πάμμικτον ὄχλον* of Babylon. Calvin supposes an allusion not to foreign residents but mercenary troops or allies. Clericus applies the last clause to these strangers, and the first to the Babylonians themselves, which is needless and arbitrary. The צְבִי, according to Bochart and Gesenius, is a generic term including all varieties of roes and antelopes. The points of comparison are their timidity and fleetness. The figure of scattered sheep, without a gatherer or shepherd, is a common one in Scripture. Junius connects this verse with the twelfth, and throws the thirteenth into a parenthesis, a construction complex in itself and so little in accordance with the usage of the language, that nothing short of exegetical necessity can warrant its adoption.

V. 15. The flight of the strangers from Babylon is not without reason, *for every one found* (there) *shall be stabbed* (or thrust through), *and every one joined* (or joining himself to the Babylonians) *shall fall by the sword.* All

interpreters agree that a general massacre is here described, although they differ as to the precise sense and connexion of the clauses. Some suppose a climax. Thus Junius explains the verse to mean that not only the robust but the decrepit (נִסְפֶּה from סָפָה to consume) should be slain, and the same interpretation is mentioned by Kimchi. Hitzig takes the sense to be that every one, even he who joins himself (i. e. goes over to the enemy), shall perish; they will give no quarter. Others suppose an antithesis, though not a climax. Gesenius in the earlier editions of his lexicon explains the verse as meaning that he who is found in the street, and he who withdraws himself into the house, shall perish alike. Lowth makes the antithesis between one *found alone* and one *joined* with others. Umbreit supposes an antithesis not only between נמצא and נספה, but also between ידקר and יפול בחרב—the one clause referring to the first attack with spears, the other to the closer fight with swords hand to hand. J. D. Michaelis changes the points, so as to make the contrast between him who *remains* and him who *flees*, and Henderson extracts the same sense from the common text, avowedly upon the ground that נספה must denote the opposite of נמצא. But even the most strenuous adherent of the theory of perfect parallelisms must admit that they are frequently synonymous and not invariably antithetical. In this case there is no more need of making the participles opposite in meaning than the nouns and verbs. And as all except Umbreit (and perhaps Knobel) seem agreed that to be thrust through and to fall by the sword are one and the same thing, there is every probability that both the clauses have respect to the same class of persons. Upon this most natural and simple supposition, we may either suppose נמצא and נספה to denote the person *found* and the person *caught*, as Ewald and Gesenius do, or retain the old interpretation found in Kimchi, which connects the verse directly with the one before it, and applies both clauses to the foreigners in Babylon, every one of whom still *found* there, and still *joined* with the besieged, should be surely put to death.

V. 16. The horrors of the conquest shall extend not only to the men, but to their wives and children. *And their children shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be plundered and their wives ravished.* The same thing is threatened against Babylon in Ps. 137: 9, in retaliation for the barbarities practised in Jerusalem (2 Chr. 36: 17. Lam. 5: 11). The horror of the threatening is enhanced by the addition of *before their eyes*. (Compare ch. 1: 7 and Deut. 28: 31, 32.) Hitzig coolly alleges that the last clause of this verse is copied from Zech. 14: 2, to which Knobel adds, that the spoiling of the houses is here out of place.—For the textual reading תשגלנה the Keri, here and elsewhere, substitutes תשכבנה as a euphemistic emendation.

V. 17. The Prophet now, for the first time, names the chosen instruments of Babylon's destruction. *Behold I* (*am*) *stirring up against them Madai* (Media or the Medes), *who will not regard silver, and* (*as for*) *gold, they will not take pleasure in it* (or desire it). Here, as in Jer. 51 : 11, 28, the Medes alone are mentioned, as the more numerous and hitherto more powerful nation, to which the Persians had long been subject, and were still auxiliary. Or the name may be understood as comprehending both, which Vitringa has clearly shown to be the usage of the classical historians, by citations from Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plutarch. Indeed, all the names of the great oriental powers are used, with more or less latitude and license, by the ancient writers, sacred and profane. As the Medes did not become an independent monarchy till after the date of this prediction, it affords a striking instance of prophetic foresight, as J. D. Michaelis, Keith, Barnes, and Henderson, have clearly shown. It is chiefly to evade such proofs of inspiration that the modern Germans assign these chapters to a later date.—מָדַי is properly the name of the third son of Japhet, from whom the nation was descended. At the date of this prediction they formed a part of the Assyrian empire, but revolted at the time of the Assyrian invasion of Syria and Israel. Their first king Dejoces was elected about 700 years before the birth of Christ. His son Phraortes conquered Persia, and the united Medes and Persians, with the aid of the Babylonians, subdued Assyria under the conduct of Cyaxares I. The conquest of Babylon was effected in the reign of Cyaxares II. by the Median army, with an auxiliary force of thirty thousand Persians, under the command of Cyrus, the king's nephew.—In the last clause of the verse Hitzig and Knobel understand the Medes to be described as so uncivilized as not to know the value of money. Others suppose contempt of money to be mentioned as an honourable trait in the national character, and Vitringa has pointed out a very striking coincidence between this clause and the speech which Xenophon ascribes to Cyrus. *Ἄνδρες Μῆδοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς οἶδα σαφῶς, ὅτι οὔτε χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε κ.τ.λ.* The most natural interpretation is, however, that the thirst of blood would supersede the thirst of gold in the conquerors of Babylon, so that no one would be able to secure his life by ransom. Even Coccеius admits that this verse relates to the conquest of Babylon, but only, as he thinks, by a sudden change of subject, or at least a transition from God's dealings with his people to his dealings with their enemies.

V. 18. *And bows shall dash boys in pieces—and the fruit of the womb they shall not pity—on children their eye shall not have mercy.*—Augusti needlessly continues the construction from the foregoing verse—'they shall not delight in gold, but in bows which etc.' The Septuagint has the *bows*

of the young men (τοξεύματα νεανίσκων) which is inconsistent with the form of the original. The Vulgate, Luther, and Calvin, 'with their bows they shall dash in pieces.' But the feminine form תְּרַמַּשְׁנָה must agree with קָשָׁתוֹת, as Aben Ezra has observed. Clericus and Knobel think that *bows* are here put for *bowmen*, which is a forced construction and unnecessary. Hendewerk supposes the bow to be mentioned, as in many other cases, as one of the most common and important weapons. Other interpreters appear to be agreed, that there is special allusion to the large bows and skilful archery of the ancient Persians, as described by Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ammianus Marcellinus. Kimchi's extravagant idea that the Medes are here described as shooting children from their bows instead of arrows, is strangely copied by some later writers. There is more probability in the opinion, that they are represented as employing their large massive bows instead of clubs. There is no serious objection, however, to the common supposition, that the effect described is that of arrows or of bows used in the ordinary manner. The strong term *dash in pieces* is employed instead of one more strictly appropriate, with evident allusion to its use in v. 16. There is no need of giving נְעָרִים the sense of *young men*. It rather denotes *children* of both sexes, as בָּנִים does when absolutely used. Hendewerk and some older writers understand by the *fruit of the womb* the unborn child (see Hos. 14 : 1. Amos 1 : 13. 2 Kings 8 : 12, 15, 16). Gesenius and others make it simply equivalent to *children*, as in Gen. 30 : 2. Deut. 7 : 13. Lam. 2 : 20. The cruelty of the Medes seems to have been proverbial in the ancient world. Diodorus Siculus makes one of his characters ask, "What destroyed the empire of the Medes?" Their cruelty to those beneath them." Compassion is ascribed to the eye, says Knobel, because it is expressed in the looks. Kimchi observes that this is the only case in which the future of חוּס has *u* instead of *o*.

V. 19. From the very height of splendour and renown, Babylon shall be reduced not only to subjection but to annihilation. *And Babylon, the beauty* (or glory) *of kingdoms, the ornament, the pride, of the Chaldees, shall be like God's overthrowing Sodom and Gomorrah*—i. e. shall be totally destroyed in execution of a special divine judgment. According to Kimchi, צבי means *delight* (חפץ), and צבי ממלכות, that in which the nations delighted. It is now agreed, however, that its meaning, as determined both by etymology and usage, is *beauty*. The same Hebrew word is applied as a distinctive name to a class of animals remarkable for grace of form and motion. (Vide supra, v. 14.) The *beauty of kingdoms* is by most writers understood comparatively as denoting the most beautiful of kingdoms, either in the proper sense or in that of royal cities (see 1 Sam. 27 : 5). But Knobel understands the words more strictly as denoting the ornament of an empire which included various tributary kingdoms. This agrees well with

the next clause which describes the city as the ornament and pride of the Chaldees. The origin of this name, and of the people whom it designates, is doubtful and disputed. But whether the Chaldees were of Semitic origin or not, and whether they were the indigenous inhabitants of Babylonia or a foreign race imported from Armenia and the neighbouring countries, it is plain that the word here denotes the *nation* of which Babylon was the capital. For a statement of the archaeological question, see Gesenius's Thesaurus, tom. 2. p. 719—Winer's Realwörterbuch, vol. 1. p. 253—and Henderson's note on Isaiah 23 : 13.—By most interpreters תפארת גאון are construed together as denoting *ornament of pride* i. e. *proud ornament*. The same sense, with a slight modification, is expressed in the Vulgate (inclyta superbia) and by Luther (herrliche Pracht). Equally simple, and perhaps more consistent with the Masoretic interpunction, is the separate construction of the words by Junius and Tremellius (ornatus excellentiaque), still better expressed, without supplying *and*, by the Dutch Version (de heerlickheyt, de hoovaerdigheyt)—and in English by Barnes (the ornament, the pride).—In the last clause, the verbal noun מהפכת is construed with the subject in the genitive and the object in the accusative (Gesen. Lehrg. p. 688). It has been variously paraphrased—as *when* God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah—like Sodom and Gomorrah *which* God overthrew—like the overthrow *with which* God *overthrew* Sodom and Gomorrah—like the overthrow of God *with which he overthrew* Sodom and Gomorrah—but the exact sense of the Hebrew words is that already given—like God's overthrowing Sodom and Gomorrah. This is a common formula in Scripture for complete destruction, viewed as a special punishment of sin. (Vide supra, ch. 1 : 7, 9.) The allegation of the Seder Olam, as cited both by Jarchi and Kimchi, that Babylon was suddenly destroyed by fire from heaven in the second year of Darius, is a Jewish figment designed to reconcile the prophecy with history. It is certain, however, that the destruction of the city was by slow degrees, successively promoted by the conquests of Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great, Antigonus, Demetrius, the Parthians, and the founding of the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Strabo calls Babylon *μεγάλην ἐρημίαν*. Pausanias says that in his day *οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν εἰ μὴ τεῖχος*. In Jerome's time this wall only served as the enclosure of a park or hunting ground. From this apparent disagreement of the prophecy with history, Cocceius seems disposed to infer that it relates not to the literal but spiritual Babylon. The true conclusion is that drawn by Calvin, that the prophecy does not relate to any one invasion or attack exclusively, but to the whole process of subjection and decay, so completely carried out through a course of ages, that the very site of ancient Babylon is now disputed. This hypothesis accounts for many traits in the description which appear inconsistent only in consequence of being all applied to one point of time and one catastrophe exclusively.

V. 20. *It shall not be inhabited forever* (i. e. it shall never again or no more be inhabited) *and it shall not be dwelt in from generation to generation* (literally, to generation and generation)—*neither shall the Arab pitch tent there—neither shall shepherds cause* (their flocks) *to lie there.* The conversion of a populous and fertile district into a vast pasture-ground, however rich and well frequented, implies extensive ruin, but not such ruin as is here denounced. Babylon was not even to be visited by shepherds, nor to serve as the encamping ground of wandering Arabs. The completeness of the threatened desolation will be seen by comparing these expressions with ch. 5 : 5, 17. 7 : 21. 17 : 2, where it is predicted that the place in question should be *for flocks to lie down with none to make them afraid.* So fully has this prophecy been verified that the Bedouins, according to the latest travellers, are even superstitiously afraid of passing a single night upon the site of Babylon. The simplest version of the first clause would be, *she shall not dwell forever, she shall not abide* etc. And this construction is actually given by Calvin and Ewald. But the great majority of writers follow the Septuagint and Vulgate in ascribing to the active verbs a passive or intransitive sense. Kimchi explains this usage on the ground that the city is made to represent its inhabitants—*she dwells* for *her people dwell.* This intransitive usage of the verbs is utterly denied by Hengstenberg on Zechariah 12 : 6 (Christol. II. 286), but maintained against him by Gesenius in his Thesaurus (II. 635). The result appears to be, that in a number of cases, the intransitive version is required by the context. The only objection to it in the case before us is that it does not here seem absolutely necessary. The choice therefore lies between the general usage of ישב and שכן as active verbs, and their special usage in connexion with prophecies of desolation. The sense of *sitting on a throne,* ascribed to ישב here by Gataker, and elsewhere by Hengstenberg, does not agree so well with that of the other verb and with the general import of the threatening. On the whole, the passive or neuter construction, though not absolutely necessary, is the most satisfactory and natural.—יַחַל is explained by the rabbinical interpreters as a contraction of יְאַהֵל, the Kal of which is used in the sense of pitching a tent or encamping, Gen. 13 : 12, 18. (See Gesenius § 67. Rem. 2.) This explanation is adopted by most modern writers. Rosenmüller and Ewald, however, make the form a Hiphil one for יְאַהִיל. Hitzig takes it likewise as a Hiphil, but from נָחַל, *to lead* (flocks) *to water,* which is also found connected with the Hiphil of רָבַץ in Ps. 23 : 2. Hendewerk objects that although this verb is repeatedly used by Isaiah, it is always in the Piel form (ch. 40 : 11. 49 : 10. 51 : 18). The Hiphil occurs nowhere else, and the contraction assumed by Hitzig rarely if at all. The derivation from אהל is assumed in the Chaldee Paraphrase and Vulgate Version.—Barnes applies this clause to the encampment of caravans, and supposes it

to mean that wayfarers will not lodge there even for a night. But the mention of shepherds immediately afterwards renders it more probable that the allusion is to the nomadic habits of the Bedouins, who are still what Strabo represents them, half shepherds and half robbers (*σκηνίται λῃστρικοί τινες καὶ ποιμενικοί*), passing from one place to another when their plunder or their pasture fails. Gesenius suggests that ערבי may here be used generically to denote this class of persons or their mode of life. There can be no doubt, however, that Arabians, properly so called, do actually overrun the region around Babylon with their flocks and herds, although, as we have seen, they refuse to take up their abode upon the doomed site of the vanished city.

V. 21. Having excluded men and the domesticated animals from Babylon, the Prophet now tells how it shall be occupied, viz. by creatures which are only found in deserts, and the presence of which therefore is a sign of desolation. In the first clause these solitary creatures are referred to in the general; the other clause specifies two kinds out of the many which are elsewhere spoken of as dwelling in the wilderness. *But there* (instead of flocks) *shall lie down desert creatures—and their houses*, (those of the Babylonians) *shall be filled with howls or yells—and there shall dwell the daughters of the ostrich—and shaggy* beasts (or *wild goats*) *shall gambol there.* The contrast is heightened by the obvious allusion in רבצו and שכנו to the תשכן and ורבצו of v. 20. As if he had said, flocks shall not lie down there, but wild beasts shall; man shall not dwell there, but the ostrich shall. The meaning evidently is that the populous and splendid city should become the home of animals found only in the wildest solitudes. To express this idea, other species might have been selected with the same effect. The endless discussions therefore as to the identity of those here named, however laudable as tending to promote exact lexicography and natural history, have little or no bearing on the interpretation of the passage. The fullest statement of the questions in detail may be found in Bochart's Hierozoicon and in Gesenius's Thesaurus, under the several words and phrases. Nothing more will be here attempted than to settle one or two points of comparative importance. Many interpreters regard the whole verse as an enumeration of particular animals. Thus ציים has been rendered *wild-cats*, *monkeys*, *vampyres*; אחים *owls*, *weasels*, *dragons* etc. etc. This has arisen from the assumption of a perfect parallelism in the clauses. It is altogether natural, however, to suppose that the writer would first make use of general expressions and afterwards descend to particulars. This supposition is confirmed by the etymology and usage of ציים, both which determine it to mean those belonging to or dwelling in the desert. In this sense, it is sometimes applied to men (Ps. 72: 9. 74: 14), but as these are here excluded by the preceding verse, nothing more was needed to restrict it to wild

animals, to which it is also applied in ch. 34 : 14 and Jer. 50 : 39. This is now commonly agreed to be the meaning, even by those who give to אחים a specific sense. The same writers admit that אחים properly denotes the howls or cries of certain animals, and only make it mean the animals themselves, because such are mentioned in the other clauses. But if צרים has the generic sense which all now give it, the very parallelism of the clauses favours the explanation of אחים in its original and proper sense of *howls* or *yells*, viz. those uttered by the צרים. The common version (*doleful creatures*) is too indefinite on one of these hypotheses, and too specific on the other. The *daughter of the ostrich* is an oriental idiom for ostriches in general, or for the female ostrich in particular. The old translation *owls* seems to be now universally abandoned. The most interesting point in the interpretation of this verse has reference to the word שעירים. The history of its interpretation is so curious as to justify more fulness of detail than usual. It has never been disputed that its original and proper sense is *hairy*, and its usual specific sense *he-goats*. In two places (Lev. 17 : 7. 2 Chron. 11 : 15), it is used to denote objects of idolatrous worship, probably images of goats, which according to Herodotus were worshipped in Egypt. In Chronicles especially this supposition is the natural one, because the word is joined with עגלים *calves*. Both there and in Leviticus, the Septuagint renders it *ματαίοις vain things*, i. e. false gods, idols. But the Targum on Leviticus explains it to mean *demons* (שדין), and the same interpretation is given in the case before us by the Septuagint (*δαιμόνια*), Targum (שדין), and Peshito (ܫܕܝܢ). The Vulgate in Leviticus translates the word *daemonibus*, but here *pilosi*. The interpretation given by the other three versions is adopted also by the Rabbins, Aben Ezra, Jarchi, Kimchi, etc. It appears likewise in the Talmud and early Jewish books. From this traditional interpretation of שעירים, here and in ch. 34 : 14, appears to have arisen, at an early period, a popular belief among the Jews, that *demons* or *evil spirits* were accustomed to haunt desert places in the shape of goats or other animals. And this belief is said to be actually cherished by the natives near the site of Babylon at the present day.—Let us now compare this Jewish exposition of the passage with its treatment among Christians. To Jerome, the combination of the two meanings *goats*, and *demons*, seems to have suggested the Pans, Fauns, and Satyrs of the classical mythology, imaginary beings represented as a mixture of the human form with that of goats, and supposed to frequent forests and other lonely places. This idea is carried out by Calvin, who adopts the word *satyri* in his version, and explains the passage as relating to actual appearances of Satan under such disguises. Luther, in like manner, renders it *Feldgeister*. Vitringa takes another step, and understands the language as a mere concession or allusion to the popular belief, equivalent to saying, the solitude of Babylon shall be as awful *as if* occupied by Fauns and Satyrs—there, *if*

anywhere, such beings may be looked for. In explaining how שעירים came to be thus used, he rejects the supposition of actual apparitions of the evil spirit, and ascribes the usage to the fact of men's mistaking certain shaggy apes (or other animals approaching to the human form) for incarnations of the devil. Forerius and J. D. Michaelis understand the animals themselves to be here meant. The latter uses in his version the word *Waldteufel* (wood-devils, forest-demons), but is careful to apprize the reader in a note that it is the German name for a species of ape or monkey, and that the Hebrew contains no allusion to the devil. The same word is used by Gesenius and others in its proper sense. Saadias, Cocceius, Clericus, and Henderson, return to the original meaning of the Hebrew word, to wit, *wild goats*. But the great majority of modern writers tenaciously adhere to the old tradition. This is done, not only by the German neologists, who lose no opportunity of finding a mythology in Scripture, but by Lowth, Barnes, and Stuart, in his exposition of Rev. 11: 2 and his Excursus on the Angelology of Scripture (Apocal. II. 403). The arguments in favour of this exposition are (1) the exegetical tradition of the Jews—(2) their popular belief, and that of the modern orientals, in such apparitions—(3) our Saviour's allusion (Matth. 12: 43) to the unclean spirit, as walking through dry places, seeking rest and finding none—(4) the description of Babylon in Rev. 18: 2, as the abode of demons, and the hold (or prison-house) of every foul spirit and of every unclean and hateful bird, with evident allusion to the passage now before us. Upon this state of the case, it may be remarked (1) that even on the supposition of a reference to evil spirits, there is no need of assuming any concession or accommodation to the current superstitions. If שעירים denotes demons, this text is a proof, not of a popular belief, but of a fact, of a real apparition of such spirits under certain forms. (2) The Jewish tradition warrants the application of the Hebrew term to *demons*, but not to the *fauns* or *satyrs* of the Greek and Roman fabulists. (3) The fauns and satyrs of the classical mythology were represented as grotesque and frolicsome, spiteful and mischievous, but not as awful and terrific beings, such as might naturally people horrid solitudes. (4) The popular belief of the Jews and other orientals may be traced to the traditional interpretation of this passage (see Stuart ubi supra), and this to the Septuagint version. But we do not find that any of the modern writers adopt the Septuagint version of בנות יענה (σειρῆνες) or of איים in the next verse (ὀνοκενταύροι). If these are mere blunders or conceits, so may the other be, however great its influence on subsequent opinions. (5) There is probably no allusion in Matth. 12: 43 to this passage, and the one in Rev. 18: 2 is evidently founded on the Septuagint version, which was abundantly sufficient for the purpose of a symbolical accommodation. What the Greek translators incorrectly gave as the meaning of this passage might be said with truth of the spiritual Babylon. (6) The mention of

demons in a list of beasts and birds is at variance not only with the favourite canon of parallelisms, but with the natural and ordinary usages of language. Such a combination and arrangement as the one supposed—ostriches—demons—wolves—jackals—would of itself be a reason for suspecting that the second term must really denote some kind of animal, even if no such usage existed. (7) The usage of שעירים, as the name of an animal, is perfectly well defined and certain. Even in Lev. 17 : 7 and 2 Chron. 11 : 15, this, as we have seen, is the only natural interpretation.—The result appears to be that if the question is determined by tradition and authority, שעירים denotes *demons* ; if by the context and the usage of the word, it signifies *wild goats*, or more generically *hairy*, *shaggy* animals. According to the principles of modern exegesis, the latter is clearly entitled to the preference ; but even if the former be adopted, the language of the text should be regarded, not as "a touch from the popular pneumatology" (as Rev. 18 : 2 is described by Stuart in loc.), but as the prediction of a real fact, which, though it should not be assumed without necessity, is altogether possible, and therefore, if alleged in Scripture, altogether credible. The argument in favour of the strict interpretation, and against the traditional and current one, is presented briefly, but with great strength and clearness, in Henderson's note upon the passage.

V. 22. *And wolves shall howl in his* (the king of Babylon's) *palaces, and jackals in the temples of pleasure. And near to come is her* (Babylon's) *time, and her days shall not be prolonged.*—The names איים and תנים have been as variously explained as those in v. 21. The latest writers seem to be agreed that they are different appellations of the jackal, but in order to retain the original variety of expression, substitute another animal in one of the clauses, such as *wolves* (Gesenius), *wild-cats* (Ewald) etc. As איים, according to its etymology, denotes an animal remarkable for its cry, it might be rendered *hyenas*, thereby avoiding the improbable assumption that precisely the same animal is mentioned in both clauses. But whatever be the species here intended, the essential idea is the same as in the foregoing verse, viz. that Babylon should one day be inhabited exclusively by animals peculiar to the wilderness, implying that it should become a wilderness itself. The contrast is heightened here by the particular mention of palaces and abodes of pleasure, as about to be converted into dens and haunts of solitary animals. This fine poetical conception is adopted by Milton in his sublime description of the flood—

> And in their palaces,
> Where luxury late reigned, sea-monsters whelped
> And stabled.

The meaning of אלמנותיו, in every other case where it occurs, is *widows*,

in which sense some rabbinical and other writers understand it here. But as it differs only in a single letter from אַרְמְנוֹת *palaces*, and as ל and ר are sometimes interchanged, it is now commonly regarded as a mere orthographical variation, if not an error of transcription. It is possible, however, that the two forms were designedly confounded by the writer, in order to suggest both ideas, that of palaces and that of widowhood or desolation. This explanation is adopted in the English Version, which has *palaces* in the margin, but in the text *desolate houses*. Henderson avoids the repetition of *palaces*, by rendering the second phrase *temples of pleasure*, which affords a good sense, and is justified by usage. The older writers explain עָנָה as denoting a responsive cry ; but the latest lexicographers make *answer* a secondary meaning of the verb, which they explain as properly denoting to sing, or to utter any inarticulate sound, according to the nature of the subject. Hence it is here translated *howl*.—The last clause of the verse may be strictly understood, but in application to the Jewish captives in the Babylonian exile, for whose consolation the prophecy was partly intended. Or we may understand it as denoting proximity in reference to the events which had been passing in the Prophet's view. He sees the signals erected —he hears a noise in the mountains—and regarding these as actually present, he exclaims, *her time is near to come!* It may, however, mean, as similar expressions do in other cases, that when the appointed time should come, the event would certainly take place, there could be no postponement or delay.

CHAPTER XIV.

The destruction of Babylon is again foretold, and more explicitly connected with the deliverance of Israel from bondage. After a general assurance of God's favour to his people, and of an exchange of conditions between them and their oppressors, they are represented as joining in a song of triumph over their fallen enemy. In this song, which is universally admitted to possess the highest literary merit, they describe the earth as again reposing from its agitation and affliction, and then breaking forth into a shout of exultation, in which the very trees of the forest join, vs. 1–8. By a still bolder figure, the unseen world is represented as perturbed at the approach of the fallen tyrant, who is met, as he enters, by the kings already there, amazed to find him sunk as low as themselves and from a still greater height of actual elevation and of impious pretensions, which are strongly contrasted

with his present condition, as deprived not only of regal honours but of decent burial, vs. 9–20. The threatening is then extended to the whole race, and the prophecy closes as before with a prediction of the total desolation of Babylon, vs. 21–23.

Vs. 24–27 are regarded by the latest writers as a distinct prophecy, unconnected with what goes before, and misplaced in the arrangement of the book. The reasons for believing that it is rather an appendix or conclusion, added by the Prophet himself, will be fully stated in the exposition.

Vs. 28–32 are regarded by a still greater number of writers as a distinct prophecy against Philistia. The traditional arrangement of the text, however, creates a strong presumption that this passage stands in some close connexion with what goes before. The true state of the case may be, that the Prophet, having reverted from the downfall of Babylon to that of Assyria, now closes with a warning apostrophe to the Philistines who had also suffered from the latter power, and were disposed to exult unduly in its overthrow. If the later application of the name Philistia to the whole land of Canaan could be justified by Scriptural usage, these verses might be understood as a warning to the Jews themselves not to exult too much in their escape from Assyrian oppression, since they were yet to be subjected to the heavier yoke of Babylonian bondage. Either of these suppositions is more reasonable than that this passage is an independent prophecy subjoined to the foregoing one by caprice or accident.

V. 1. This verse declares God's purpose in destroying the Babylonian power. *For Jehovah will pity* (or *have mercy upon*) *Jacob, and will again* (or still) *choose Israel and cause them to rest on their* (*own*) *land—and the stranger shall be joined to them—and they* (the strangers) *shall be attached to the house of Jacob.* Jacob and Israel are here used for the whole race. The plural pronoun *them* does not refer to Jacob and Israel as the names of different persons, but to each of them as a collective. For the same reason נִסְפְּחוּ is plural though agreeing with הַגֵּר. By God's *still choosing* Israel we are to understand his continuing to treat them as his chosen people. Or we may render עוֹד *again*, in which case the idea will be, that having for a time or in appearance cast them off and given them up to *other lords*, he would now take them to himself again. Gesenius gives two specimens in this verse of his disposition to attenuate the force of the Hebrew words by needlessly departing from their primary import. Because בָּחַר is occasionally used where we should simply speak of loving or preferring, and because the Hiphil of נוּחַ to rest, is sometimes used to signify the act of *laying down* or *placing*, he adopts these two jejune and secondary senses here.—In this he is closely followed by DeWette. Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Umbreit, have the good taste to give בָּחַר its distinctive sense, but Ewald alone among

the later Germans has done full justice to the meaning of both words, by translating the first *choose* and the other *give them rest*. The Vulgate takes the ב after בָּחַר as a partitive (eliget de Israel), whereas it is the usual connective particle between this verb and its object. It is allowable, but not necessary, to give the Niphals in the second clause a reflexive meaning, as some writers do. נִלְוָה is followed by עַל as in Numbers 18 : 2. Knobel understands by הַגֵּר the surviving Canaanites, some of whom went into captivity with Israel (Ezek. 14 : 7. 47 : 22), and others remained in possession of the land (Ezra 9 : 1 seq.) But there seems to be no reason for restricting the meaning of the word, especially as a general accession of the gentiles is so often promised elsewhere. According to Cocceius and Gill, the maxim of the Talmud, that *proselytes are like a scab*, is founded on the affinity of the verb נספח with the noun סִפְחָה.—Umbreit correctly understands this not as a mere promise of temporal deliverance and increase to Israel as a nation, but as an assurance that the preservation of the chosen people was a necessary means for the fulfilment of God's purposes of mercy to mankind in general.—The literal fulfilment of the last clause in its primary sense is clear from such statements as the one in Esther 8 : 17.

V. 2. *And nations shall take them and bring them to their place—and the house of Israel shall take possession of them on Jehovah's land for male and female servants—and* (thus) *they* (the Israelites) *shall be the captors of their captors, and rule over their oppressors.* The first clause is rendered somewhat obscure by the reference of the pronoun *them* to different subjects, first the Jews and then the gentiles. Umbreit renders עַמִּים tribes (Stämme), and seems to refer it to the Jews themselves, and the first suffix to the gentiles, thereby making the construction uniform. The sense will then be, not that the gentiles shall bring the Jews home, but that the Jews shall bring the gentiles with them. Most interpreters, however, are agreed that the first clause relates to the part taken by the gentiles in the restoration of the Jews.—To a Hebrew reader the word וְהִתְנַחֲלוּ would convey the idea, not of bare possession merely, but of permanent possession, rendered perpetual by hereditary succession. The word is used in this sense, and with special reference to slaves or servants, in Lev. 25 : 46.—It is curious to observe the meanings put upon this promise by the different schools and classes of interpreters. Thus Grotius understands it of an influx of foreigners after Sennacherib's invasion in the reign of Hezekiah, an interpretation equally at variance with the context and with history. Cocceius, as the other pole or opposite extreme, applies it to the final deliverance of the Christian Church from persecution in the Roman empire, and its protection by Constantius and establishment by Constantine. Clericus and others find the whole fulfilment in the number of foreign servants whom the Jews

brought back from exile (Ezra 2 : 65). Calvin and others make the change predicted altogether moral, a spiritual conquest of the true religion over those who were once its physical oppressors. It is scarcely possible to compare these last interpretations without feeling the necessity of some exegetical hypothesis by which they may be reconciled. Some of the worst errors of interpretation have arisen from the mutual exclusion of hypotheses as incompatible, which really agree, and indeed are necessary to complete each other. The simple meaning of this promise seems to be that the church or chosen people and the other nations should change places, the oppressed becoming the oppressor, and the slave the master. This of course admits both an external and internal fulfilment. In a lower sense and on a smaller scale it was accomplished in the restoration of the Jews from exile; but its full accomplishment is yet to come, not with respect to the Jews as a people, for their pre-eminence has ceased for ever, but with respect to the church, including Jews and gentiles, which has succeeded to the rights and privileges, promises and actual possessions, of God's ancient people. The true principle of exposition is adopted even by the Rabbins. Jarchi refers the promise to the *future* (לעתיד), to the period of *complete redemption.* Kimchi more explicitly declares that its fulfilment is to be sought partly in the restoration from Babylon, and partly in the days of the Messiah.

V. 3. *And it shall be* (or *come to pass*) *in the day of Jehovah's causing thee to rest from thy toil* (or *suffering*), *and from thy commotion* (or *disquietude*), *and from the hard service which was wrought by thee* (or *imposed upon thee*). The precise construction of the last words seems to be, *in which* (or *with respect to which*) *it was wrought with thee* i. e. they (indefinitely) wrought with thee, or thou wast made to work. The nominative of עָבַד is not עֲבֹדָה nor the relative referring to it, but an indefinite subject understood. This impersonal construction makes it unnecessary to account for the masculine form of the verb as irregular. Aben Ezra refers עצב and רגז to pain of body and pain of mind, Cocceius to outward persecutions and internal divisions of the church. But they are much more probably equivalent expressions for pain and suffering in general. In this verse and the following context, the Prophet, in order to reduce the general promise of the foregoing verse to a more graphic and impressive form, recurs to the downfall of Babylon, as the beginning of the series of deliverances which he had predicted, and describes the effect upon those most concerned, by putting into the mouth of Israel a song of triumph over their oppressor. This is universally admitted to be one of the finest specimens of Hebrew and indeed of ancient composition.

V. 4. *That thou shalt raise this song over the king of Babylon and say, How hath the oppressor ceased, the golden* (*city*) *ceased!* The *Vav* at

the beginning continues the construction from יָהִיָה in v. 3, and can only be expressed in our idiom by *that*.—נָשָׂא is not merely to *begin* or to *utter*, but to *raise*, as this word is employed by us in a musical sense, including the ideas of commencement, utterance, and loudness.—מָשָׁל is not so called from מָשַׁל to rule, but from מָשַׁל to resemble or compare. Its most general sense seems to be that of tropical or figurative language. The more specific senses which have been ascribed to it are for the most part suggested by the context. Here it may have a special reference to the bold poetical fiction following. If so, it may warn us not to draw inferences from the passage with respect to the unseen world or the state of departed spirits. Calvin's description of the opening sentence as sarcastic has led others to describe the whole passage as a *satire*, which is scarcely consistent with its peculiar merit as a song of triumph.—אֵיךְ is an exclamation of surprise, but at the same time has its proper force as an interrogative adverb, as appears from the answer in the following verse.—נֹגֵשׂ is properly a task-master, slave-driver, or tax-gatherer. מַדְהֵבָה is derived by the Rabbins and many modern writers from דָּהָב, the Chaldee form of זָהָב *gold*, in which Junius sees a sarcasm on the Babylonians, and Gesenius an indication that the writer lived in Babylonia! According to this etymology, the word has been explained by Vitringa as meaning a golden sceptre—by others the golden city—the place or repository of gold—the exactress of gold, taking the word as a participial noun—the exaction of gold, taking it as an abstract—or gold itself, considered as a tribute. From dubious Arabic analogies, Schultens and others have explained it to mean the destroyer or the plunderer. J. D. Michaelis and the later Germans are disposed to read מִרְהָבָה *oppression*, which is found in one edition, appears to be the basis of the ancient versions, and agrees well with the use of נָגַשׂ and מֵרָהֲבֵי in ch. 3 : 5. Ewald gives it the strong sense of tyrannical rage.—The meaning of the first clause is of course that Israel would have occasion to express such feelings. There is consequently no need of disputing when or where the song was to be sung. Equally useless is the question whether by the king of Babylon we are to understand Nebuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach, or Belshazzar. The king here introduced is an ideal personage, whose downfall represents that of the Babylonian monarchy.

V. 5. This verse contains the answer to the question in the one before it. *Jehovah hath broken the staff of the wicked, the rod of the rulers.* The meaning *tyrants*, given to the last word by Gesenius and the later Germans, is implied but not expressed. The rod and staff are common figures for dominion, and their being broken for its destruction. There is no need of supposing a specific reference either to the rod of a task-master, with Gesenius, or to the sceptre of a king, with Ewald and the older writers.

V. 6. *Smiting nations in anger by a stroke without cessation—ruling nations in wrath by a rule without restraint*—literally, which *he* (or *one* indefinitely) *did not restrain.*—The participles may agree grammatically either with the *rod* or with the king who wields it. Junius and Tremellius suppose the punishment of the Babylonians to be mentioned in both clauses. 'As for him who smote the nations in wrath, his stroke shall not be removed —he that ruled the nations in anger is persecuted and cannot hinder it.' The English Version, Lowth, Barnes, and others, apply the last clause only to the punishment. But the great majority both of the oldest and the latest writers make the whole descriptive of the Babylonian tyranny. Kimchi, Calvin, and Vatablus, read the last clause thus—(if any one was) *persecuted, he did not hinder it.* Dathe reads מרדף as an active participle (מַרְדֵּף), and this reading seems to be likewise supposed in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Latin versions. Some make מִרְדָּף a verbal noun, meaning *persecution*, though the passive form is singular, and scarcely accounted for by Henderson's suggestion, that it means persecution as experienced rather than as practised. All the recent German writers have adopted Doederlein's proposal to amend the text by changing מרדף into מרדת, a construct form like מכת, and derived like it from the immediately preceding verb. Striking a stroke without cessation, swaying a sway without restraint, will then correspond exactly, as also the remaining phrases, *peoples* and *nations*, *wrath* and *anger*. Of all the emendations founded on the principle of parallelism, there is none more natural or plausible than this, the rather as the letters interchanged are much alike, especially in some kinds of Hebrew writing, and as the sense is very little affected by a change of *persecution* into *domination.* Henderson, however, though he admits the plausibility, denies the necessity of this emendation. It may also be observed that a general application of this principle of criticism would make extensive changes in the text. For although there may be no case quite so strong as this, there are doubtless many where a slight change would produce entire uniformity. And yet the point in which the parallelism fails may sometimes be the very one designed to be the salient or emphatic point of the whole sentence. Such emendations should be therefore viewed with caution and suspicion, unless founded on external evidence, or but slightly affecting the meaning of the passage, as in the case before us. Umbreit, who adopts Doederlein's suggestion, gives to רדה and מרדת what is supposed to be their primary sense, that of *treading* or *trampling* under foot.—Cocceius, who applies this to the tyranny of Antichrist, explains בְּלִתִּי סָרָה as a compound noun (like לֹא־עֵץ ch. 10 : 15) meaning *non-apostasy*, and having reference to the persecution of true Christians on the false pretence of heresy, schism, or apostasy. By the side of this may be placed Abarbenel's interpretation of the whole verse as relating to God himself.

V. 7. *At rest, quiet, is the whole earth. They burst forth into singing* (or a shout of joy). Jarchi seems to make the first clause the words of the song or shout mentioned in the second. There is no inconsistency between the clauses, as the first is not descriptive of *silence*, but of tranquillity and rest. *The land had rest* is a phrase employed in the book of Judges (e. g. ch. 5: 31) to describe the condition of the country after a great national deliverance.—There is no need of supposing an ellipsis of יִשְׁבְּתָה, to agree with the plural פָּצְחוּ, as Henderson does, since it may just as well be construed with הָאָרֶץ as a collective, or indefinitely, *they* (i. e. men in general) *break forth into singing*. Ewald, who gives the whole of this מָשָׁל in a species of blank verse, is particularly happy in his version of this sentence. (*Nun ruht, nun rastet die ganze Erde, man bricht in Jubel aus.*) The verb to *burst* is peculiarly descriptive of an ebullition of joy long suppressed or suddenly succeeding grief. Rosenmüller quotes a fine parallel from Terence. *Jamne erumpere hoc licet mihi gaudium?* The Hebrew phrase is beautifully rendered by the Septuagint, βοᾷ μετ' εὐφροσύνης. It is a curious illustration of the worth of certain arguments, that while Gesenius makes the use of this phrase a proof that this prediction was not written by Isaiah, Henderson with equal right adduces it to prove that he was the author of the later chapters, in which the same expression frequently occurs.

V. 8. Not only the earth and its inhabitants take part in this triumphant song or shout, but the trees of the forest. *Also* (or *even*) *the cypresses rejoice with respect to thee*—the cedars of *Lebanon*—(saying) *now that thou art fallen* (literally *lain down*), *the feller* (or woodman, literally *the cutter*) *shall not come up against us*. Now that we are safe from thee, we fear no other enemy. The בְּרוֹשׁ has been variously explained to be the fir, the ash, and the pine; but the latest authorities decide that it denotes a species of cypress. According to J. D. Michaelis, Antilibanus is clothed with firs, as Libanus or Lebanon proper is with cedars, and both are here introduced as joining in the general triumph. Vitringa makes עָלֵינוּ a noun with a suffix, meaning *our leaves* or *our tops* (cacumina nostra). Among other reasons, he alleges that בָּרַח is not construed with עַל elsewhere. But the accents might have taught him that עָלֵינוּ is dependent on רָגְעָה, and that הַכֹּרֵת is to be construed as a noun. Forerius reads *on us*, and supposes an allusion to the climbing of the tree by the woodman, in order to cut off the upper branches. Knobel refers the words in the same sense to the falling of the stroke upon the trees. It is much more natural, however, to regard the words as meaning simply *to us*, or more emphatically *against us*. The preposition in לְ, here as elsewhere, strictly denotes general relation, *as to, with respect to*. The specific sense of *over* or *against*, in all the cases which Gesenius cites, is gathered from the context. Instead of *liest* Pag-

ninus has *sleepest*, which might be metaphorically applied to death, but is not really the meaning of the word, which denotes a sleeping posture but not sleep itself. As to the meaning of the figures in this verse, there are three distinct opinions. The first is that the trees are emblems of kings and other great men. This is the explanation given in the Targum, and by Cocceius, Vitringa, and other interpreters of that school. The second opinion is that the trees, as such, are introduced rejoicing that they shall no more be cut down to open roads or to supply materials for barricades or forts or for luxurious buildings. This prosaic exposition, proposed by Aben Ezra and approved by Grotius, is a favourite with some of the writers at the present day who clamour loudest about Hebrew poetry, and insist most rigorously on the application of the so-called laws of versification. The third opinion, and the only one that seems consistent with a pure taste, is the one proposed by Calvin, who supposes this to be merely a part of one great picture, representing universal nature as rejoicing. The *symbolical* and *mechanical* interpretations are as much out of place here, as they would be in a thousand splendid passages of classical and modern poetry, where no one yet has ever dreamed of applying them. Both here and elsewhere in the sacred books, inanimate nature is personified, and speaks herself instead of being merely spoken of.

> Ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera jactant
> Intonsi montes ; ipsae jam carmina rupes,
> Ipsa sonant arbusta.

The Septuagint version of יָעְלָה as a preterite (*ἀνέβη*), which is followed by all the early writers, is not only arbitrary and in violation of the usus loquendi, but also objectionable on the ground that it implies too long an interval between the utterance of the words and the catastrophe which called them forth. The trees are not to be considered as historically stating what has happened or not happened since a certain time, but as expressing, at the very moment of the tyrant's downfall, or at least soon after it, a confident assurance of their future safety. In such a connexion מֵאָז corresponds exactly to the English *now that*. The present form given to both verbs (now that thou liest, no one comes etc.) by Luther and most of the later Germans, approaches nearer to the true construction, but is neither so exact nor so poetical as the literal translation of the future given by Rosenmüller and Ewald, and before them by the Vulgate (non ascendet qui succidat nos). It is characteristic of Cocceius and his whole scheme, that he makes the firs and cedars mean not only great men in general, but ecclesiastical rulers in particular, and in his exposition of the verse refers expressly to the English bishops who became reformers, and to the case of the Venetians when subjected to a papal interdict in 1606. Such exposi-

tions have been well described by Stuart (Apocal. II. p. 147) as attempts to convert prophecy into a syllabus of civil and church history.

V. 9. The bold personification is now extended from the earth and its forests to the invisible or lower world, the inhabitants of which are represented as aroused at the approach of the new victim and as coming forth to meet him. *Hell from beneath is moved* (or *in commotion*) *for thee* (i. e. on account of thee) *to meet thee* (*at*) *thy coming—it rouses for thee the giants* (the gigantic shades or spectres), *all the chief ones* (literally *he-goats*) *of the earth—it raises from their thrones all the kings of the nations.*—שְׁאוֹל has already been explained (vide supra, ch. 5: 14) as meaning first *a grave* or individual sepulchre, and then *the grave* as a general receptacle, indiscriminately occupied by all the dead without respect to character, as when we say, the rich and the poor, the evil and the good, lie together in *the grave*, not in a single tomb, which would be false, but *under ground* and in a common state of death and burial. The English word *Hell*, though now appropriated to the condition or the place of future torments, corresponds, in etymology and early usage, to the Hebrew word in question. Gesenius derives it, with the German *Hölle*, from *Höhle* hollow, but the English etymologists from the Anglo-Saxon *helan* to cover, which amounts to the same thing, the ideas of a *hollow* and a *covered* place being equally appropriate. The modern English versions have discarded the word *hell* as an equivocal expression, requiring explanation in order to be rightly understood. But as the Hebrew word *Sheol*, retained by Henderson, and the Greek word *Hades*, introduced by Lowth and Barnes, require explanation also, the strong and homely Saxon form will be preferred by every unsophisticated taste, not only to these Greek and Hebrew names, but also to the periphrases of Gesenius (Schattenreich) and Hendewerk (Todtenreich), and even to the simpler and more poetical expression (Unterwelt) employed by Hitzig and DeWette. Ewald and Umbreit have the good taste to restore the old word *Hölle* in their versions.—Two expressions have been faithfully transcribed by interpreters from one another, in relation to this passage, with a very equivocal effect upon its exposition. The one is that it is full of biting sarcasm, an unfortunate suggestion of Calvin's, which puts the reader on the scent for irony and even wit, instead of opening his mind to impressions of sublimity and tragic grandeur. The other, for which Calvin is in no degree responsible, is that we have before us not a mere prosopopœia or poetical creation of the highest order, but a chapter from the popular belief of the Jews, as to the locality, contents, and transactions of the unseen world. Thus Gesenius, in his Lexicon and Commentary, gives a minute topographical description of *Sheol*, as the Hebrews believed it to exist. With equal truth a diligent compiler might construct a map of hell,

as conceived of by the English Puritans, from the descriptive portions of the Paradise Lost. The infidel interpreters of Germany regard the Scriptural and classical mythology precisely in the same light. But when Christian writers copy their expressions or ideas, they should take pains to explain whether the popular belief, of which they speak, was true or false, and if false, how it could be countenanced and sanctioned by inspired writers. This kind of exposition is moreover chargeable with a rhetorical incongruity in lauding the creative genius of the poet, and yet making all his grand creations commonplace articles of popular belief. The true view of the matter, as determined both by piety and taste, appears to be, that the passage now before us comprehends two elements and only two, religious verities or certain facts, and poetical embellishments. It may not be easy to distinguish clearly between these; but it is only between these that we are able or have any occasion to distinguish. The admission of a *tertium quid*, in the shape of superstitious fables, is as false in rhetoric as in theology. —Gesenius, in the earlier editions of his Lexicon, and in his Commentary on Isaiah, derives רפאים from רָפָה to be weak, and makes it a poetical description of the manes, shades, or phantoms of the unseen world. In the last edition of his Lexicon, he derives it from רפא to be still or quiet, a supposititious meaning founded on an Arabic analogy. By this new derivation he destroys the force of the argument derived from the expression in the next verse, 'thou art become *weak* (חלית) as we,' to which it may also be objected that if the author designed any such allusion he would probably have used the word רפית from רפה. The ancient versions and all the early writers understand it to mean *giants*, to avoid which Gesenius makes רפאים in the prose books a mere proper name derived from רפא or רפה the ancestor. But this last always has the article, and no exegetical tradition is more uniform than that which gives to *Rephaim* the sense of *giants*. Its application to the dead admits of several explanations, equally plausible with that of Gesenius, and entitled to the preference according to the modern laws of lexicography, because instead of multiplying they reduce the number of distinct significations. Thus the shades or spectres of the dead might naturally be conceived as actually larger than the living man, since that which is shadowy and indistinct is commonly exaggerated by the fancy. Or there may be an allusion to the Canaanitish giants who were exterminated by divine command and might well be chosen to represent the whole class of departed sinners. Or in this particular case, we may suppose the kings and great ones of the earth to be distinguished from the vulgar dead as giants or gigantic forms. Either of these hypotheses precludes the necessity of finding a new root for a common word, or of denying its plain usage elsewhere. As to mere poetical effect, so often made a test of truth, there can be no comparison between the description of the dead as *weak* or *quiet ones*,

and the sublime conception of gigantic shades or phantoms.—Aben Ezra and Kimchi call attention to the fact that יָגִיז, in this one verse is construed both with a masculine and feminine verb. Hitzig explains this on the ground that in the first clause Sheol is passive, in the second active; Maurer with more success upon the ground that the nearest verb takes the feminine or proper gender of the noun, while the more remote one, by a common license, retains the masculine or radical form, as in ch. 33: 9. (See Gesenius § 141. Rem. 1.) Another method of removing the anomaly is afforded by an ingenious conjecture of J. D. Michaelis, who detaches בּוֹאֲךָ from what precedes and makes it the subject of the verb יָגִיז. *Thy coming rouses the gigantic shades.* This is also recommended by its doing away with the somewhat harsh construction of בּוֹאֲךָ adverbially after לִקְרָאתֶךָ. There is nothing indeed to hinder the adoption of this simple change, but the general expediency of adhering to the Masoretic interpunction wherever it is possible. Some of the older writers refer יָגִיז to the King of Hell, the objection to which is not its inconsistency with *Hebrew mythology*, but its being wholly arbitrary.—Because רְפָאִים is sometimes simply equivalent to מֵתִים, Gesenius here prefers this secondary and diluted meaning to the one which he himself gives as the primary and proper one, and which is really demanded by the figure of Hell's being roused and coming forth (or as it were, coming up) to meet him. The appropriateness of the strict sense here is recognized by Knobel, who renders it '*von unten her*, nämlich entgegen dem von oben kommenden Chaldäer-könige.'—Kings are poetically called עַתּוּדִים as the leaders of the flocks. J. D. Michaelis adopts another reading, on the ground that his readers might have laughed at the idea of he-goats rising from their thrones. But as this combination is at variance with the accents, the laugh might have been at the translator's own expense. Hitzig indeed proposes to change the interpunction, but he translates עַתּוּדִים the mighty ones (Mächtigen).—According to Clericus, the dead kings are here represented as arising from their ordinary state of profound repose upon their subterranean thrones, a supposition not required by the terms of the description, though it adds to its poetical effect. The same may be said of the opinion, that the kings here meant are specifically those whom the king of Babylon had conquered or oppressed. Kimchi seems to think that they are first represented as alarmed at the approach of their old enemy, but afterwards surprised to find him like themselves. רגזה however does not necessarily imply fear, but denotes agitation or excitement from whatever cause.—Cocceius of course finds a reference in this clause to the history of the Reformation.

V. 10. *All of them shall answer and say to thee—thou also art made weak as we—to us art likened!* Calvin persists in saying *haec sunt ludi-*

bria, and his successors in discovering severe taunts, bitter irony, and biting sarcasm, in this natural expression of surprise that one so far superior to themselves should now be a partaker of their weakness and disgrace. The idiomatic use of *answer*, both in Hebrew and in Greek, in reference even to the person speaking first, is so familiar that there can be no need of diluting it to *say* with Calvin (loquentur), or transforming it into *accost* with Lowth and Barnes, or *commence* with Henderson and the modern Germans. Nor is it necessary to suppose, with Œcolampadius, that they *answer* his thoughts and expectations of welcome with a taunting speech. Luther seems to adopt the old interpretation of responsive or alternate speech (um einander reden). Gesenius makes *answer* a secondary sense, but a different deduction is proposed by Winer, who makes reference to another person an essential part of the meaning. Pagninus translates it here *vociferabuntur*.—The interrogative form given to the last clause by Calvin and all the English versions is entirely arbitrary, and much less expressive than the simple assertion or exclamation preferred by the oldest and latest writers. Augusti supposes the words of the רפאים to extend through v. 11, Rosenmüller through v. 13, and some have even carried it through v. 20; but Vitringa, Lowth, Gesenius, and the later writers, more correctly restrict it to the verse before us, partly because such brevity is natural and appropriate to the case supposed, partly because the termination is otherwise not easily defined. It is perfectly conceivable, however, that in such a piece of composition, the words of the chief speaker and of others whom he introduces, might insensibly run into one another without altering the sense.—As נמשל does not elsewhere take אל after it, Knobel supposes a *constructio praegnans* (Gesen. § 138), 'thou art made like and actually brought to us,' but this supposition is entirely gratuitous.

V. 11. *Down to the grave is brought thy pride* (or *pomp*)—*the music of thy harps—under thee is spread the worm—thy covering is vermin.* That שאול is here used in its primary sense of *grave*, is clear from the second clause. גאון, like the English *pride*, may either signify an affection of the mind or its external object. The size and shape of the נבלים are of no exegetical importance here, as the word is evidently put for musical instruments or music in general, and this for mirth and revelry. (Vide supra. ch. 5: 12.) Both the nouns in the last clause are feminine, while the verb and participle are both masculine. This has led the latest writers to explain מכסיך as a noun. Lowth reads מכסך in the singular, on the authority of several manuscripts, versions and editions. According to Gesenius and the later Germans, מכסיך is itself a singular form peculiar to the derivatives of לה roots. (See his Heb. Gr. § 90.) But even if it be a plural, *coverings* may as well be said as *clothes*. Luther makes יצע also a noun meaning

bed. DeWette makes it an impersonal verb; a bed is made under thee with vermin (gebettet ist unter dir mit Gewürm). Gesenius treats it as a mere anomaly or idiomatic license of construction. (See his Heb. Gr. § 144. *a.*) Kimchi's explanation is that collective nouns admit both of a masculine and feminine construction. Junius and others suppose an allusion to the practice of embalming; but the words seem naturally only to suggest the common end of all mankind, even the greatest not excepted. The imagery of the clause is vividly exhibited in Gill's homely paraphrase—'nothing but worms over him and worms under him, worms his bed and worms his bed-clothes'—or as Ewald expresses it, with a curious allusion to the domestic usages of Germany, 'worms, instead of silk, become his *under* and his *upper bed.*'—The expression is not strengthened but weakened by Lowth's interrogations, which are besides entirely arbitrary. As the Hebrew language has a form to express interrogation, it is not to be assumed in the absence of this form without necessity.

V. 12. *How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer, son of the morning—felled to the ground, thou that didst lord it over the nations.* In the two other places where הֵילֵל occurs (Ezek. 21: 17. 11: 2), it is an imperative signifying *howl.* This sense is also put upon it here by the Peshito, Aquila, Jerome in his commentary, and J. D. Michaelis. 'Howl son of the morning for thy fall.' Von Cölln makes the clause a parenthetical apostrophe—'How art thou fallen from heaven, oh king—howl son of the morning for his fall! The first construction mentioned was originally given by Rosenmüller and Gesenius, both of whom afterwards adopted another, found in all the ancient versions but the Syriac, in all the leading Rabbins, and in most of the early Christian writers. This interpretation makes the word a derivative of הָלַל to shine, denoting *bright one*, or more specifically *bright star*, or according to the ancients more specifically still the *morning star* or harbinger of daylight, called in Greek ἑωσφόρος and in Latin *lucifer.* The same derivation and interpretation is adopted by the latest German writers, except that they read הֵילֵל to avoid the objection, that there is no such form of Hebrew nouns as הֵילֵל, and that where this form does occur, as we have seen, it is confessedly a verb. Tertullian and other Fathers, Gregory the Great, and the scholastic commentators, regarding Luke 10: 18 as an explanation of this verse, apply it to the fall of Satan, from which has arisen the popular perversion of the beautiful name *Lucifer* to signify the Devil. Erroneous as this exposition is, it scarcely deserves the severe reprehension which some later commentators give it who receive with great indulgence exegetical hypotheses much more absurd. In the last clause Knobel makes the Prophet represent the morning star as cut out from the solid vault of heaven, a convincing proof, of course, that

the sacred writers entertained absurd ideas of the heavenly bodies. All other writers seem agreed that in the last clause the figure of a prostrate tree succeeds that of a fallen star. Clericus, Vitringa, and several other Latin writers, introduce another verb between נגדעת and לארץ (*excisus* dejectus *in terram*) on the ground that these do not cohere. In our idiom, however, there is no need of supplying any thing, to *fell* or *cut down to the ground* being equally good Hebrew and English. Junius and Tremellius give to חוֹלֵשׁ a passive or neuter sense, as in Job 14 : 10, and make the clause comparative—weakened above (i. e. more than) the nations. It is commonly explained, however, as a description of the Babylonian tyranny. Hitzig and Hendewerk understand the image to be that of a tree overspreading other nations, as in Ezekiel 31 : 6, 17. Gesenius and Umbreit, with the older writers, give חלשׁ the sense of weakening, subduing, or discomfiting, as in Ex. 17 : 13. The על is then a mere connective like the English preposition in the phrase to *triumph over* or to *lord it over*. Cocceius regards it as an elliptical expression for אשר על—oppressing those who were over the nations—and applies it to the tyranny of the papal see over the monarchies of Europe, after specifying some of which he adds with great naïveté, *longum esset in omnia ire*. Vitringa adopts the same construction of חלשׁ על but applies the verse to the literal king of Babylon. J. H. Michaelis takes חוֹלֵשׁ as a noun (debilitator) which removes the difficulty as to the construction. The Peshito and J. D. Michaelis give to חלשׁ the unauthorized sense of despising, looking down upon. Calvin adopts an ancient Jewish opinion that it means *casting lots* upon the nations, as to the time or order of attack, or as to the treatment of the conquered.

V. 13. His fall is aggravated by the impious extravagance of his pretensions. *And* (yet) *thou hadst said in thy heart* (or to thyself)—*the heavens will I mount* (or *scale*)—*above the stars of God will I raise my throne—and I will sit in the mount of meeting* (or *assembly*)—*in the sides of the north*. It is universally agreed that he is here described as aiming at equality with God himself. Grotius understands by *heaven* the land of Judah, and by *stars* the doctors of the law. Vitringa explains *heaven* to be the sanctuary, and *stars* the priests. Cocceius applies the whole verse to the usurpations of the Roman See. But most interpreters receive the first clause in its natural meaning. As to the other, there are two distinct interpretations, one held by the early writers, the other by the moderns since John David Michaelis. According to the first, הַר־מוֹעֵד is analogous to אֹהֶל־מוֹעֵד, and denotes the mountain where God agreed to meet the people, to commune with them, and to make himself known to them (Ex. 25 : 22. 29 : 42, 43). Calvin indeed gives to מוֹעֵד the sense of *testimony* or *covenant*, but does not differ from the rest as to the application of the phrase.

All the interpreters, who are now referred to, understand by הַר־מוֹעֵד Mount Zion or Mount Moriah. Those who adopt the former explanation are under the necessity of explaining *sides of the north* by the assumption that Zion lay upon the north side of Jerusalem, which is expressly taught by Kimchi (כי ציון לצפון ירושלם), Grotius, Junius, Clericus, and Lightfoot. Others, admitting the notorious fact that Zion was on the south side of the city, suppose the mountain meant to be Moriah, lying on the north side of Zion. So Cocceius, Vitringa, Gataker, and others. On the same hypothesis, both Zion and Moriah might have been included, one as the mount of congregation and the other as the sides of the north, in reference to the tabernacle and temple, as the places where God's presence was successively revealed. According to this view of the passage, it describes the king of Babylon as insulting God by threatening to erect his throne upon those consecrated hills, or even affecting to be God, like Antichrist, of whom Paul says, with obvious allusion to this passage, that he opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God (2 Thess. 2: 4). To this interpretation three objections have been urged. 1. The first is that it involves an anticlimax unworthy of Isaiah. After threatening to ascend the heavens and surmount the stars, something equally or still more aspiring might have been expected; but instead of this, he simply adds, I will sit upon Mount Zion and Mount Moriah north of it. This by itself can have little weight, partly because it is a mere rhetorical objection, partly because it supposes Zion and Moriah to be mentioned as mere hills, whereas they are referred to as the residence of God, and by his presence invested with a dignity equal at least to that of clouds and stars. 2. But in the next place it is urged that although this allusion to the sacred mountains of Jerusalem would be perfectly appropriate if uttered by a Jew, it is wholly misplaced in the mouth of a heathen, the rather as Isaiah makes the heathen speak elsewhere in accordance with their own superstitions, and not in the language of the true religion. (See ch. 10: 10. 36: 18, 19. 37: 12.) In weighing this objection, due allowance should be made for the facts, that the writer is himself a Hebrew, writing for the use of Hebrew readers, and that the conqueror, in uttering such a threat, would of course have reference to the belief of the conquered, and might therefore naturally threaten to rival or excel their God upon his chosen ground. 3. The third objection is that the failure of these impious hopes is obviously implied, whereas the threatening to take possession of Mount Zion and Moriah was abundantly fulfilled before the time at which we must suppose this song of triumph to be uttered. This is true, so far as the mere possession of the ground is concerned, but not true as to the equality with God which the conqueror expected to derive from it, as the first clause clearly shows. He had said, I will sit upon the sacred

hills, and thereby be the equal of Jehovah ; but instead of this he is brought down to the grave. Whether the weight of argument preponderates in favour of the old interpretation or against it, that of authority is now altogether on the side of the new one. This, as originally stated by J. D. Michaelis, makes the Babylonian speak the language of a heathen, and with reference to the old and wide-spread oriental notion of a very high mountain in the extreme north, where the gods were believed to reside, as in the Greek Olympus. This is the Meru of the Hindoo mythology, and the Elborz or Elborj of the old Zend books. The details of this belief are given by Gesenius in the first appendix to his Commentary. According to J. D. Michaelis, there is also an allusion to this figment in the mention of the stars, which were supposed to rest upon the summit of the mountain. The meaning of the clause, as thus explained, is, 'I will take my seat among or above the gods upon their holy mountain.' This interpretation is supposed to be obscurely hinted in the Septuagint Version (*ἐν ὄρει ὑψηλῷ, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ τὰ πρὸς βοῤῥᾶν*) and in the similar terms of the Peshito. Theodoret remarks upon the verse, that the highest mountains upon earth are said to be those separating Media and Assyria, meaning the highest summits of the Caucasus. The Targum also, though it renders הַר־מוֹעֵד *mountain of the covenant*, translates the last words סִיפֵי צִפּוּנָא *extremities of the north.* As the mythological allusion is in this case put into the mouth of a heathen, there is not the same objection to it as in other cases where it seems to be recognized and sanctioned by the writer. It may be made a question, however, whether the difficulty of an anticlimax is not as real here as in the other case. How is the oriental Olympus any more in keeping with the skies and stars, than Zion and Moriah, considered as the dwelling of Jehovah? It may also be objected that the usual meaning of מוֹעֵד is here departed from, and that according to Gesenius's own showing the sacred mountain of the Zend and Hindoo books is not in the extreme north but in the very centre of the earth. It might even be doubted whether יַרְכְתֵי צָפוֹן means the extreme north at all, were it not for the analogous expression in v. 15, which will be explained below. Notwithstanding these objections, all the recent writers have adopted this hypothesis, including Hengstenberg, who gives the same sense to יַרְכְתֵי צָפוֹן in his commentary on Ps. 48 : 3. Ewald translates הַר־מוֹעֵד the mountain of all the gods (im Berge aller Götter). The general meaning of the verse is of course the same on either hypothesis. It is characteristic of Knobel's eagerness to convict the sacred writers of astronomical blunders, that he makes the simple phrase *above the stars* mean on the upper side of the vault as the stars are on the under side. The expression *stars of God* does not merely describe them as his creatures, but as being near him, in the upper world or heaven.

V. 14. *I will mount above the cloud-heights; I will make myself like the Most High.* This is commonly regarded as a simple expression of unbounded arrogance; but Knobel thinks there may be an allusion to the oriental custom of calling their kings gods, or to the fact that Syrian and Phenician kings did actually so describe themselves (Ezek. 28: 2. 6. 9. 2 Macc. 9: 12). According to Grotius and Vitringa, the singular noun עָב is here used to designate the cloud of the divine presence in the tabernacle and temple. This would agree well with the old interpretation of v. 13; but according to the other hypothesis, עָב is a collective, meaning clouds in general. Hendewerk describes this as a literal explanation of the foregoing figures. It is commonly regarded as a continuation of them. Some understand him to mean that he will ride upon the clouds as his chariot; but Gesenius, that he will control the clouds, as conquerors are elsewhere said to ride on the heights of the earth (ch. 58: 14. Deut. 32: 13. 33: 29. Mic. 1: 3). Some suppose *cloud* to denote a multitude, as in the phrase a *cloud of witnesses* (Heb. 12: 1), and so understand the Chaldee Paraphrase (כל עמא), which appears however to be only another method of expressing the idea of superiority. Gill thinks that the *clouds* may be the ministers of the word. Cocceius makes it mean the word itself, and the ascent above them the suppression of the Scriptures and their subordination to tradition by the church of Rome, from which he draws the inference that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ, but the king of Babylon, and adds with great simplicity, 'non morabimur in his, *quae sunt evidentia*, diutius.' As אֲדַמֶּה is a reflexive form (Gesen. § 53. 2), it means not merely *I will be like*, but *I will make myself like*, or as Michaelis supposes, *I will act like*. Sanctius understands him as declaring that he will work miracles as God had done so often from the clouds. As עליון was a term also used by the Phenicians to denote the Supreme God, Henderson regards it here as specially emphatic. "Not satisfied with making himself equal to any of the inferior deities, his ambition led him to aspire after an equality with the Supreme." He also observes that the use of this term does not imply that the king of Babylon was a monotheist, since in all the modifications of polytheism, one god has been regarded as superior to the rest.

V. 15. But instead of being exalted to heaven, *thou shalt only be brought down to hell*—(not to the sides of the north, but) *to the depths of the pit.* אַךְ has its proper sense of *only* (Winer s. v.) but in order to accommodate the idiom of other tongues is variously rendered *but* (Lowth), *yes* (J. D. Michaelis), *no* (Ewald) etc. Some interpreters observe that שְׁאוֹל is here confounded with the grave—others that בּוֹר must have the sense of שְׁאוֹל—opposite deductions from the same parallelism. The correct view of the matter is taken by Knobel, who observes that the idea of

שְׁאוֹל itself is originally nothing more than that of the grave, so that the two run into one another, without any attempt to discriminate precisely what belongs exclusively to either. (Vide supra ad v. 9.) Against the strict application of the last clause to the grave is the subsequent description of the royal body as unburied. But the imagery is unquestionably borrowed from the grave.—Clericus and Barnes understand by *sides* the horizontal excavations in the oriental sepulchres or catacombs. But according to its probable etymology the Hebrew word does not mean *sides* in the ordinary sense, but rather *hinder parts* and then *remote parts* or *extremities*, as it is explained by the Targum here and in v. 13. The specific reference may be either to extreme height, extreme distance, or extreme depth, according to the context. Here the last sense is required by the mention of the *pit*, and the word is accordingly translated in the Vulgate *profundum*, and in the Septuagint more freely τὰ θεμέλια.

V. 16. *Those seeing thee shall gaze* (or stare) *at thee, they shall look at thee attentively*, (and say) *is this the man that made the earth shake, that made kingdoms tremble?* Umbreit, Knobel, and others suppose the Prophet to be still describing the reception of the king in the world below. Gill, on the contrary, says "these are the words of the dead, speaking of the living, when they should see the carcass of the king of Babylon lying on the ground." This agrees much better with the subsequent context; but the simplest and most natural supposition is that the scene in the other world is closed, and that the Prophet, or triumphant Israel, is now describing what shall take place above ground. The gazing mentioned in the first clause is not merely the effect of curiosity but of incredulous surprise. The Vulgate gives יַשְׁגִּיחוּ the specific sense of *stooping down* (inclinabuntur) in order to examine more attentively. J. D. Michaelis strangely ascribes to it the sense of regarding with tender sympathy, which is as arbitrary as Calvin's favourite notion of derision, here repeated (iterum propheta regem deridet), and faithfully copied by the later writers. The prominent if not the only feeling here expressed is neither scorn nor pity but astonishment. יִתְבּוֹנָנוּ is supposed to be descriptive of the salutary influence on the spectators, by Clericus (prudente se gerent) and Augusti (an deinem Beyspiele klug werden), and the same idea seems to be expressed by Aben Ezra (זילמדו ביכם נעבורך). But the usual sense of paying strict attention is much more appropriate. Henderson's idea that the Hithpael of בין means to *consider and reconsider*, as if unable to believe one's senses, is not justified by usage, and appears to be founded on a misapprehension of a remark by Hitzig, who attaches the same meaning not to the peculiar form of one verb but to the junction of the two. Gesenius and DeWette weaken the second clause by changing its idiomatic form for a more modern one, *before whom*

the earth shook, kingdoms trembled. Ewald, Umbreit, and Hendewerk, restore the original construction.

V. 17. *Made a* (fruitful or habitable) *world like the desert, destroyed its cities, and its captives did not set free homewards.* These are still the words of the astonished spectators as they behold the body of the slain king. The contrast in the first clause is heightened by supposing an intentional allusion to the primary meaning of תֵּבֵל, as expressed by Cocceius (frugiferam) and Junius (orbem habitalem). The version *inhabited land*, given by J. D. Michaelis and Augusti, would be still better but for the constant usage of תֵּבֵל as an equivalent to אֶרֶץ in its widest sense. Hitzig observes that תֵּבֵל must be taken as a masculine noun, in order to account for the suffix in עָרָיו, which cannot be referred to the king like that in אֲסִירָיו. If so, it is better to refer the latter also to the same antecedent for the sake of uniformity, as Knobel does, since they may just as well be said to belong to the world as the cities. But the same end may be gained, and the anomaly of gender done away, by referring both the pronouns to the king himself, who might just as well be said to have destroyed *his own cities* as his own *land* and his own *people* (v. 20), the rather as his sway is supposed to have been universal. The construction of the last clause is somewhat difficult. The general meaning evidently is that he did not release his prisoners, and this is expressed in a general way by the Septuagint and Peshito. The Targum reads, *who did not open the door to his captives;* the Vulgate more exactly, *the prison* (carcerem). This construction supplies a preposition before *captives*, and regards the termination of ביתה as merely paragogic. Junius and Tremellius understand it as the *local* or *directive* ה and make the word mean *home* or *homewards* (non solvebat reversuros domum). This construction is adopted by Henderson and others, who suppose the same ellipsis of the verb *return* or *send* before the last word. But the other recent versions follow DeDieu in connecting פתח directly with ביתה, without supplying any thing, and giving to the verb itself the sense of releasing or dismissing. This construction is also given in the margin of the English Bible (*did not let his prisoners loose homewards*), while the text coincides with the Vulgate (*opened not the house of his prisoners*).

V. 18. *All kings of nations, all of them, lie in state* (or glory), *each in his house.* There is here a special reference to the peculiar oriental feeling with respect to burial. Diodorus says that the Egyptians paid far more attention to the dwellings of the dead than of the living. Some of the greatest national works have been intended for this purpose, such as the pyramids, the temple of Belus, and the cemetery at Persepolis. The environs of Jerusalem are full of ancient sepulchres. The want of burial is spoken of

in Scripture as disgraceful even to a private person (1 Kings 13 : 22,) much more to a sovereign (2 Chr. 21 : 20. 34 : 24). The ancient oriental practice of burying above ground and in solid structures, often reared by those who were to occupy them (vide infra, ch. 22 : 16) will account for the use of *house* here in the sense of *sepulchre*, without supposing any reference to the burial of kings within their palaces. בַּיִת is not used elsewhere absolutely in the same sense, but the grave is called בית עולם (Ecc. 12 : 5) and בית מועד לכלחי (Job 30 : 23), the first of which phrases is copied in the Chaldee Paraphrase of that before us (בבית עלמיה). Henderson's version *lie in state* may seem inappropriate to burial, but is in fact happily descriptive of the oriental method of sepulture. Lowth's version *lie down* gives too active a meaning to the verb, which is intended to describe the actual condition of the dead. The words of this verse might possibly be understood to describe the generality of kings as dying in their beds and at home —*they have lain down* (i. e. died) *each in his own house.* But there is no need of dissenting from the unanimous judgment of interpreters, that the verse relates to burial. Knobel supposes a specific allusion to the kings whom the deceased had conquered or oppressed ; but nothimg more is necessarily expressed by the words than the general practice with respect to royal bodies.

V. 19. With the customary burial of kings he now contrasts the treatment of the Babylonian's body. *And thou art cast out from thy grave— like a despised branch, the raiment of the slain, pierced with the sword, going down to the stones of the pit,* (even) *like a trampled carcass* (as thou art). Gesenius and the other modern writers understand the Prophet as contrasting the neglect or exposure of the royal body with the honourable burial of the other slain, those who are (soon) to go down to the stones of the grave, i. e. to be buried in hewn sepulchres. Hitzig understands by the stones of the pit, the stones which closed the mouths of the sepulchres, —Henderson, stone coffins or sarcophagi—Knobel, the ordinary stone tombs of the East resembling altars. All these interpreters follow Cocceius in explaining לָבֻשׁ as a passive participle, *clothed* (i. e. covered) *with the slain,* which may also be the meaning of the Vulgate version, *obvolutus cum his qui interfecti sunt gladio.* But this form of expression, *covered with the slain who are buried in stone sepulchres,* is rather descriptive of a common burial than of any invidious distinction. It is much more natural to understand יוֹרְדֵי אֶל אַבְנֵי בוֹר as a description of the indiscriminate interment of a multitude of slain in a common grave, such as a pit containing stones or filled with stones to cover the bodies. The reference assumed by the Dutch Annotators and Doederlein, to the covering of the slain with stones upon the surface of the earth, is forbidden by the terms *going down* and *pit.* The

explanation just proposed would be consistent either with Cocceius's interpretation of לָבֻשׁ, or with the older one which makes it as usual a noun meaning raiment, and supplies the particle of comparison before it. In the latter case, the direct comparison is not with the bodies of the common dead, but with their blood-stained garments, as disgusting and abhorrent objects. As טָעַן occurs elsewhere only in Gen. 45 : 17, where it means to *load*, Cocceius here translates it *onustis gladio*, and Junius *onustorum* (*crebris ictibus*) *gladii*. The later writers adopt the rabbinical derivation of the word from a cognate root in Arabic, which means to *pierce* or *perforate*. The kind of death is supposed by some to be particularly mentioned, in order to account for the staining of the garments. By נֵצֶר נִתְעָב Lowth understands a tree on which a malefactor had been hung, and which was therefore looked upon as cursed (Deut. 21 : 23. Gal. 3 : 13), and according to Maimonides was buried with him. This ingenious combination accounts for the use of the strong word נִתְעָב, which is scarcely applicable to the useless or even troublesome and noxious branches that are thrown aside and left to rot. To remove the same difficulty, J. D. Michaelis gives נֵצֶר the supposititious sense of *ulcer*, here put for a leprous body. Some suppose נֵצֶר to be here used, as in ch. 11 : 1, with a genealogical allusion, the despised branch or scion of a royal stock. מִקִּבְרְךָ is explained by Gesenius and Maurer to mean simply *without a grave*, by Hitzig and Knobel *away from thy grave*, on the ground that he had not been in it. This prosaic objection has not hindered Ewald from using the expressive phrase *out of thy grave*, which is no more incorrect or unintelligible than it is to speak of an heir as being deprived of his estate, or a king's son of his crown, before they are in actual possession. Henderson even goes so far as to deny that מִן depends upon the verb at all, a statement equally at variance with usage and the masoretic accents. In order to reconcile this verse with the history of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom they exclusively apply it, the Jews have an old tradition, given not only in the Seder Olam but by Jerome in almost the same words, that when Nebuchadnezzar recovered his reason, he found Evilmerodach his son upon the throne, and threw him into prison. When the father died, the son refused to become king again, lest his predecessor should again return ; and in order to convince him of the old man's death, the body was disinterred and exposed to public view. That the terms of the prediction were literally fulfilled in the last king of Babylon, Nabonned or Belshazzar, is admitted by Gesenius to be highly probable, from the hatred with which this *ἀνόσιος βασιλεύς* (as Xenophon calls him) was regarded by the people. Such a supposition is not precluded by the same historian's statement that Cyrus gave a general permission to bury the dead ; for, as Henderson observes, his silence in relation to the king rather favours the conclusion that he was made an exception, either by the people or the con-

queror. There is no need, however, as we have already seen, of seeking historical details in this passage, which is rather a prediction of the downfall of the empire than of the fate of any individual monarch.

V. 20. *Thou shalt not be joined with them* (the other kings of the nations) *in burial, because thy land thou hast destroyed, thy people thou hast slain. Let the seed of evil-doers be named no more forever.* Gesenius and other recent writers think the reference to the kings in v. 18 too remote, and this is one principal reason for interpreting v. 19 in the way already mentioned, as exhibiting a contrast between those who receive burial and those who do not. The sense of this verse then will be, *thou shalt not be joined with them*, i. e. with those who go down to the stones of the grave. But the remoteness of the antecedent in v. 18 ceases to occasion any difficulty when the whole of the nineteenth verse is a description of the king's unburied and exposed condition. On this hypothesis, v. 18 describes the state of other deceased kings, v. 19 the very different state of this one, and v. 20 draws the natural inference, that the latter cannot be joined in burial with the former. Instead of *thy land* and *thy people*, the Septuagint has *my land* and *my people*, making the clause refer directly to the Babylonian conquest and oppression of Judea. Jerome suggests that the same sense may be put upon the common text by making *thy land* and *thy people* mean the land and people subjected to thy power in execution of God's righteous judgments. But the only natural interpretation of the words is that which applies them to the Babylonian tyranny as generally exercised. The charge here brought against the king implies that his power was given him for a very different purpose. The older writers read the last clause as a simple prediction. Thus the English version is, the seed of evil-doers shall never be renowned. But the later writers seem to make it more emphatic by giving the future the force of an imperative or optative. For the sense of זֶרַע מְרֵעִים, vide supra, ch. 1 : 4. Hitzig and Henderson take זֶרַע even here in the sense of a race or generation, and suppose יִקָּרֵא to refer to monumental inscriptions. Some of the older writers understand the clause to mean that the names of the wicked shall not be perpetuated by transmission in the line of their descendants. Others explain the verb as meaning to be called, i. e. proclaimed or celebrated. It is now pretty generally understood to mean, or to express a wish, that the posterity of such should not be spoken of at all, implying both extinction and oblivion.

V. 21. That the downfall of the Babylonian power shall be perpetual, is now expressed by a command to slaughter the children of the king. *Prepare for his sons a slaughter, for the iniquity of their fathers. Let them not arise and possess the earth, and fill the face of the world with*

cities. This verse is regarded by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, and Umbreit, as the close of the triumphal song beginning in v. 4. Hitzig and Hendewerk suppose it to have closed in the preceding verse, as the address is no longer to the king of Babylon. Ewald extends it through v. 23. But these distinctions rest upon a false assumption of exact and artificial structure. The dramatic form of the prediction is repeatedly shifted, so that the words of the triumphant Jews, of the dead, of the Prophet, and of God himself, succeed each other, as it were, insensibly, and without any attempt to make the points of the transition prominent. The command in the first clause is not addressed specifically to the Medes and Persians, but more indefinitely to the executioners of God's decree against Babylon, or, as Calvin calls them, his *lictores aut carnifices*. The reference is not to the children of Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar, as the Rabbins and others have assumed, but to the progeny of the ideal being who here represents the Babylonian monarch. Hitzig, Umbreit, and Hendewerk, make מַטְבֵּחַ mean a place of slaughter (Schlachtbank), after the analogy of the cognate form מִזְבֵּחַ. Gesenius and Ewald give it the general sense of massacre (Blutbad). There are three constructions of the last clause authorized by usage. מָלְאוּ may agree either with עָרִים, or with פְּנֵי, or with בָּנָיו. The last is entitled to the preference because it is the subject of the two preceding verbs. Cocceius, Hendewerk, Umbreit, and others make this last clause the expression of a hope or a promise—and (then) the world will (again) be full of cities—or, that the world may (again) be full of cities. Gesenius, who ascribes this construction to Von Kölln, objects that it gives to בַּל one half of its meaning (*that*), and rejects the other half (*not*). But the subjunctive construction of the clause is a mere assimilation to the forms of occidental syntax. The Hebrew construction is, they shall not arise (or let them not arise), and the negative may either be confined to the first two verbs or extended to the third. The last, however, is more natural on account of the exact resemblance in the form of the two members, יָרְשׁוּ אֶרֶץ and מָלְאוּ פְּנֵי־תֵבֵל.—The Targum, followed by the Rabbins, gives to עָרִים the sense of *enemies*, as in 1 Sam. 28: 16. Ps. 139: 20, and fill the face of the world with enemies—or enemies fill the face of the world. This meaning of the word is adopted by Vitringa, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and others. Hitzig reads עִיִּים ruins, Ewald עָרִיצִים tyrants, Knobel רָעִים wicked ones. The best sense, on the whole, is afforded by the old interpretation given by the Vulgate and Saadias, and retained by Umbreit and Hendewerk, which takes עָרִים in its usual sense as the plural of עִיר, and understands the clause to mean, lest they overspread and colonize the earth. The objection that the Babylonians had been just before described as wasters and destroyers, cannot weigh against the constant usage of the word.

V. 22. This verse contains an intimation that the destruction just predicted is to be the work not of man merely but of God, and is to comprehend not only the royal family but the whole population. *And I (myself) will rise up against them* (or *upon them*), *saith Jehovah of Hosts, and will cut off from Babylon* (literally, *with respect to Babylon*) *name and remnant and progeny and offspring.* The last four nouns are put together to express posterity in the most general and universal manner. נין and נכד occur together in Gen. 21: 13. Job 18: 19. The specific meaning *son and nephew* (i. e. nepos, grandson), given in the English Version and most of the early writers, and retained by Umbreit, is derived from the Chaldee Paraphrase (בר ובר בר). Aben Ezra makes the language still more definite by explaining שם to be a man himself, שאר a father, נין a son, and נכד a grandson. This supposes שאר to be equivalent in meaning to שאר בשר used in Lev. 18: 6. 25: 49 for a blood-relation. So Montanus renders it here, *consanguineum.* But the word which has that sense is of a different form, and according to Gesenius, of a different origin. The more general meaning of the terms, now held to be correct, is given in the Septuagint (*ὄνομα καὶ κατάλειμμα καὶ σπέρμα*) and the Vulgate (nomen et reliquias et germen et progeniem). Doederlein's version, *the fruitful and the barren*, is entirely unauthorized. Grotius remarks upon the threatening of this verse, *nempe ad tempus!* Cocceius applies this verse and the one preceding to the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries subject to the Roman See, and thinks it probable that נִין and נֶכֶד may be distinctive terms for bishops and kings. The threatening is applied by other classes of interpreters to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, but most correctly to the king of Babylon, not as a collective appellation merely, but as an ideal person representing the whole line of kings. The agreement of the prophecy with history is shown by J. D. Michaelis from the facts, that none of the ancient royal family of Babylon ever regained a throne, and that no Babylonian empire ever rose after the destruction of the first, Alexander the Great's project of restoring it having been defeated by his death.

V. 23. *And I will render it* (literally, *place it for*) *a possession* (or inheritance) *of the porcupine, and pools of water, and will sweep it with the broom* (or *besom*) *of destruction.* קִפּוֹד has been variously explained to be the tortoise, beaver, bittern etc., but since Bochart it is commonly agreed to mean the porcupine or hedgehog. It is here mentioned only as a solitary animal frequenting marshy grounds. The construction is not, I will make the pools of water a possession etc. by drying them up—nor, I will make it a possession for pools of water—but, I will make it a possession for the porcupine and (will convert it into) pools of water. The exposure of the level plains of Babylonia to continnal inundation without great preventive care,

and the actual promotion of its desolation by this very cause, are facts distinctly stated by the ancient writers. Some suppose this evil to have had its origin in the diversion of the waters of the Euphrates by Cyrus. The Septuagint version of the last clause (*καὶ θήσω αὐτὴν πηλοῦ βάραθρον εἰς ἀπώλειαν*), adopted with little variation by Clericus (demergam eam in profundum lutum ut eam perdam), and by Lowth (I will plunge it in the miry gulf of destruction), supposes מאטאתי to be derived from טיט clay or mire. J. D. Michaelis refers it to an Arabic root meaning to sink or plunge, and thus excludes the allusion to mire (in den Abgrund des Nichts versenken). Three of the ancient versions, followed by the Talmud and rabbinical interpreters, make it mean to *sweep*, which is adopted by the latest writers. Gesenius formerly derived it from an obsolete root מוּא, but in his Thesaurus from טִיט, supposing the verb properly to mean the removal of dirt. Thus Aben Ezra explains מטאטא to be an instrument with which dirt is removed (סענן ז׳סירו בו הדומן). Lee, from an Arabic root, explains the clause to mean, I will humble it with the humiliation of destruction (Heb. Lex. s. v). The Vulgate renders והשמד as a participle (*terens*), in which it is followed by Calvin (*evacuans*), while others more correctly make it an infinitive or verbal noun.

V. 24. From the distant view of the destruction of Babylon, the Prophet suddenly reverts to that of the Assyrian host, either for the purpose of making one of these events accredit the prediction of the other, or for the purpose of assuring true believers, that while God had decreed the deliverance of his people from remoter dangers, he would also protect them from those near at hand. *Jehovah of Hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely* (literally, *if not*) *as I have planned* (or imagined) *it has come to pass, and as I have devised, it shall stand* (or be established). On the elliptical formula of swearing, vide supra, ch. 5: 9. We may either supply before אם לא, with Calvin and Vitringa, let me not be recognized as God—or as Junius briefly and boldly expresses it, *mentiar*—or else we may suppose the elliptical expression to have been transferred from man to God, without regard to its original and proper import. Kimchi explains הניחה to be a preterite used for a future (ענגר נתקום עתיד), and this construction is adopted in most versions, ancient and modern. It is, however, altogether arbitrary and in violation of the only safe rule as to the use of the tenses, viz. that they should have their proper and distinctive force, unless forbidden by the context or the nature of the subject, which is very far from being the case here, as we shall see below. Gesenius and DeWette evade the difficulty by rendering both the verbs as presents, a construction which is often admissible and even necessary in a descriptive context, but when used indiscriminately or inappropriately, tends both to weaken and obscure the sense. Ewald and Umbreit make the

first verb present and the second future, which is scarcely if at all less objectionable. The true force of the preterite and future forms, as here employed, is recognized by Aben Ezra, who explains the clause to mean that according to God's purpose, it has come to pass and will come to pass hereafter (כן היה וכן יהיה לעתיד). The antithesis is rendered still more prominent by Jarchi, by whom the verse is paraphrased as follows—'Thou hast seen, oh Nebuchadnezzar, how the words of the prophets of Israel have been fulfilled in Sennacherib, to break Assyria in my land, and by this thou mayest know that what I have purposed against thee shall also come to pass.' (Compare Ezek. 31 : 3–18). This view of the matter makes the mention of Assyria in this connexion altogether natural, as if he had said, of the truth of these predictions against Babylon a proof has been afforded in the execution of the threatenings against Assyria. The only objection to it is that the next verse goes on to speak of the Assyrian overthrow, which would seem to imply that the last clause of this verse, as well as the first, relates to that event. Another method of expounding the verse therefore is to apply היתה and תקום to the same events, but in a somewhat different sense—'As I intended it has come to pass, and as I purposed it shall continue.' The Assyrian power is already broken, and shall never be restored. This strict interpretation of the preterite does not necessarily imply that the prophecy was actually uttered after the destruction of Sennacherib's army. Such would indeed be the natural inference from this verse alone, but for reasons which will be explained below, it is more probable that the Prophet merely takes his stand in vision at a point of time between the two events of which he speaks, so that both verbs are really prophetic, the one of a remote the other of a proximate futurity, but for that very reason their distinctive forms should be retained and recognized. Yet the only modern writers who appear to do so in translation are Calvin and Cocceius, who have *factum est*, and J. D. Michaelis, who has *ist geschehen*. The acute and learned but superficial Clericus jumps to the conclusion that this verse begins an entirely new prophecy, a dictum eagerly adopted by the modern German critics, who are always predisposed to favour new views of the connexion and arrangement of the text. Rosenmüller represents these verses as a fragment of a larger 'poem' on the Assyrian overthrow. Gesenius confidently sets it down as the conclusion or continuation of the tenth chapter, with which it exhibits several verbal coincidences. Hendewerk, with still more precision, gives it place between vs. 27 and 28 of that chapter. Hitzig and Knobel put it after the twefth chapter and regard it as a prophecy of later date, but having direct reference to that in ch. 10–12. Ewald assigns it the same relative position, but interpolates the last three verses of the seventeenth chapter and the whole of the eighteenth between the twelfth or rather the eleventh (for he looks upon the twelfth as spurious) and the paragraph

before us, which he takes to be the winding up of the whole prophecy. The first thing that will strike the reader in this statement is the principle assumed by all the hypotheses, viz. that similar passages must belong together, which is tantamount to saying that whatever a writer had to say upon a certain point or in a certain manner he must have said once for all in a single and continuous composition. On the same ground all those passages in the odes of Horace which contain the praises of Augustus or Maecenas, might be brought together into a cento of endless repetitions. To an ordinary reader it is scarcely more surprising that an author should use the same expressions in two different productions, than that he should repeat them in the same. But even if the principle assumed were less unreasonable than it is, the different and inconsistent ways in which it is applied, and the assurance with which each new-comer puts his predecessors in the wrong, will satisfy most readers that conjectures which admit of being varied and multiplied *ad libitum* must needs be worthless. This conclusion is confirmed by the existence of a strong and very obvious motive, on the part of neological interpreters, for severing this paragraph, if possible, from what precedes. The resemblance of these verses to the undisputed writings of Isaiah is too strong to leave a doubt as to their origin. If left then in connexion with the previous context, they establish the antiquity and authenticity of this astonishing prediction against Babylon, beyond the reach of cavil. And if this be admitted, we have here a signal instance of prophetic foresight exercised at least two centuries before the event. This conclusion must be avoided at all costs and hazards, and the sacrifice of taste and even common sense is nothing in comparison with such an object. A remote design of this kind may frequently be traced in critical decisions, which to superficial observation or to blinded admiration, seem to be determined solely by the unbiassed application of universal laws. In the case before us, the unsoundness of the principle, its arbitrary application, and the evident appearances of sinister design, all conspire to recommend the old view of the passage, as immediately connected with the previous context, which is further recommended by the uniform authority of Hebrew manuscripts, a constant tradition, the grammatical construction, and the perfectly coherent and appropriate sense which it puts upon the passage. It need scarcely be added that the explanation of the name Assyria, by Lowth and others, as denoting or at least including the Babylonian dynasty, is here entirely untenable, because it is unnecessary. Where the proper meaning of the term is so appropriate, it is worse than useless to assume one which at least is rare and dubious.

V. 25. He now declares what the purpose is, which is so certainly to be accomplished, namely God's determination *to break Assyria* (or

the Assyrian) *in my land, and on my mountains I will trample him; and his yoke shall depart from off them, and his burden from off his back* (or *shoulder*) *shall depart.* The infinitive depends upon רָצַצְתִּי in the verse preceding, and is followed by a finite verb, as in many other cases. (See for example ch. 5: 24). Barnes continues the infinitive construction in the next clause (*to remove* etc.), while Gesenius, on the other hand, assimilates the first clause to the second (*Assyria is broken* etc.), both which are gratuitous departures from the form of the original. Forced constructions of the clause are given by Junius (when by breaking Assyria etc. I shall have trampled on him, then shall his yoke etc.) and by Gataker (as by breaking Assyria etc. I trampled on him, so that his yoke and burden were removed, in like manner Babylon shall be destroyed). Hendewerk makes a frivolous objection to the translation of אשור by *Assyria*, viz. that Assyria never was in Palestine. The use of the names of countries to denote their governments and even their armies is sufficiently familiar, even without supposing אשור to be really the name of the progenitor, like *Israel* and *Canaan. My mountains* some have understood to be Mount Zion, others more generally the mountains of Jerusalem; but it seems to be rather a description of the whole land of Israel, or at least of Judah, as a mountainous region. (See Ezek. 38: 21. 39: 2, 4. Zech. 12: 15. 1 Kings 10: 23.) Calvin's idea that this term is used because the country was despised as a mere range of mountains, seems extremely forced. Umbreit, however, also understands the words *in my land* as an allusion to the contempt of foreigners for Palestine. The expressions of this verse bear a strong resemblance to those of ch. 9: 3. 10: 27. 30: 30, 31. 31: 8. Aben Ezra refers the plural suffix in עליהם to *land* and *mountains*, Grotius to the latter only; but the true construction is no doubt the common one, which refers it to the people of Israel collectively, and the suffix in שכמו to the same people as an individual. The place here assigned to the destruction of Assyria sufficiently refutes the application of the name for Babylonia by Calvin, Lowth, and others. Gill thinks that "the Assyrian here may represent the Turks, who now possess the land of Israel, and shall be destroyed." Cocceius understands by Assyria the Turks and Saracens, and by the mountains the once Christian regions which they have usurped, in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Asia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, Greece, Thrace, Illyria, Hungary. (Hi sane sunt montes Dei et terra ipsius atque ecclesiae . . . . . suspicio igitur est prophetiam hanc loqui de hisce, qui nunc Assyria nominari possunt.)

V. 26. The Prophet now explains his previous conjunction of events so remote as the Assyrian overthrow and the fall of Babylon, by declaring both to be partial executions of one general decree against all hostile and opposing powers. *This is the purpose that is purposed upon all the earth, and*

this the hand that is stretched out over all the nations. On the supposition that this relates to Babylon alone, or to Assyria alone, we are obliged to understand *the whole earth* and *all nations* as describing the universal sway of these great powers respectively. Henderson applies the terms to Assyria, with an indefinite reference to any other powers that might set themselves in opposition. The true interpretation of the words as comprehending Assyria and Babylon, with reference to what goes before, is given by Aben Ezra, Jarchi, and J. D. Michaelis. Aben Ezra seems indeed to make this the apodosis of the sentence, which is wholly unnecessary. Clericus regards the combination of the cognate noun and participle (*purpose purposed*) as emphatic and implying settled immutable determination. Vitringa explains *purpose* and *hand* as meaning wisdom and strength; Gill, more correctly, plan and execution. The outstretched hand, as Knobel observes, is a gesture of threatening. Hitzig gratuitously changes *hand* to *arm*, as in ch. 5: 25. *All the earth* is, with as little reason, changed to *all lands* by Gesenius and all the later Germans except Ewald.

V. 27. As the preceding verse declares the extent of God's avenging purpose, so this affirms the certainty of its execution, as a necessary consequence of his almighty power. *For Jehovah of Hosts hath purposed* (this), *and who shall annul* (his purpose)? *And his hand* (*is*) *the* (*one*) *stretched out, and who shall turn it back?*—Instead of *Jehovah of Hosts*, the Septuagint has here *the Holy God* or *God the Holy One*. פֵּר has been variously translated scatter (LXX), weaken (Vulgate), avert (Luther), dissolve (Calvin), change (J. D. Michaelis), hinder (Gesenius), break (Ewald); but its true sense is that given in the English Version (disannul) and by De Wette (vereiteln). The meaning of the last clause is not simply that *his hand is stretched out*, as most writers give it, but that *the hand stretched out is his*, as appears from the article prefixed to the participle נטוּיה. (See Gesenius § 108. 3. Ewald § 560). The true construction is given by Cocceius, Lowth, Maurer, Henderson, Knobel, and Ewald (seine Hand ist die ausgereckte). Hitzig's attempt to strengthen the last verb by rendering it *frighten back* (zurückschrecken) has the opposite effect. Ewald's translation (hemmen) also fails to convey the exact sense of the Hebrew verb, which is correctly given in the Vulgate (avertet), and still more precisely by Cocceius (retroaget). Clericus modernizes the construction of the whole verse (cum consilium ceperit etc.), and Gesenius that of the second clause (ist seine Hand gestreckt u. s. w.). Here again Gill is felicitous in paraphrase. 'There's nothing comes to pass but he has purposed, and every thing he has purposed does come to pass.'

V. 28. *In the year of the death of king Ahaz, was this burden,* or threatening prophecy, against Philistia. Junius begins the fifteenth chapter

here, and Calvin says it would have begun here, but for the preposterous division or rather laceration of the chapters. Jerome notes this as the first prophecy belonging to the reign of Hezekiah, and J. H. Michaelis accordingly makes this the beginning of the fourth division of the book. According to Cocceius's arrangement, it is the beginning of the seventh part, extending to the twentieth chapter, and distinguished by the fourfold recurrence of the title מַשָּׂא, as to the sense of which vide supra, ch. 13 : 1. Gesenius, Hendewerk, and Henderson, suppose the words of this verse to refer to a period anterior to the death of Ahaz, Maurer to a period after it. J. D. Michaelis thinks that the title at least was written afterwards. Hitzig and Knobel regard the title as the work of a compiler, and the former supposes the entire passage to have been reduced to writing long after the alleged date of the prophecy, while Knobel throws the whole back to the year 739, near the beginning of the reign of Ahaz. These are mere conjectures, which can have no weight against a title forming part of the text as far as we can trace it back. One manuscript instead of *Ahaz* has *Uzziah*, a mere emendation intended to remove a supposed chronological difficulty. Henderson points out an erroneous division of the text in some editions of the English Bible, by prefixing the paragraph mark to v. 29, so as to apply the date here given to what goes before, whereas the dates are always placed at the beginning. Augusti's translation of the second clause (*the threatening prophecy was this*) mistakes the form of the original, which can only mean *this threatening prophecy*.

V. 29. *Rejoice not, O Philistia, all of thee* (or all Philistia), *because the rod that smote thee is broken, for out of the root of the serpent shall come forth a basilisk, and its root a flying fiery serpent.* The name פלשת is applied in Hebrew to the southwestern part of Canaan on the Mediterranean coast, nominally belonging to the tribe of Judah, but for ages occupied by the פלשתים or Philistines, a race of Egyptian origin who came to Canaan from Caphtor, i. e. according to the ancients Cappadocia, but according to the moderns either Cyprus or Crete, most probably the latter. The name is now traced to an Ethiopic root meaning to wander, and probably denotes wanderers or emigrants. Hence it is commonly rendered in the Septuagint ἀλλόφυλοι. The Philistines are spoken of above in ch. 9 : 11. 11 : 14, and throughout the historical books of the Old Testament, as the hereditary enemies of Israel. They were subdued by David (2 Sam. 5 : 17–25. 21 : 15), and still paid tribute in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 17 : 11), but rebelled against Jehoram (2 Chr. 21 : 16, 17), were again subdued by Uzziah (2 Chr. 26 : 6), and again shook off the yoke in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. 28 : 18). The Greek name Παλαιστίνη, a corruption of פלשת, is applied by Josephus and other ancient writers to the whole land of Is-

rael, from which comes our *Palestine*, employed in the same manner The expression כֻּלָּךְ is explained by Lowth to mean *with one consent*, while Henderson connects it with the negative in this sense, *let not any part of thee*. Most writers make it simply mean *the whole of thee*, perhaps with reference to Philistia as a union of several principalities. All interpreters agree that the Philistines are here spoken of as having recently escaped from the ascendency of some superior power, but at the same time threatened with a more complete subjection. The first of these ideas is expressed by the figure of a broken rod or staff, for the meaning of which vide supra ad v. 5. The other is expressed by the very different figure of an ordinary serpent producing or succeeded by other varieties more venomous and deadly. On the natural history of the passage, see the Hebrew Lexicons, Bochart's Hierozoicon, and Rosenmüller's Alterthumskunde. Whatever be the particular species intended, the essential idea is the same, and has never been disputed. Some indeed suppose a gradation or climax in the third term also, the fiery flying serpent being supposed to be more deadly than the basilisk, as this is more so than the ordinary serpent. But most writers refer the suffix in פִּרְיוֹ to נָחָשׁ, and regard the other two names as correlative or parallel. The transition in the last clause from the figure of an animal to that of a plant may serve the double purpose of reminding us that what we read is figurative, and of showing how unsafe it is to tamper with the text on the ground of mere rhetorical punctilios. As to the application of the figures, there are several different opinions. Jerome and a long line of interpreters, including Hendewerk, suppose the broken staff to be the death of Ahaz. But he, so far from having smitten the Philistines, had been smitten by them. Kimchi, Abarbenel, Vitringa, and others understand the first clause as referring to the death of Uzziah. But this had taken place more than thirty years before. Vitringa endeavours to remove this difficulty by supposing an ellipsis: rejoice not in the death of him who smote you, and in the prosperity which you have since enjoyed for many years. But this is wholly arbitrary. Others suppose Tiglath-pileser to be meant by the rod which smote them; but for this there is no sufficient ground in history. Gesenius applies the figures not to an individual but to the Jewish power, which had been broken and reduced during the reign of Ahaz. The still more formidable domination threatened in the last clause he explains, not with the older writers to be that of Hezekiah (2 Kings 18: 18), but the recovered strength of Judah. Hitzig and Ewald make the last clause a prediction of Assyrian invasion. Knobel adopts the same interpretation, but with this addition, that he understands the figure of the basilisk coming forth from the serpent as referring to the agency of Judah in procuring the Assyrian invasion of Philistia. Rosenmüller refers this clause to the Messiah, in which he follows the Chaldee

paraphrase. 'From among the sons of the sons of Jesse, the Messiah shall come forth, and his works shall be among you as fiery serpents.' Some of the old writers suppose נחש to contain an allusion to one of the names of Jesse (2 Sam. 17 : 25).

V. 30. *And the first-born of the poor shall feed, and the needy in security lie down, and I will kill thy root with famine, and thy remnant it shall slay.* The future condition of the Jews is here contrasted with that of the Philistines. The figures in the first clause are borrowed from a flock, in the second from a tree, but with obvious allusion to a human subject. The first-born of the poor is explained by the Targum and the Rabbins to mean the nobles of Judah, now despised by the Philistines. Calvin makes it a superlative expression for the poorest and most wretched (quasi suis miseriis insignes), and this sense is approved by most of the later writers, some of whom refer to Job 18 : 13 for an analogous expression. Gesenius, however, is disposed to admit an allusion to the next generation, which would make the promise too remote, and leaves the expression *first-born* unexplained. Some writers needlessly amend the text. Thus J. D. Michaelis makes the ב in בכרי a preposition and reads *in my pastures*, a conjecture recently renewed by Ewald, who would point the word בְּכֹרֵי and make כֹּר a synonyme of בָּר. But an exposition which involves a change of text and the invention of a word to suit the place, and both without necessity, seems to have a twofold claim to be rejected. Equally gratuitous is Lowth's reading בִּכְרֵי, *my choice first-fruits*. Gesenius and De Wette supply לבטח in the first clause from the second, *shall feed quietly*. But the threat of famine in the other clause seems to show that the prominent idea is *abundance*, as expressed by the older writers. There is no need of taking *root* in the sense of *stock* or *race*. The figurative part of the last clause is borrowed from a tree, here divided into two parts, the *root* and the *rest* or remainder. Gesenius distinguishes between המית and הרג as terms which usage has appropriated to the act of God and man respectively. Hitzig makes the one mean *kill* in general, and the other more specifically kill with the sword (Jer. 15 : 3). The third person יהרג is by some regarded as a mere enallage personae, and referred like המיתי to God himself. Others refer it to the enemy mentioned in v. 31, or the fiery serpent in v. 30. Others prefer an indefinite construction, which is very common, and would here be entitled to the preference, were there not another still more simple. This makes רעב the subject of the last verb, so that what is first mentioned as an instrument in God's hand, reappears in the last member of the sentence as an agent.

V. 31. *Howl, oh gate! cry, oh city! dissolved, oh Philistia, is the whole of thee ; for out of the north a smoke comes, and there is no straggler*

in his forces. The Philistines are not only forbidden to rejoice, but exhorted to lament. The object of address is a single city representing all the rest. There is no ground for the opinion that Ashdod is particularly meant. It is rather a case of poetical individualization. *Gate* is not here put for the judges or nobles who were wont to sit there—nor is it even mentioned as the chief place of concourse—but rather with allusion to the defences of the city, as a parallel expression to *city* itself. The insertion of a preposition by the Targum and Kimchi—*howl for the gate, cry for the city*—is entirely unauthorized, and changes the whole meaning. The masculine form נָמוֹג seems to have greatly perplexed interpreters. Some of the older writers supply אִישׁ, others עַם, and even Ewald says that we must be content to make it an infinitive. Knobel regards it as a mere anomaly or idiomatic license of construction. Hitzig supposes a sudden transition from the third to the second person—it is dissolved, oh whole Philistia. The true solution is that נָמוֹג agrees regularly with כֹּל in כֻּלָּךְ. This explanation, which Hendewerk admits to be as old as Maurer, is distinctly given by Cocceius (liquefactum est, Palaestina, universum tui), and copied by Vitringa and J. H. Michaelis. Another idea ascribed to Maurer by Knobel—viz. that the *smoke* here meant is that of conflagrations kindled by the enemy—is at least as old as Clericus. Some of the older writers understood it simply as an emblem for wrath or trouble. Lowth cites Virgil's *fumantes pulvere campos*, and supposes an allusion to the clouds of dust raised by an army on the march. This is adopted by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, and others; but Hitzig and Knobel object to this interpretation of עָשָׁן, as unauthorized by Hebrew usage. Hitzig refers it to the practice of literally carrying fire in front of caravans to mark the course; but this is objected to by others as peculiar to the desert and to straggling or divided bodies. It may be doubted, notwithstanding the allusion in the last clause, whether עָשָׁן was intended to refer to an army at all. If not, we may suppose with Calvin that smoke is mentioned merely as a sign of distant and approaching fire, a natural and common metaphor for any powerful destroying agent.—בּוֹדֵד has been conjecturally explained in various ways, but is agreed by all the modern writers to mean properly *alone* or *separated*, and to be descriptive of the enemy with which Philistia is here threatened. Some give to מוֹעֲדָיו the sense of the cognate מוֹעֲדִים, viz. appointed times, and understand it as referring to the orders under which the invading army acts. Most writers now, however, give it another sense of מוֹעֲדִים, viz. assemblies, here applied specifically to an army. Thus understood, the clause is descriptive of a compact, disciplined, and energetic host. A similar description we have had already in ch. 5: 26–29, from which resemblance some infer that this passage *must* relate to the Assyrians. Aben Ezra refers it to the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar, Kimchi to the Jews under Hezekiah, and Cocceius to the Romans as the final

conquerors of *whole Palestina*, by which he understands the whole of what we now call Palestine, or at least Judea. Vitringa, who usually quotes the strangest notions of Cocceius with indulgent deference, appears to lose his patience at this point, and exclaims, 'hanc ego interpretationem totam suo relinquam loco, nec ejus amplius meminero; est enim plane paradoxa et a communi sensu aliena.' The diversity of judgments as to the particular enemy here meant, and the slightness of the grounds on which they severally rest, may suffice to show that the prophecy is really generic, not specific, and includes all the agencies and means by which the Philistines were punished for their constant and inveterate enmity to the chosen people, as well as for idolatry and other crimes.

V. 32. *And what shall one answer* (what answer shall be given to) *the ambassadors of a nation? That Jehovah has founded Zion, and in it the afflicted of his people shall seek refuge.* The meaning of the last clause is too clear to be disputed, viz. that God is the protector of his people. This is evidently stated as the result and sum of the whole prophecy, and as such is sufficiently intelligible. It is also given, however, as an answer to ambassadors or messengers, and this has given rise to a great diversity of explanations. Instead of ambassadors (מלאכי) kings (מלכי) is given by all the old Greek versions except Symmachus who has ἀγγέλοις. The older writers for the most part make ambassadors the subject of the verb—*what will the ambassadors answer?* Thus understood the words have been applied to the report carried back by the ambassadors of friendly powers, or by those sent out by the Jews themselves, on the occasion of Hezekiah's victory over the Philistines, or of his delivery from the Assyrian invasion. In order to avoid the irregularity of giving גוי a plural meaning, some have supposed the sentence to relate to the report carried back by a Philistine embassy, sent to ascertain the condition of Jerusalem after the Assyrian attack. The irregular concord of the plural noun with מלאכי was explained by supplying a distributive pronoun, *every one* of the ambassadors, a form of speech quite foreign to the Hebrew language. Hendewerk, who retains this old construction, understands this as the answer of the Assyrian ambassadors, when asked by the Philistines to attack Jerusalem. It is now commonly agreed, however, that מלאכי גוי is the object of the verb, which is repeatedly construed with a noun directly, and that its subject is either Hezekiah or more probably indefinite. As to גוי, some still give it a collective meaning; others refer it to the Philistines, suing for peace, or proposing a joint resistance to Assyria; others to Judah itself, an application contrary to usage. All this seems to show that the expression is indefinite, as the very absence of the article implies, and that the whole sense meant to be conveyed is this, that such may be the answer given to the inquiries made from any quarter. Of

all the specific applications, the most probable is that which supposes an allusion to Rabshakeh's argument with Hezekiah against trusting in Jehovah. But this seems precluded by the want of any natural connexion with Philistia, which is the subject of the previous context. I shall only add, that Cocceius is not only true to his original hypothesis, but so far carried away by it as to lay aside his usual grammatical precision (which often contrasts strangely with his exegesis) and translate יענה as a preterite. He understands the verse as accounting for the ruin of the Jews by the reception which they give to the apostles of Christ. *What answer was given to the messengers of the nation* (i. e. the messengers sent to them) *when Jehovah founded Zion* (or the Christian church) *and the afflicted of his people sought refuge in it?* The same sense might have been as well attained without departing from the strict sense of the future. As to the sense itself, it needs no comment to evince that it is purely arbitrary, and that a hundred other meanings might be just as well imposed upon the words.

CHAPTERS XV, XVI.

These chapters contain a prediction of the downfall of Moab. Most of the recent German writers deny that any part of it was written by Isaiah, except the last two verses of ch. XVI, which they suppose him to have added as a postscript to an older prophecy. The reasons for ascribing the remainder of the passage to another writer are derived from minute peculiarities of phraseology, and from the general character and tone of the whole composition. Hitzig regards this as the prophecy of Jonah mentioned in 2 Kings 14: 25. In this conclusion Maurer acquiesces, and Knobel thinks it not improbable. The grounds on which such hypotheses must be rejected, when not only destitute of external evidence but contradicted by it, have been already stated in the general introduction. Hendewerk combats Hitzig's doctrine on his own ground and with his own weapons, deducing from the verbal minutiae of the passage proofs of its poetical excellence and of its genuineness. Some of the older writers regard the last two verses of ch. XVI as an addition made by Isaiah to an earlier prediction of his own. Henderson thinks them an addition made to a prophecy of Isaiah by a later prophet. If we set aside the alleged internal evidence of a different origin, the simplest view of the passage is that which regards the whole as a continuous composition, and supposes the Prophet at the close to fix the date of the prediction which he had just uttered. The par-

ticular event referred to in these chapters has been variously explained to be the invasion of Moab by Jeroboam II. king of Israel, by Tirhaka king of Ethiopia, by Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, by his successors Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon etc. The safest conclusion seems to be, that the prediction is generic and intended to describe the destruction of Moab, without exclusive reference to any one of the events by which it was occasioned or promoted, but with special allusions possibly to all of them. Compare the introduction to ch. XIII—XIV. According to Cocceius, the Moab of this prophecy is Israel, the hostile power Rome, and the time that of the downfall of Jerusalem. To such hypotheses the answer still is, that they might be indefinitely multiplied and varied, with as much or rather with as little reason.

CHAPTER XV.

This chapter is occupied with a description of the general grief, occasioned by the conquest of the chief towns and the desolation of the country at large. Its chief peculiarities of form are the numerous names of places introduced, and the strong personification by which they are represented as grieving for the public calamity. The chapter closes with an intimation of still greater evils.

V. 1. (This is) *the burden of Moab, that in a night Ar-Moab is laid waste, is destroyed; that in a night Kir-Moab is laid waste, is destroyed.* The English Version, Rosenmüller, and Hitzig, understand the first verse as assigning a reason for the second. *Because in a night* etc. *he ascends* etc. But so long a sentence is at variance, not only with the general usage of the language, but with the style of this particular prophecy. Gesenius supposes an ellipsis at the beginning, and takes כִּי in its usual sense of *that.* '(I affirm) that etc.' The same construction occurs where a verb of swearing is understood (7 : 9. 49 : 18.) In the absence of the governing verb, the particle may be translated *surely.* Most of the recent German versions render it by *yea* (ja!). *In a night* may be literally understood, as assaults are often made by night (ch. 21 : 4), or figuratively, as the phrase is sometimes used to denote sudden destruction. *Ar* originally meant a *city,* and *Ar-Moab* the city of Moab, i. e. the capital city, or as Gesenius says the only real city of the Moabites. It was on the south side of the Arnon

(Num. 22 : 36). The Greeks called it *Areopolis* or City of Mars, according to their favourite practice of corrupting foreign names so as to give them the appearance of significant Greek words. Ptolemy calls it *Rhabmathmom*, a corruption of the Hebrew *Rabbath-Moab* i. e. chief city of Moab. Jerome says that the place was destroyed in one night by an earthquake when he was a boy. The Arabs call it *Mab* and *Errabba*. It is now in ruins. In connexion with the capital city, the Prophet names the principal or only fortress in the land of Moab. *Kir* originally means a *wall*, then a walled town or fortress. The place here meant is a few miles south-east of Ar, on a rocky hill, strongly fortified by nature, and provided with a castle. The Chaldee Paraphrase of this verse calls it *Kerakka de Moab*, the fortress of Moab, which name it has retained among the orientals who extend it to the whole of ancient Moab.

V. 2. The destruction of the chief cities causes general grief. *They* (indefinitely) *go up to the house* (i. e. the temple), *and Dibon* (*to*) *the high places for* (the purpose of) *weeping. On Nebo and on Medeba, Moab howls—on all his heads baldness—every beard cut off.* Luther, Gesenius, and others, make the verb indefinite. Lowth, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Maurer, regard *Moab* as the subject. Vitringa makes בַּיִת a contracted proper name for *Bethmeon* (Jer. 48 : 23) or *Beth-baal-meon* (Josh. 13 : 19), on the south side of the Arnon, now called *Maein*. Ewald makes it a contraction of בית דבלתים (Jer. 48 : 22), which was not far from Dibon (Num. 33 : 46). The same explanation was once approved by Rosenmüller, but in the Compendium of his Scholia, he adopts the opinion of Kimchi, that בית is here used in the sense of *temple*, and is equivalent to מקדש which occurs below (16 : 12) as a parallel to במות. The ancient heathen built their temples upon heights (ch. 65 : 7). Solomon built one to the Moabitish god Chemosh on the mountain before Jerusalem (1 Kings 11 : 1). This explanation is approved by Gesenius and all the later Germans except Ewald. Some who take בית as a proper name, make במות one also, regarding it as a contracted form of *Bamoth-baal* (Josh. 13 : 17). *Dibon*, a town north of the Arnon, rebuilt by the tribe of Gad, and thence called *Dibon-gad* (Num. 33 : 45), although it had formerly belonged to Moab, and would seem from this passage to have been recovered by them. The same place is called *Dimon* in v. 9, in order to assimilate it to דם blood. The modern name is Diban. There is no preposition before בית and דיבן in Hebrew. Hence the latter may be taken either as the object or the subject of the verb. The first construction is preferred by the older writers ; those of modern date are almost unanimous in favour of the other, which makes Dibon itself go up to the high places. The only objection is that the writer would hardly have coupled this one place with the country at

large, and this is not sufficient to exclude it. The objection to the other is that Dibon was situated in a plain, to which it may be answered that the phrase *go up* has reference in many cases not to geographical position but to sacredness and dignity.

V. 3. *In its streets, they are girded with sackcloth; on its roofs and in its squares* (or broad places) *all* (literally, *all of it*) *howls, coming down with weeping* (from the house-tops or the temples). In this verse there is a singular alternation of masculine and feminine suffixes, all relating to Moab, sometimes considered as a country and sometimes as a nation. The last clause is explained by most modern writers, to mean melting into tears, as the eye is elsewhere said to run down tears or water (Jer. 9: 17. Lam. 3: 48). But as the eye is not here mentioned, and the preposition is inserted, making a marked difference between this and the alleged expressions, it is better to adhere to the old construction which supposes an antithesis between this clause and the ascent to the temples or the house-tops. Sackcloth is mentioned as the usual mourning dress and badge of deep humiliation.

V. 4. *And Heshbon cries and Elealeh—even to Jahaz is their voice heard—therefore the warriors of Moab cry—his soul is distressed to him* (or in him). Heshbon, a royal city of the Amorites, assigned to Reuben and to Gad at different times, or to both jointly, famous for its fish-pools, a celebrated town in the days of Eusebius, the ruins of which are still in existence under the slightly altered name of *Hesbân*. Elealeh, often mentioned with it, was also assigned to the tribe of Reuben. Eusebius describes these towns as near together in the highlands of Gilead, opposite to Jericho. Robinson and Smith, while at the latter place, conversed with an Arab chief, who pointed out to them the Wady Hesbân, near which far up in the mountain is the ruined place of the same name, the ancient Heshbon. Half an hour north-east of this lies another ruin called El Al, the ancient Elealeh. (Palestine II. 278.) The names יַהַץ and יָהְצָה are treated by Gesenius as identical, but Hitzig understands them to denote two different places, one described by Jerome as overhanging the Dead Sea, the other further to the south-east on the edge of the desert, the scene of the battle between Sihon and Israel. In either case, the preposition seems to imply that the place meant was a frontier town. The same form of expression that is here used occurs also ch. 10: 30.—Vitringa and Gesenius give עַל־כֵּן the rare and doubtful sense *because*, and understand the Prophet to describe the cities or people in general as lamenting because even the warriors were dismayed. Most writers give the words their usual meaning, and suppose the terror of the warriors to be here described as the effect not the cause of

the general lamentation. According to Knobel, *therefore* has reference to the cry of Heshbon and Elealeh which had just been mentioned; according to Hitzig and others, to the downfall of the capital (v. 1). For חֲלֻצֵי the Septuagint seems to have read חֲלֻצֵי, which it renders ἡ ὀσφύς. This reading and translation, which is also favoured by the Peshito, is adopted by Lowth: *the very loins of Moab cry out.* Other interpreters agree that it is the passive participle of חָלַץ, used as a noun in the sense of warriors or heroes, whether so called because drawn out for military service, or as being strong, or girded and equipped, or disencumbered of unnecessary clothing. Aquila has ἔξωμοι, with the arms or shoulders bare. There is peculiar significance in thus ascribing an unmanly terror to the very defenders of the country. Vitringa supposes an additional emphasis in the use of the verb יָרִיעוּ, which may either mean a joyful or a mournful cry, and by itself might here denote a battle-cry or war-shout. As if he had said, the warriors of Moab raise a cry, not of battle or defiance, but of grief and terror. The same natural expression of distress is ascribed by Homer to his heroes. (Vide infra, ch. 33: 7.)—Cocceius is singular in making this an exhortation: let them raise the war-cry (vociferentur, classicum canant, barritum faciant, clamorem tollant, ut in praelio). For יִרְעָה the Septuagint reads יִדְעָה (γνώσεται), probably a mere inadvertence. The English Version and Lowth take נֶפֶשׁ in the sense of *life*, other interpreters in that of *soul.* Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Ewald, give to יִרְעָה the sense of *trembling*, from a kindred root in Arabic; others with more probability that of *being evil*, i. e. ill at ease or suffering, in which the future corresponding to this preterite is frequently used elsewhere. Gesenius indeed refers that future to another root, but one of kindred origin, in which the essential idea is probably the same. The paronomasia in יָרִיעוּ and יִרְעָה is copied in Gesenius's translation by combining the words *klagen* and *verzaget.* The similar terms are confounded by the Vulgate (ululabit sibi), and by Calvin, who understands the sense to be, that every one will be so occupied with his own grief as to disregard that of his neighbours.

V. 5. *My heart for Moab cries out—her fugitives* (are fled) *as far as Zoar—an heifer of three years old—for he that goes up Luhith with weeping goes up by it—for in the way of Horonaim a cry of destruction they lift up.* Every part of this obscure verse has given rise to some diversity of exposition. It has been made a question whose words it contains. Junius connects it with the close of the preceding verse and understands it to contain the words of the warriors there mentioned, endeavouring to rally and recall the fugitives. Others suppose the Moabites in general, or some individual among them, to be here the speaker. Cocceius doubts whether these are not the words of God himself. Calvin supposes the Prophet to be

speaking in the person and expressing the feelings of a Moabite. All these hypotheses appear to have arisen from an idea that the Prophet cannot be supposed to express sympathy with these sinners of the gentiles. But such expressions are not only common elsewhere, but particularly frequent in this part of Isaiah. (Vide infra ch. 16: 11. 21: 3, 4. 22: 5.) Hitzig suggests, as a possible but not as a probable construction of the first words, *My heart* (is) *towards Moab* (who) *is crying* etc. as in Judges 5: 9. Some older writers understand the words to mean *my heart cries to Moab*, as in 1 Chron. 5: 20. Gesenius gratuitously cites other cases in which ל has the sense of *for*, on account of, given to it here by Aben Ezra (בעבור מואב). The particle is here used in its proper sense as indicating general relation, *as to*, with respect to, and simply points out Moab as the subject or occasion of the cry. Ewald and others make יזעק mean to complain or lament, which is neither so exact nor so expressive as the literal translation.—Instead of *my heart* some read *his heart*, others simply *heart*. Thus Lowth: *the heart of Moab crieth in her*, after the Septuagint (ἐν αὐτῇ). The Peshito seems to have read ברוחו *in his spirit*. The common text itself is variously explained. According to the usual analogy, it means *her bars*, and the Vulgate accordingly has *vectes ejus*. By this some understand the cities of Moab, others its barriers or frontier posts, others its guardians or protectors. Most of the modern writers follow Saadias and Kimchi, who explain the word to mean *her fugitives*. The only objection to this explanation is the absence of the long vowel under the first letter.—Zoar, one of the cities of the plain, preserved by Lot's intercession, is now ascertained to have been situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, at the foot of the mountains near its southern extremity. (Robinson's Palestine II. 480, 648.) It is here mentioned as an extreme southern point, but not without allusion, as Vitringa with great probability suggests, to Lot's escape from the destruction of Sodom.—The next phrase (עגלת שלשיה) is famous as the subject of discordant explanations. These may however be reduced to two classes, those which regard the words as proper names, and those which regard them as appellatives. J. D. Michaelis supposes two places to be mentioned, *Eglath* and *Shelishiyyah;* but of the latter there is no trace in geography or history. Doederlein conjectures that the city *Eglath* consisted of three towns, and that the Hebrew שְׁלִשִׁיָּה is the same as the Greek τρίπολις or *triple city*. But the former nowhere else means *threefold*, but always *third*. According to Lightfoot, the phrase means *Eglah*, or *Eglath the Third*, so called to distinguish it from *Eglaim* or *En-eglaim*, a place in the same region, mentioned in Ezek. 47: 10, "where Eglaim is plainly of the dual number and seems to intimate that there were two Egels, with relation to which our Eglah may be called Eglah the third." (Lightfoot's Chorographical Inquiry, ch. 3, § 8.) With this may be compared *Ramathaim*

which is also dual (1 Sam. 1 : 2) and *Upper* and *Nether Beth-horon* (Josh. 16 : 3, 5). Lightfoot compares this Eglah the Third with the Ἐγλα of Ptolemy, and the Ἄγαλλα of Josephus, both mentioned in connexion with Zoar (Ζώαρα) and the latter with Horonaim (Ὡρώναι). The *Ejlun* (عجلون) of Abulfeda, meaning *calves* or *heifers*, may be another name for the same place, which must then have been situated beyond the northern boundary of Moab, and be mentioned here in order to convey the idea that the fugitives had fled in opposite directions. Of the late translators, DeWette, Henderson and Ewald retain the Hebrew words as a proper name, *Eglath-Shelishiyah*. On the other hand, all the ancient versions, and the great majority of modern writers, regard the words in question as appellatives, and all agree in rendering the first of the two *heifer*. The other is explained by Jarchi to mean the third in the order of birth, with reference to some supposed superiority in that class. Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Umbreit, understand it to mean *third-rate*, of the third order, i. e. inferior (compare Dan. 5 : 29. 1 Sam. 15 : 9), and as here applied to a heifer, *lean, ill-favoured*, a figure borrowed from the pastoral habits of the people in that region to express the smallness of the city Zoar, which was so called because it was a little one (Gen. 19 : 20, 22). It is plain however that *third* can have this meaning only in case of a direct comparison with something of the first and second rank. Besides, what has the size of Zoar to do with this pathetic description of the flight of Moab? The great majority of voices is in favour of the meaning *three years old*, or retaining the form of the original more closely, *a heifer of the third* (year). A cognate participle (משלשת) is used in this sense and in connexion with this very noun (Gen. 15 : 9). By *a heifer three years old*, Gesenius understands one that has never yet been tamed or broken, according to Pliny's maxim, *domitura boum in trimatu, postea sera, antea praematura*. Now as personal afflictions are sometimes likened to the taming of animals (Jer. 31 : 18. Hos. 10 : 11), and as communities and governments are often represented by the figure of a heifer (Jer. 46 : 20. 50 : 11. Hos. 4 : 16), the expressions thus interpreted would not be inappropriate to the state of Moab, hitherto flourishing and uncontrolled, but now *three years old* and subjected to the yoke. Some of the older interpreters suppose this statement of the age to have reference to the voice of the animal, which is said by Bochart to be deepest at that age, and according to Aristotle, stronger in the female than the male. There is still a doubt, however, with respect to the application of the simile, as last explained. Bochart refers it to the Prophet himself. 'My heart cries for Moab (for her fugitives to Zoar) as a heifer three years old.' Vitringa refers it to the fugitives of Moab, who escape to Zoar, crying like a heifer three years old.—מעלה is commonly a noun denoting an ascent or rising ground. It is translated *hill* in the English version of 1 Sam. 9 : 11, and *ascent* in that of Num. 34 : 4 and 2 Sam. 15 : 30, which last place is

strikingly analogous to this. The construction commonly adopted makes מַעֲלֵה an absolute nominative: 'the ascent of Luhith (or as to the ascent of Luhith) with weeping one ascends it.' It is possible however to make מַעֲלֵה a participle or a participial noun—'the ascender of Luhith (i. e. he who ascends it) with weeping ascends by it.' The parallel passage (Jer. 48: 5) instead of בּוֹ repeats בְּבֶכִי. This is regarded by the latest writers as an error in transcription of בכר for בו כי. The Septuagint has *πρὸς σὲ ἀναβήσονται*, which implies still another reading (בָּךְ). It is a curious and instructive fact that J. D. Michaelis corrects the text of Isaiah by comparison with Jeremiah, while Lowth, with equal confidence, inverts the process and declares the text in Jeremiah to be unmeaning. Luhith is mentioned only here and in Jeremiah 48: 5. Eusebius describes it as a village still called *Λουείθ*, between Areopolis and Zoar, which Jerome repeats but calls it *Luitha*. The article before לוּחִית is explained by Gesenius as having reference to the meaning of the name as an appellative, *the boarded* (town), but by Henderson with more probability as properly belonging to מַעֲלֵה. (See Gesenius § 109, 1.) Horonaim is mentioned only here and in Jer. 48: 3, 5, 34. The name originally means *two caverns*, and is near akin to Beth-horon, *locus cavitatis* (Gesenius Thes. I. 195, 459). As Jeremiah instead of דֶּרֶךְ *way*, has מוֹרַד *descent*, it is not improbable that Luhith and Horonaim were on opposite faces of the same hill, so that the fugitives on their way to Zoar, after going up the ascent of Luhith, are seen going down the descent of Horonaim. A *cry of breaking* is explained by some of the rabbinical interpreters as meaning the explosive sound produced by clapping the hands or smiting the thigh. Others understand it to mean *a cry of contrition*, i. e. a penitent and humble cry. Gill suggests that it may mean a *broken cry*, i. e. one interrupted by sighs and sobs. Gesenius makes it mean a cry as of destruction, i. e. a loud and bitter cry; Knobel, a cry (on account) of destruction. It is possible however that שֶׁבֶר may be mentioned as the very word uttered, like חָמָס in other cases. The very unusual form יְעֹעֵרוּ is by some regarded as a transposition for יִרְעָעוּ from רעע. But the rabbins and the latest writers are agreed that it is a derivative of יער. The former suppose an anomalous reduplication of the first radical. The latter regard it as a Pilpel for יְעֹרְעֵרוּ, either by error of transcription or euphonic change. (See Ewald § 237, 1.) There is no absurdity in the conjecture of Cocceius that this strange form was employed here in allusion to the names עָר and עֲרֹעֵר, Moabitish cities. Junius supposes, still more boldly, that the Prophet wishing to say *cry*, instead of using any ordinary word, invented the cacophonous one now in question, as in keeping with the context and the feelings it expresses.

V. 6. *For the waters of Nimrim* (are and) *shall be desolations; for withered is the grass, gone is the herbage, verdure there is none.* Accord-

ing to Vitringa, this verse gives a reason for the grief described in v. 5 as prevailing in the south of Moab. Maurer makes it an explanation of the flight in that direction. Hendewerk supposes the description to be here at an end, and a statement of the causes to begin. It seems more natural, however, to suppose, with Ewald and some older writers, that the description is itself continued, the desolation of the country being added to the capture of the cities and the flight of the inhabitants. Aurivillius, in his dissertation on this passage, explains נמרים as an appellative, meaning as in Arabic clear, limpid waters. But all other writers understand it as a proper name. Grotius takes מי in the sense of *pastures*, which it never has. Lightfoot suggests that the *waters* meant may be the hot springs of this region, mentioned by Josephus, and perhaps the same with those of which Moses speaks in Gen. 36: 24, according to the best interpretation of that passage. It is more probably explained by Junius as the name of streams which met there (rivorum confluentium), and by others still more generally as denoting both the springs and running streams of that locality. Junius supplies a preposition before *waters* (ad aquas Nimrimorum desolationes erunt), but the true construction makes it the subject of the verb. The same writer understands the plural form as here used to denote the waters meeting at Nimrah or Beth-nimrah. But it is now agreed that Nimrim is another name for the town itself, which is mentioned in Num. 32: 3, 36 and Josh. 13: 27 as a town of Gad. Vitringa's assumption of another town in the south of Moab rests on his misconception of the nexus between this verse and the fifth. Bochart derives the name from נָמֵר a panther, but the true etymology is no doubt that already mentioned. Forerius explains משמות as denoting an object of astonishment and horror, but the common sense of desolations is no doubt the true one. Most writers since Vitringa understand the Prophet as alluding to the practice of stopping fountains and wasting fields in war. (Compare 2 Kings 3: 19, 25.) But Ewald and others suppose an allusion to the effects of drought. This is a question which the Prophet's own words leave undecided. The second כִּי is translated *so that* by Luther, *and* by the Septuagint, *because* by the Vulgate, *yea* by Augusti, while Calvin omits both. The translation of the first verb as a future and the others as preterites seems to make the desolation of the waters not the cause but the effect of the decay of vegetation. It is better, therefore, to adopt the present or descriptive form throughout the verse, as all the latest writers do. חציר is not *hay*, as Luther and the English Version give it, but mature *grass*, דשא the springing herbage, ירק greenness or verdure in general. Ewald and Henderson neglect the distinction between the last two words. The whole is given with great precision in the Vulgate: *herba, germen, viror*. The Septuagint also has *χόρτος χλωρός*.

V. 7. *Therefore* (because the country can no longer be inhabited) *the remainder of what* (*each*) *one has made* (i. e. acquired), and their *hoard* (or store), *over the brook of the willows they carry them away.* Not one of the ancient versions has given a coherent or intelligible rendering of this obscure sentence. Jerome suggests three different interpretations of נחל ערבים; first, the brook of the Arabians or of the Ravens (עֹרְבִים) who fed Elijah; then, the brook of the willows in the proper sense; and lastly, Babylon, the plains of which were full of willows (Ps. 137: 2). The first of these is adopted by J. D. Michaelis, who translates it *Rabenbach* (Ravenbrook); the last by Bochart, Vitringa, and others; the second by most interpreters. A new interpretation is proposed by Hitzig, viz. brook or valley of the deserts, supposed to be the same with the brook or valley of the plain mentioned Amos 6: 14. It is now commonly agreed that whatever be the meaning of the name, it denotes the Wady el Ahsa of Burckhardt (the Wady el Ahsy of Robinson and Smith), running into the Dead Sea near its southern extremity, and forming the boundary between Kerek and Gebal, corresponding to the ancient Moab and Edom.—יתרה may either mean what is left by the enemy, or the surplus of their ordinary gains. The ם in ישאום is regarded by Henderson as the old termination of the verb. All other writers seem to look upon it as the suffix referring to יתרה and פקדה, which are then to be construed as nominatives absolute. The older writers make the enemy the subject of the verb; the moderns the Moabites themselves. On the whole, the most probable meaning of the verse is that the Moabites shall carry what they can save of their possessions into the adjacent land of Edom.—Kimchi points out an ellipsis of the relative before עשה, precisely similar to that in our colloquial English. Clericus coolly inserts *not* and *enemies* in the first clause, both which he says are necessary to the sense.

V. 8. The lamentation is not confined to any one part of the country. *For the cry goes round the border of Moab* (i. e. entirely surrounds it); *even to Eglaim* (is) *its howling* (heard), *and to Beer Elim its howling.* The meaning, as Hendewerk observes, is not that the land is externally surrounded by lamentation, but that lamentation fills it. Vatablus understands the cry here spoken of to be the shout of battle, contrary to usage and the context. Piscator makes אֶגְלַיִם mean the confluence of the Arnon or the streams that form it, called נחלים ארנן in Num. 21: 14, and connected there with Beer. All others understand it as the name of a town. Rosenmüller and Gesenius identify it with the *Ἀγαλλείμ* of Eusebius, eight miles south of Areopolis, and not far from the southern boundary of Moab. Josephus also mentions *Ἄγαλλα* in connexion with Zoar. As these, however, must have been within the Moabitish territory, Hitzig and the later German

writers make *Eglaim* the same with *En-eglaim* (Ezek. 47 : 10). The different orthography of the two names is noticed by none of these interpreters; and Henderson, who adopts the same opinion, merely says that "the change of א and ע is too frequent to occasion any difficulty."—*Beer Elim*, the well of the mighty ones or heroes, the same that "the princes and nobles of the people digged with their staves" (Num. 21 : 18). This explanation, suggested by Junius, is adopted by Vitringa and the later writers, as the situation mentioned in Numbers agrees well with the context here. The word אלים (substantially equivalent to שרים and נדיבים, the words used in Numbers) may have been specially applied to the chiefs of Moab, as the phrase אֵלֵי מוֹאָב occurs in the song of Miriam, Ex. 15 : 15.—The mappik in the final letter of יללתה is wanting in some manuscripts and editions. Aurivillius regards it as a paragogic termination (compare Ps. 3 : 3. 125 : 3), but other interpreters follow the ancient versions in making it a suffix referring to Moab. Henderson needlessly departs in two points from the form of the original, by introducing a masculine pronoun (his wailing), and by varying the last noun (wailing, lamentation,) on the ground that the repetition would have a bad effect in English. The suffix in יללתה may possibly refer to זעקה and mean the howling sound of it (i. e. the cry).

V. 9. The expressions grow still stronger. Not only is the land full of tumult and disorder, fear and flight; it is also stained with carnage and threatened with new evils. *For the waters of Dimon are full of blood; for I will bring upon Dimon additions* (i. e. additional evils), *on the escaped* (literally, *the escape*) *of Moab a lion; and on the remnant of the land* (those left in it, or remaining of its population). It is an ingenious conjecture of Junius that the *Dimon* is the stream mentioned 2 Kings 3 : 20–22, in which case the meaning of the clause would be, this stream shall not be merely red as it then was, but really full of blood. Jerome says, however, that the town *Dibon*, mentioned in v. 2, was also called *Dimon* in his day, by a common permutation of the labials. The latter form may have been preferred, in allusion to the word דָּם following. According to this view, the Prophet here returns to the place first named, and ends where he began. By the waters of Dimon or Dibon, most writers understand the Arnon, near the north bank of which the town was built, as the river Kishon is called *the waters of Megiddo* (Judg. 5 : 19). Hitzig thinks it more probable that there was a pool or reservoir at Dibon, as there was at Heshbon according to Cant. 7 : 5, and according to modern travellers at Mâb and Medeba likewise.—Those who take Dimon as the name of a river give to נוספות the specific meaning of *more blood*. Grotius explains it, I will give a new reason for its being called Dimon (i. e. bloody). Gesenius also admits the probability of such an allusion, on the ground that the verb דָּמַם, from which

נוֹסָפוֹת is derived, often includes the meaning of some preceding word (Job 20: 9. 34: 32). Grotius and Bochart understand the last clause literally as a threat that God would send lions (or according to Piscator, wild beasts in general) to destroy the people, a judgment elsewhere threatened (Lev. 26: 22. Jer. 15: 3) and inflicted (2 Kings 17: 25, 26). But the later writers seem agreed that this is a strong figurative expression for the further evils to be suffered at the hand of human enemies. Hitzig supposes Judah to be called a lion in allusion to the prophecy in Gen. 49: 9. Cocceius and Vitringa understand it to mean Nebuchadnezzar, whose conquest of the Moabites, though not historically recorded, may be gathered from such passages as Jer. 4: 7. 49: 28. 25: 11–21. 27: 3, 6. In itself the figure is applicable to any conqueror, and may be indefinitely understood, not in reference however to the same inflictions just described, as Rosenmüller and Gesenius think, but with respect to new inflictions not specifically mentioned though distinctly intimated in the word נוֹסָפוֹת. The Septuagint makes אריה and אדמה both proper names, *Ariel* and *Admah*. According to Jerome and Theodoret, Ar or Areopolis was sometimes called Ariel, and Moab, as descended from Lot might be described as the remnant or survivor of Admah, one of the cities of the plain. Both these interpretations are adopted by Lowth, and the last by Cocceius and J. D. Michaelis.

CHAPTER XVI.

This chapter opens with an exhortation to the Moabites to seek protection from their enemies by renewing their allegiance to the house of David, accompanied by an intimation that this prospect of deliverance would not in fact be realized, vs. 1–6. From this transient gleam of hope, the prophecy reverts to a description of the general desolation and distress, in form almost identical with that in the foregoing chapter, vs. 7–12. The prophecy then closes with a specification of the time at which it was to be fulfilled, vs. 13, 14.

The needless division of the prophecy at this point seems to have some connexion with an old opinion that the lamb mentioned in v. 1 is Christ. A similar cause appears to have affected the division of the second, third, and fourth chapters.

V. 1. In their extremity, the Moabites exhort one another to return to their allegiance to the family of David, by whom they were subdued and

rendered tributary (2 Sam. 8 : 2). When the kingdom was divided, they continued in subjection to the ten tribes till the death of Ahab, paying yearly, or perhaps at the accession of every new king, a tribute of a hundred thousand lambs and as many rams with the wool (2 Kings 3 : 4, 5). After the kingdom of the ten tribes was destroyed, their allegiance could be paid only to Judah, who had indeed been all along entitled to it. *Send ye the lamb* (i. e. the customary tribute) *to the ruler of the land* (your rightful sovereign), *from Sela* (or Petra) *to the wilderness, to the mountain of the daughter of Zion.* Hitzig and Maurer regard these as the words of the Edomites, with whom they suppose the Moabites to have taken refuge. Petra, it is true, was an Idumean city (2 Kings 14 : 7) ; but it may at this time have been subject to the Moabites, by one of the fluctuations constantly taking place among these minor powers, or it may be mentioned as a frontier town, for the sake of geographical specification. The older writers understand these as the words of the Prophet himself; but Knobel objects that both the Prophet and the Edomites must have known that the course here recommended would be fruitless. It is best to understand them, therefore, as the mutual exhortations of the Moabites themselves in their confusion and alarm. This is also recommended by its agreement with what goes before and after. The verse then really continues the description of the foregoing chapter. The Septuagint and Peshito render the verb in the first person singular, *I will send.* The latter also instead of כר reads בר. This reading is approved by Lowth and J. D. Michaelis, who understand the verse as meaning that even if the son of the ruler of the land (i. e. of the king of Moab) should go upon an embassy of peace to Jerusalem, he would not obtain it. Others suppose the flight of the king's son to be mentioned as an additional trait in the prophetic picture. But this departure from the common text is wholly unnecessary. Forerius and Malvenda suppose כר to mean a battering-ram, or take it as a figurative term for soldiery or military force. Calvin understands by it a sacrificial lamb to be offered to Jehovah as the *ruler of the earth*, in token of repentance and submission. Most other writers understand the tribute of lambs paid by Moab to the kings of Israel, and Barnes combines this sense with that before it, by supposing that the Jews exacted lambs from tributary powers, in order to supply the altar with victims. Jerome puts משל in apposition with כר, and understands the verse as a prayer or a prediction, that God would send forth Christ, *the lamb, the ruler of the land* (or earth). Others take משל as a vocative, used collectively for משלים : *send oh ye rulers of the land.* Most modern writers make it either a genitive (*the lamb of the ruler*) i. e. due, belonging to him, or a dative (*to* or *for* the *ruler of the land*), a common construction after verbs expressing or implying motion. Clericus supposes the ruler of the land to be Nebuchadnezzar as the con-

queror of Judah. *Sela*, which properly denotes a *rock*, is now commonly agreed to be here used as the name of the city *Petra*, the ancient capital of Idumea, so called because surrounded by impassable rocks, and to a great extent hewn in the rock itself. It is described by Strabo, Diodorus, and Josephus, as a place of extensive trade. The Greek form *Πέτρα* is supposed to have given name to *Arabia Petraea* in the old geography. If so, the explanation of that name as meaning *stony*, and as descriptive of the soil of the whole country, must be incorrect. Petra was conquered by Trajan, and rebuilt by Hadrian, on whose coins its name is still extant. It was afterwards a bishop's see, but had ceased to be inhabited before the time of the crusades. It was then entirely lost sight of, until Burckhardt in 1812 verified a conjecture of Seetzen's, that the site of Petra was to be sought in the valley called the *Wady Musa*, one or two days' journey southeast of the Dead Sea. It was afterwards explored by Irby and Mangles, and has since been often visited and described. See in particular Robinson's Palestine II. 573–580. Grotius supposes Petra to be mentioned as an extreme point, *from Petra to the wilderness*, i. e. throughout the whole extent of Moab. Ewald understands it to be named as the most convenient place for the purchase of the lambs required. Vitringa supposes that the Moabites fed their flocks in the wilderness by which Petra was surrounded. Luther's translation, *from the wilderness*, is wholly inconsistent with the form of the original. The construction given by some of the old writers, *Sela of the wilderness*, disregards the local or directive ה. That of Gesenius and other recent writers, *through* or *along the wilderness*, is also a departure from the form of the original, which can only mean *from Petra to the wilderness* (and thence) *to Mount Zion* (or Jerusalem). Jerome explains the whole verse as a prediction of Christ's descent from Ruth the Moabitess, the *lamb, the ruler of the land, sent forth from the rock of the wilderness!* The Targum paraphrases *ruler of the land* by *the Messiah* (or *anointed*) *of Israel*, which may possibly mean nothing more than king.

V. 2. This verse assigns the ground or reason of the exhortation in the one before it. *And it shall be* (or come to pass, that) *like a bird wandering*, (like) *a nest cast out, shall be the daughters of Moab, the fords of Arnon.* The construction *cast out from the nest* is inconsistent with the form of the original. *Nest* may be understood as a poetical term for its contents. The *nidi edaces* of Virgil are analogous. There are three interpretations of בנות מואב. 1. The first gives the words the geographical sense of villages or dependent towns. (Vide supra ch. 3: 16. 4: 4.) To this it has been objected that בת has this sense only when it stands in connexion with the metropolis or mother city. Ewald and Hitzig modify this interpretation by making *daughters* mean the several communities or neighbour-

heads of which the nation was composed. 2. The second explanation makes it mean the people generally, here called *daughters*, as the whole population is elsewhere called *daughter*. 3. The third gives the words their strict sense as denoting the female inhabitants of Moab, whose flight and sufferings are a sufficient index to the state of things. In the absence of any conclusive reason for dissenting from this strict and proper sense of the expressions, it is entitled to the preference. מעברות is not a participle agreeing with בנות, passing (or when they pass) the Arnon; nor does it mean the two sides of the river, but its fords or passes. Ewald supposes it to be put for the dwellers near the river, which is arbitrary. Some suppose it to be governed by a preposition understood, or to be used absolutely as a noun of place, while others put it in apposition with בנות, 'the daughters of Moab, the fords of Arnon.' The ל in the last word denotes possession—the fords which belong to Arnon. This is mentioned as the principal stream of Moab. Whether at this time it ran through the country or was its northern boundary, is doubtful.

V. 3. Most of the older writers, from Jerome downwards, understand this verse as a continuation of the advice to the Moabites, in which they are urged to act with *prudence* as well as *justice*, to take counsel (i. e. provide for their own safety) as well as execute judgment (i. e. act right towards others). In other words, they are exhorted to prepare for the day of their own calamity, by exercising mercy towards the Jews in theirs. Calvin adopts this general view of the meaning of the verse, but interprets it ironically as he does the first, and understands the Prophet as intending to reproach the Moabites sarcastically for their cruel treatment of the Jewish fugitives in former times. This forced interpretation, which is certainly unworthy of its author, seems to have found favour with no other. It is not the first case in which Calvin has allowed his exposition to be marred by the gratuitous assumption of a sarcastic and ironical design. Gesenius and most of the later writers follow Saadias in regarding this verse as the language of the Moabitish suppliants or messengers, addressed to Judah. הביאו עצה they explain to mean *bring counsel*, i. e. counsel us, and *execute justice*, i. e. treat us justly. Hitzig takes פלילה in the sense of intervention (interpose between the parties), Maurer in that of intercession, Hendewerk in that of decision. According to Aben Ezra, הביאו עצה means apply or exercise your understanding (Ps. 90: 12); according to Vitringa, apply prudence to your conduct, i. e. regulate it prudently. The explanation of the verse as the words of the Moabites addressed to the Jews, is favoured by the foregoing context, which relates throughout to the sufferings of Moab, whereas on the other supposition, the prophet suddenly exhorts the sufferers to harbour the fugitives of that very nation, with whom they had them-

selves been exhorted to seek refuge. This interpretation also relieves us from the necessity of determining historically what particular affliction of the Israelites or Jews is here referred to, a question which has occasioned much perplexity, and which can be solved only by conjecture. According to Vitringa, the passage refers to the invasion of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, by Tiglath Pileser in the fourth year of Ahaz (2 Kings 15: 29), and also to the invasion of Judah by the Edomites about the same time (2 Chron. 28: 17). Others refer the passage to Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, and others to that of Nebuchadnezzar. Knobel supposes the object of address to be the Edomites. As noonday heat is a common oriental figure to denote distress (Isai. 4: 6. 25: 4. 32: 2), so a shadow is relief from it. Possibly, however, the allusion here is to the *light* of noonday, and the shadow dark as night denotes concealment. If so, the clause is equivalent in meaning to the one which follows. Some of those who adopt the other sense suppose a climax in the sentence. Relieve, refresh the sufferers—or at least conceal them—or if that is too much to ask, at least do not betray them.

V. 4. *Let my outcasts, Moab, sojourn with thee, be thou a covert* (refuge or hiding-place) *to them from the face* (or presence) *of the spoiler* (or oppressor); *for the extortioner is at an end, oppression has ceased, consumed are the tramplers out of the land.* Here, as in the preceding verse, the sense depends upon the object of address. If it be Moab, as the older writers held, the outcasts referred to are the outcasts of Israel. If the address be to Israel, the outcasts are those of Moab. The latter interpretation seems to be irreconcilable with the phrase נִדָּחַי מוֹאָב. Gesenius disregards the accent and supposes an ellipsis before Moab: my outcasts, even those of Moab. So also Rosenmüller and Hendewerk. The other recent German writers follow Lowth in reading נִדְחֵי מוֹאָב *outcasts of Moab*, a construction found in all the ancient versions. Maurer, without a change of vowels, explains נִדָּחַי as an old form of the plural construct. Calvin gives the verbs in the last clause a past or present sense, and supposes the first clause to be ironical. As if he had said, 'Yes, give them shelter and protection now, now when their oppressor is destroyed, and they have no need of assistance.' Ewald also takes the preterites strictly, but understands the second clause to mean that the Moabites were encouraged thus to ask aid of Judah, because the former oppressive government had ceased there and a better reign begun, more fully described in the next verse. But most interpreters, ancient and modern, give the verbs in this last clause a future sense. As if he had said, 'Give the fugitives a shelter; they will not need it long, for the extortioner will soon cease,' etc. This gives an appropriate sense, whether the words be addressed to Israel or Moab. Some

who adopt the same construction supply the ellipsis in another way. 'Fear not to shelter them, for the oppressor will soon cease,' etc. Knobel explains the clause as an assurance, on the part of the Moabites, that they would no longer vex or oppress Edom, to whom he imagines that the words are addressed. The collective construction of רֹמֵס with הָבוּ is not uncommon in the case of participles. (Ewald § 599.)

V. 5. This verse contains a promise, that if the Jews afforded shelter to the fugitives of Moab, their own government should be strengthened by this exercise of mercy, and their national prosperity promoted by the appearance of a king in the family of David, who should possess the highest qualifications of a moral kind for the regal office. *And a throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit upon it in truth in the tent of David, judging and seeking justice and prompt in equity.* Knobel supposes the throne here meant to be that of the Jewish viceroy in Edom, called a שֵׁבֶט to distinguish him from the מֶלֶךְ or lord paramount. Clericus fancies an allusion to Gedaliah who was appointed viceroy of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar. Barnes, who follows the old writers in making Moab the object of address, understands this is a promise that the Jewish government would hereafter exercise kindness towards the Moabites. Grotius understands this verse as a promise to the Moabites that their throne should be established (if they harboured the Jewish refugees) *in the tabernacle of David*, i. e. under the shadow or protection of his family. But the tabernacle of David has no doubt the same meaning here as the analogous expression in Amos 9: 11. Barnes's translation, *citadel of David*, is entirely gratuitous. Most writers understand it as a promise of stability to Judah itself. Some suppose a reference to Hezekiah; but the analogy of other cases makes it probable that the words were intended to include a reference to all the good kings of the house of David, not excepting the last king of that race, to whom God was to give the throne of his father David, who was to reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of whose kingdom there should be no end (Luke 1: 32, 33). Hence the indefinite expression, *one shall sit*, i. e. there shall always be one to sit on David's throne. It is true that J. D. Michaelis and the later Germans make יָשַׁב agree with שֵׁבֶט as a noun—there shall sit thereon a judge, etc. But this construction is forbidden by the position of the latter word, and by its close connexion with דֹּרֵשׁ, which can only be construed as a participle.

V. 6. *We have heard the pride of Moab, the very proud, his haughtiness and his pride and his wrath, the falsehood of his pretensions.* Those writers who suppose Moab to be addressed in the preceding verses, understand this as a reason for believing that he will not follow the advice just

given. As if he had said: 'it is vain to recommend this merciful and just course, for we have heard etc.' But the modern writers who regard what immediately precedes as the language addressed by the Moabitish fugitives to Judah, explain this as a reason for rejecting their petition. In the second clause the English Version supplies the substantive verb, *he is very proud.* A simpler construction is adopted by most writers, which connects it immediately with what precedes. Knobel makes it agree with גאון, but Ewald more naturally with מיאב. The four derivatives of one root in this sentence are imitated in Henderson's paraphrase: *haughtiness, haughty, high-mindedness, hauteur.* Most modern writers are agreed that כֵּן is here an adjective meaning *right* or *true*, and that in combination with the negative it forms a compound noun meaning *vanity* or *falsehood.* בדים is variously explained as denoting lies, vain pretensions, plausible speeches, idle talk, all which ideas are perhaps included. Barnes introduces an interjection in the second clause (*ah! his haughtiness!* etc.) but the true construction is no doubt the common one, which governs these nouns by שמענו. This is also the simplest construction of the last clause: 'we have heard the falsehood of his vain pretensions.' It is unnecessary, therefore, to supply either *are* or *shall be.*

V. 7. *Therefore* (because thus rejected) *Moab shall howl for Moab; all of it shall howl; for the grapes* (or raisin-cakes) *of Kir-hareseth shall ye sigh* (or moan), *only* (i. e. altogether) *smitten.* Umbreit and others make יילל a descriptive present (Moab howls). Others, as DeWette, read *must howl;* Henderson, *may howl;* Ewald, *let Moab howl.* There is, however, no sufficient reason for departing from the strict sense of the future.—Jerome and Clericus take ל in the sense of *to*, Knobel in that of *as to* or *as for*, making מואב an absolute nominative—*as for Moab, it shall howl*—equivalent in emphasis to *Moab, yes, Moab shall howl.* For an example of the same construction, he refers to ch. 32: 1; but as it is confessedly a rare one, and as there is no necessity for assuming it in this case, it is better to adhere to the common interpretation of למואב, as denoting the subject or occasion of the lamentation. By *Moab howling for Moab,* Jerome understands the mutual lamentations of the city and the provinces, or town and country; Barnes, the alternate responses of one part to another in their lamentation; others simply the mourning of one Moabite for another. The idea may be that the nation of Moab mourns for the land of Moab, but the simplest supposition is that *Moab for Moab* means *Moab for itself.* The English version of כֻּלֹּה (*every one*) overlooks the suffix, which is also the case with the simple version *all*, and the distributive paraphrase of Clericus (quotquot sunt). The form of the original is retained by Ewald (ganz es jammre) *let it all lament.* The next clause Clericus translates, *to* (or *at*) *the*

walls of Kir-hareseth ye shall talk (ad muros colloquemini). But all the later writers give the particle the sense of *for*, as in the first clause, and the verb that of *sigh* or *moan*. The word אשישי seems to have perplexed the old translators, some of whom confound it with the verb ישישׁ or one of its derivatives. Thus the Vulgate has *his qui lætantur super muros cocti lateris*. Lowth and Dathe read אנשי on the authority of Jer. 47 : 31. But in all such cases of imitation or reconstruction which occur in Scripture, there are many intentional and significant changes of one word for another similar in form but different in sense. For a clear and ample illustration of this practice, see Hengstenberg's comparison of Psalm xviii with 2 Sam. xxii, in his commentary on the former. Vitringa takes אשישי in the sense of wine-flagons, and this interpretation is approved by most of the early writers, who suppose אשישים to have here the same sense as אשישים and אשישות elsewhere (Hos. 3 : 1. Cant. 2 : 5. Comp. 2 Sam. 6 : 19, 1 Chron. 16 : 3). J. D. Michaelis and the later Germans give the word in this one case the sense of *foundations* (equivalent in this connexion to *ruins*) derived from an Arabic analogy. Cocceius curiously combines the two ideas by explaining the word to mean the props or supports of the vines (sustentacula uvarum). Ewald and Knobel have returned to the old interpretation, except that they explain the word wherever it occurs to mean, not flasks or flagons, but cakes of grapes or raisins pressed together. This allusion to grapes agrees well with the subsequent mention of the vines of Moab. The other interpretation is favoured by the meaning of the name *Kir-hareseth* (a wall of earth or brick). The same place is mentioned 2 Kings 3 : 25, and is no doubt identical with *Kir-Moab* (ch. 15 : 1), which latter form may have been used to correspond with the parallel name *Ar-Moab*. The particle אַךְ, which is variously rendered *but* (Clericus), *for* (Barnes), *surely* (English Version), *wholly* (Henderson), strictly means *only, nothing but*, and is so translated by Knobel (nur zerschlagen) and Ewald (nichts als betrübt). Knobel applies the last word in the sentence to the grapes or raisin-cakes, as being all consumed or gone, implying the desolation of the vineyards. It is more natural, however, to refer it to the people, as being smitten, downcast, and distressed.

V. 8. *For the fields of Heshbon are withered—the vine of Sibmah—the lords of the nations broke down its choice plants—unto Jazer they reached—they strayed into* (or *through*) *the desert—its branches—they were stretched out—they reached to* (or *over*) *the sea.* Clericus renders אמלל as a future, which destroys the force of the description. On the construction of אמלל with שדמות, vide supra, ch. 3 : 12. *Sibmah* is mentioned Num. 32 : 38. Josh. 13 : 19, and in the former place joined with Nebo, which occurs above, ch. 15 : 2. It had been taken by the Amorites, but was probably

again recovered. Eusebius speaks of it as a town of Gilead, and Jerome describes it as not more than half a mile from Heshbon. For בעלי the LXX have *καταπίνοντες*, confounding it, as Clericus observes, with בלע. *Heathen*, in the modern sense, is not a correct version of גוים, as the Moabites themselves were heathen. According to the English Version, it would seem to be the lords of the nations who came to Jazer, wandered through the wilderness, etc. All this, however, is really predicated of the vines, the luxuriant growth of which is the subject of the following clauses. As the verb חלם is used, ch. 28: 1, to express the intoxicating power of wine, Cocceius gives it that sense here, and makes it agree with שרוקרה as its subject: the choice vines of Sibmah overcame the rulers of the nations, i. e. the wine was drunk at royal tables. This ingenious exposition is adopted by Vitringa, Lowth, Hitzig, Maurer, Hendewerk, DeWette, Knobel, on the ground of its agreement with the subsequent praises of the vine of Sibmah. Gesenius objects that there is then no mention of the wasting of the vineyards by the enemy, unless this can be supposed to be included in אמלל. Besides Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Ewald, Umbreit, and most of the older writers, make שרוקיח the object of the verb. On the meaning of the noun itself compare what is said of the cognate from שרק, supra, ch. 5: 2. Jazer is mentioned Num. 21: 32, and described by Eusebius as fifteen miles from Heshbon, and ten west of Philadelphia, on a stream running into the Jordan. It is here mentioned as a northern point, the desert and the sea representing the east and the west or south. Knobel infers from this that Sibmah was a well-known centre of wine-culture. In the absence of a preposition before מדבר, it may be rendered either *through the wilderness*, or simply *into it*. Knobel supposes the word *stray* or *wander* to be used because the wilderness is pathless. The exact sense of שְׁלֵחֹת is *things sent forth*, or as Clericus expresses it, *missiones*. עבר without a preposition sometimes denotes the act of passing simply *to* a place, and this sense is adopted here by the Septuagint and Henderson. But most writers adhere to the more usual sense of *passing over*, which may either mean that the vines covered the shore and overhung the water, or that the luxuriant vineyards of Moab really extended beyond the northern point of the Dead Sea. In the parallel passage, Jer. 48: 32, we read of the *sea of Jazer*. Henderson regards the ים in that phrase as an interpolation, a conclusion not sufficiently supported by the authority of two Hebrew manuscripts and one ancient version. The *sea of Jazer* may have been a lake in its vicinity, or even a reservoir, such as Seetzen found there. The same traveller found an abundant growth of vines in the region here described, while at Szalt (the ancient Ramoth) Burckhardt and Buckingham both speak, not only of the multitude of grapes, but of an active trade in raisins.

V. 9. *Therefore I will weep with the weeping of Jazer (for) the vine of Sibmah. I will wet thee (with) my tears, Heshbon and (thee) Elealeh! For upon thy fruit and upon thy harvest a cry has fallen.* Some suppose these to be the words of a Moabite bewailing the general calamity. There is no objection, however, to the supposition, that the prophet here expresses his own sympathy with the distress of Moab, as an indirect method of describing its intensity. The emphasis does not lie merely in the Prophet's feeling for a foreign nation, but in his feeling for a guilty race, on whom he was inspired to denounce the wrath of God. Most of the modern writers give the verbs a present form; but Ewald makes them expressive of entreaty, *let me weep* etc. There is no sufficient cause, however, for departing from the strict sense of the future, which is still retained by Barnes and Henderson. Clericus takes אבכה בבכי together and translates it *flebo in fletu;* but the accents join the second word, no doubt correctly, with what follows. The sense is not that he will weep for the vine of Sibmah as he does for Jazer, the construction given by Clericus and Barnes, but that he will weep for the vines of Sibmah as Jazer (i. e, the inhabitants of Jazer) did, who were particularly interested in them. There is no need of supposing, with Hendewerk, a reference to the destruction of Jazer by the Israelites in the times of Moses (Num. 21: 32, 32: 35). ארוך is strongly rendered by Jerome (inebriabo), Clericus (irrigabo), Hendewerk (überströme), but strictly means to saturate with moisture. On the anomalous form, see Gesenius, § 74, 17, § 71, 7. קיץ, which elsewhere means the fruit of summer (Jer. 40: 12. Am. 8: 1), is used here and in ch. 28: 4 to denote the ingathering of the fruit. This peculiar usage of the term is urged by Hendewerk as a proof that the passage was written by Isaiah. In like manner, he maintains that if הלם in v. 8 has the same sense as in ch. 28: 1, as Hitzig alleges, it is an incidental proof that Hitzig is mistaken in denying the genuineness of this prophecy. These arguments are mentioned, not on account of their intrinsic weight, but as effective arguments *ad hominem*, and as illustrations of the ease with which the weapons of a fanciful criticism may be turned upon itself. הידד, according to its etymology and usage, may be applied to any shout or cry whatever, and is actually used to denote both a war-cry or alarm (Jer. 51: 14), and a joyful shout, such as that which accompanies the vintage (Jer. 25: 30). In the next verse, it has clearly the latter sense, which some retain here also, giving to נפל the sense of *ceasing*, as in the text of the English Version. Others prefer the former sense, as given in the margin of the English Bible, and take נפל על in that of *falling upon* suddenly, attacking by surprise, which is sometimes expressed elsewhere by נפל ב (e. g. Josh. 11: 7). The latest writers are agreed, however, that there is here an allusion to both senses or applications of the term, and that the thing predicted is, that instead of the joyful shout of vin-

tage or of harvest, they should be surprised by the cry of battle. This idea is beautifully clothed in another form by Jeremiah (48 : 33), *their shouting shall be no shouting*, i. e. not such as they expected and designed, or, as De Wette vigorously renders it, *war-cry, not harvest-cry* (Schlachtruf, nicht Herbstruf). On the strength of the parallelism, Knobel gives to קציר the sense of *vintage* or *fruit-harvest*, as in ch. 18 : 5. Ewald retains the strict sense, and supposes the two kinds of ingathering to be distinctly specified. For קציר and הידד, Lowth reads בציר and שדד, in imitation of Jer. 48 : 32. But the insecurity of such assimilations has been shown already in the exposition of v. 7. The ancient versions, and especially the Septuagint, are so confused and unintelligible here that Clericus, not without reason, represents them as translating *audacter aeque ac absurde*.

V. 10. *And taken away is joy and gladness from the fruitful field, and in the vineyards shall no (more) be sung, no (more) be shouted : wine in the presses shall the treader not tread ; the cry have I stilled* (or *caused to cease*). Hendewerk translates the *vav* at the beginning *so that*, in order to show that this verse describes the effect of what is threatened in v. 9. Henderson omits the particle entirely. It is best, however, to give it its proper sense of *and*. There is no need of departing from the future meaning of the verbs ; but most of the later writers prefer the descriptive present. The strict sense of נאסף is *gathered*, and by implication *taken away* from its former place. On the masculine form of the verb, see Gesenius § 144, *a*. Jerome and Clericus take כרמל as a proper name, denoting a cultivated hill like Carmel ; but it is no doubt an appellative, as in ch. 10 : 18. DeWette and Knobel give it here the specific sense of *orchard*, others that of *fruitful field*, or cultivated ground in general. According to Clericus the verbs in the next clause are active, and לא equivalent to לא איש (nemo vociferabitur). They are really passive, both in form and meaning, and indefinitely construed. Barnes and Henderson resolve it into our idiom by employing a noun and the substantive verb : *there shall be no cry* or *shouting*. The later Germans retain the original construction. Hendewerk explains ירנּן as the Pual of רנן, Gesenius as the Palul of רוע. In the next clause, Barnes, DeWette, and Ewald, read *no treader*, Henderson and Umbreit more exactly *the treader*, leaving the לא to qualify the verb. The English Version, on the other hand, by using the expression *no wine*, seems to imply that the treading of the grapes would not be followed by its usual result, whereas the meaning is that the grapes would not be trodden at all. The same version needlessly puts *treaders* in the plural. The idiomatic combination of the verb and its participle or derivative noun (ידרך הדרך) is not uncommon in Hebrew. (See for example, Ez. 33 : 4. 2 Sam. 17 : 9. Deut. 22 : 8.) The word *vats*, used by Barnes and Henderson in rendering this

clause, is less appropriate than the common version *presses*. (Vide supra, ch. 5 : 2.) The ancient mode of treading grapes is still preserved in some of the monuments of Egypt. Umbreit gives הידד the general sense of tumult (Getümmel), Ewald that of wild noise (den wilden Lärm) ; but most writers understand it here as specifically meaning the vintage or harvest-shout. השבתי may be rendered either as a preterite or present. It signifies not merely to bring to an end, but to still or silence. This prediction of course implies the failure of the vintage, if not the destruction of the vineyards.

V. 11. *Therefore my bowels for Moab like the harp shall sound, and my inwards for Kirhares.* The viscera are evidently mentioned as the seat of the affections. Modern usage would require *heart* and *bosom*. Barnes correctly applies to this verse the distinction which philologists have made between the ancient usage of *bowels* to denote the upper viscera and its modern restriction to the lower viscera, a change which sufficiently accounts for the different associations excited by the same or equivalent expressions, then and now. Ewald goes too far in softening the expression when he translates מעים *feelings*. The comparison is either with the sad notes of a harp, or with the striking of its strings, which may be used to represent the beating of the heart or the commotion of the nerves. *Sound* is not an adequate translation of יהמו, which conveys the idea of tumultuous agitation. Clericus understands the mention of the bowels as intended to suggest the idea of a general commotion (totus commovebor). He also gives to ל, as in v. 7, the sense of *ad*. *Kir-hares* is another variation of the name written *Kir-hareseth* in v. 7, and *Kir-Moab* in ch. 15 : 1.

V. 12. From the impending ruin Moab attempts in vain to save himself by supplication to his gods. They are powerless and he is desperate. *And it shall be* (or come to pass), *when Moab has appeared* (before his gods), *when he has wearied himself* (with vain oblations) *on the high place, then* (literally *and*) *he shall enter into his sanctuary to pray, and shall not be able* (to obtain an answer). Another construction, equally grammatical, though not so natural, confines the apodosis to ולא יוכל : 'when he has appeared etc. and enters into his sanctuary to pray, he shall not be able.' A third gives to כי its more usual sense of *that* ; but this requires נראה and נלאה to be taken as futures, which is inadmissible. Luther and Castalio, on the other hand, refer even יוכל to the past : 'and has accomplished nothing.' Some regard נראה as impersonal, *it shall be seen* or *when it is seen*. But the phrase would then add nothing to the sense, and נראה is the technical term for the appearance of the worshipper before his god. (Vide supra. ch. 1 : 12.) Lowth reads ראה (*when Moab shall see*)

on the authority of the Targum and Peshito. At the same time he pronounces it 'a very probable conjecture' of Secker, that נראה is a various reading for נלאה, inadvertently inserted in the text. To this opinion Gesenius also is inclined, though he retains both words, and copies the paronomasia by rendering them *man sieht* and *sich mühet*. For the first, Knobel substitutes *zieht*. Ewald has *erscheint* and *umsonst weint*. Henderson translates כי *though*, which is unnecessary, but does not affect the sense. Vitringa regards בָּמָה as identical with *βωμός*, and quotes Diodorus's description of the vast altars sometimes erected by the ancients, the ascent to which must of course have been laborious. That the Hebrew word does not mean a hill, he argues from the fact that בָּמוֹת were sometimes erected in cities (2 Chron. 28 : 25. Jer. 32 : 35). But the word means a *height* or *high place*, whether natural or artificial. The singular form may be regarded as collective, but need not be translated in the plural. The *weariness* here spoken of is understood by some as referring to the complicated and laborious ritual of the heathen worship; by others, simply to the multitude of offerings; by others, still more simply, to the multitude of prayers put up in vain. J. D. Michaelis reads *my sanctuary*, changes לֹא to לוֹ, and takes יוכל in the sense of the corresponding root in Arabic: 'then shall he come to my sanctuary and in it shall trust.' מִקְדָּשׁ is also explained to mean the temple at Jerusalem, by Ephraem Syrus, Clericus, Schmidius, and Gill, the last of whom asserts, that 'the house or temple of an idol is never called a sanctuary.' But see Ezek. 28 : 18. Am. 7 : 9, 13. The same explanation of מקדש is erroneously ascribed by Barnes to Kimchi. Solomon Ben Melech makes it mean the palace of the king, and Jarchi applies נלאה על הבמה to the weariness of the defenders with fighting from the towers. According to the true interpretation of the verse, the last clause may either represent the worshipper as passing from the open high place to the shrine or temple where his god resided, in continuation of the same religious service, or it may represent him as abandoning the ordinary altars, and resorting to some noted temple, or to the shrine of some chief idol, such as Chemosh (1 Kings 11 : 17). The Septuagint refers יוכל to the idol (he shall not be able to deliver him), but as this had not been previously mentioned, the construction is a harsh one. As applied to Moab, it does not mean that he should not be able to reach or to enter the sanctuary on account of his exhaustion, but that he should not be able to obtain what he desired, or indeed to effect any thing whatever by his prayers. Ewald imagines the apodosis of the sentence to have been lost out of the text, but thinks it may have been preserved by Jeremiah in the words, *Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh* (Jer. 48 : 13).

V. 13. *This is the word which Jehovah spake concerning Moab of old.* The reference is not to what follows but to what precedes. מאז does not

mean since the date of the foregoing prophecy, or since another point of time not specified—such as the time of Balak, or of Moab's subjection to Israel, or of its revolt—but more indefinitely, heretofore, of old. It may be applied either to a remote or a recent period, and is frequently used by Isaiah elsewhere, in reference to earlier predictions. The same contrast between מאז and עתה occurs in 2 Sam. 15 : 34. דבר does not mean a *sentence* but a prophecy. Some give to אל its usual sense *to*, and suppose it to point out Moab as the object of address. Others give it the strong sense of *against*. But it is best to understand it as indicating merely the theme or subject of the declaration.

V. 14. *And now Jehovah speaks* (or *has spoken*), *saying, in three years, like the years of an hireling, the glory of Moab shall be disgraced, with all the great throng, and the remnant* (*shall be*) *small and few, not much.* By the years of an hireling most writers understand years computed strictly and exactly, with or without allusion to the eager expectation with which hirelings await their time, and their joy at its arrival, or to the hardships of the time of servitude. J. D. Michaelis supposes a specific reference to the lunar years of the ancient calendar, as being shorter than the solar years. Knobel supposes three years to be put for a small number, but this indefinite interpretation seems to be precluded by the reference to the years of a hireling. The glory of Moab is neither its wealth, its army, its people, nor its nobility exclusively, but all in which the nation gloried. The ב before כל does not mean *consisting in*, or *notwithstanding*, but *with, including*. המון denotes not merely a great number, but the tumult and confusion of a crowd. לוא כביר is by some understood to mean *not strong*. It was possibly intended to include the ideas of diminished numbers and diminished strength.—As the date of this prediction is not given, the time of its fulfilment is of course uncertain. Some suppose it to have been executed by Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (2 Kings 19 : 9); others by Shalmaneser; others by Sennacherib; others by Esarhaddon; others by Nebuchadnezzar. These last of course suppose that the verses are of later date than the time of Isaiah. Henderson regards them as the work of an inspired writer in the following century. That the final downfall of Moab was to be effected by the Babylonians, seems clear from the repetition of Isaiah's threatenings by Jeremiah (ch. 48). Some indeed suppose that an earlier invasion by Assyria is here foretold, as a pledge of the Babylonian conquest which had been predicted in the foregoing chapter. But this supposition of a twofold catastrophe appears to be too artificial and complex. Barnes understands the thirteenth verse to mean that such had been the tenor of the prophecies against Moab from the earliest times, which were now to receive their final accomplishment. A majority of writers look upon vs. 13.

14, as a postscript or appendix by Isaiah to an earlier prediction of his own, or of some older prophet, whom Hitzig imagines to be Jonah, on the strength of 2 Kings 14: 25. The only safe conclusion is that these two verses were added by divine command in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, or that if written by Isaiah they were verified in some of the Assyrian expeditions which were frequent at that period, although the conquest of Moab is not explicitly recorded in the history.

CHAPTER XVII.

This chapter is chiefly occupied with a prophecy of desolation to the kingdoms of Syria and Ephraim, vs. 1–11. It closes with a more general threatening against the enemies of Judah, vs. 12–14. Most of the modern writers regard v. 12 as the beginning of a new and distinct prophecy, extending through the eighteenth chapter, and relating to the destruction of Sennacherib's host. Some of the older writers explain vs. 12—14 as a direct continuation of the prophecy concerning Syria and Israel. Others treat it as a fragment, or an independent prophecy, connected neither with the seventeenth nor eighteenth chapter. In favour of connecting it with ch. 17, is the absence of any distinctive title or intimation of a change of subject. In favour of connecting it with ch. 18, is the similarity of form in the beginning of 17: 12 and 18: 1. The still stronger resemblance between 17: 11 and 18: 5 seems to show that the whole is a continuous composition. This is, at least, a safer conclusion, and one more favourable to correct interpretation, than the extreme of mutilation and division, to which the modern criticism uniformly tends. Less exegetical error is likely to arise from combining prophecies really distinct than from separating the parts of one and the same prophecy. The most satisfactory view of the whole passage is that it was meant to be a prophetic picture of the doom which awaited the enemies of Judah, and that while many of its expressions admit of a general application, some traits in the description are derived from particular invasions and attacks. Thus Syria and Ephraim are expressly mentioned in the first part, while the terms of the last three verses are more appropriate to the slaughter of the Assyrian host; but as this is not explicitly referred to, there is no need of regarding it as the exclusive subject even of that passage. The eighteenth chapter may then be treated as a part of the same context. In the first part of ch. 17, the

Prophet represents the kingdoms of Syria and Ephraim as sharing the same fate, both being brought to desolation, vs. 1–3. He then describes the desolation of Ephraim especially, by the figures of a harvest and a gathering of olives, in which little is left to be afterwards gleaned, vs. 4—6. As the effect of these judgments, he describes the people as renouncing their idols and returning to Jehovah, vs. 7, 8. He then resumes his description of the threatened desolation, and ascribes it to the general oblivion of God, and cultivation of strange doctrines and practices, vs. 9–11. This last might be regarded as a simple repetition of the threatenings in vs. 4–6, interrupted by the promise in vs. 7, 8. But as the desolation of Syria and Israel was actually effected by successive strokes or stages, as Shalmaneser accomplished what Tiglath-pileser had begun, and as history records a partial conversion of the Israelites from their apostasy between these two attacks, it is altogether natural to understand the prophecy as exhibiting this sequence of events. In the close of the chapter, the Prophet first describes a gathering of nations, and then their dispersion by divine rebuke, which he declares to be the doom of all who attack or oppress God's people, vs. 12–14.

V. 1. *The Burden of Damascus. Behold, Damascus is removed from (being) a city, and is a heap, a ruin.* On the meaning of *burden*, vide supra, ch. 13 : 1. The modern Germans suppose the first words to have been added by a copyist or compiler, on the ground that they are appropriate, as a title, only to the first few verses. Some have defended the correctness of the title, on the ground that Ephraim is only mentioned as an ally of Syria, or that Damascus is again included in the threatenings of vs. 9–11. The true answer seems to be, that the objection confounds these prophetic inscriptions with the titles or headings of modern composition. The latter are comprehensive summaries, entirely distinct from the text ; the former are an original part of it. The one before us is equivalent to saying, 'I have a threatening to announce against Damascus.' Such an expression would not imply that no other subject was to be introduced, nor would the introduction of another subject justify the rejection of the prefatory formula as incorrect and therefore spurious. Not a little of the slashing criticism now in vogue rests upon a forced application of modern or occidental usages to ancient and oriental writings. The idiomatic phrase *removed from a city* is not to be explained as an ellipsis for *removed from* (the number of) *cities*, in which case the plural form would be essential. It rather means *removed from* (the state or condition of) *a city*, or, as Jarchi completes the construction, *from* (being) *a city*. Compare ch. 7 : 8, and 1 Sam. 15 : 26. Knobel needlessly and harshly explains *Damascus* as the name of the people, who are then described as being literally *removed from the city*. J. D. Michaelis,

still more extravagantly, makes מוסר a noun and מטיר a participle. *Behold Damascus! punishment awakes!* מוסר occurs only here, and seems to have been used instead of the cognate יסר on account of its resemblance to מטיר. The last two words are probably in apposition rather than in regimen (acervus ruinae) or in concord as an adjective and substantive (a ruinous heap). The radical idea in the first is that of *overturning*, in the other that of *falling*. Some regard this and the next two verses as a description of the past, and infer that the prophecy is subsequent in date to the conquest of Damascus and Syria. But as the form of expression leaves this undetermined, it is better to regard the whole as a prediction. Damascus is still the most flourishing city in Western Asia. It is also one of the most ancient. It is here mentioned as the capital of a kingdom, called *Syria of Damascus* to distinguish it from other Syrian principalities, and founded in the reign of David by Rezon (1 Kings 11: 23, 24). It was commonly at war with Israel, particularly during the reign of Benhadad and Hazael, so that a three years' peace is recorded as a long one (1 Kings 22 : 1). Under Rezin, its last king, Syria joined with Ephraim against Judah, during which confederacy, i. e. in the first years of the reign of Ahaz, this prophecy was probably uttered. From the resemblance of the names *Rezon* and *Rezin*, Vitringa takes occasion to make the following extraordinary statement. 'Omnis docet historia mundi passim accidere, lusu quodam singulari Providentiae Divinae, ut regna et imperia iisdem vel similibus nominibus oriantur et occidant.' Damascus appears to have experienced more vicissitudes than any other ancient city except Jerusalem. After the desolation here predicted it was again rebuilt, and again destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, notwithstanding which it reappears in the New Testament as a flourishing city and a seat of government. In the verse before us, the reference may be chiefly to its downfall as a royal residence.

V. 2. *Forsaken* (*are*) *the cities of Aroer; for flocks shall they be, and they shall lie down, and there shall be no one making* (*them*) *afraid.* There are three Aroers distinctly mentioned in the Bible; one in the territory of Judah (1 Sam. 30 : 28), one at the southern extremity of the land of Israel east of Jordan (Jos. 12 : 2. 13 : 6), and a third further north near to Rabbah (Jos. 13 : 25. Num. 32 : 24). Some suppose a fourth in Syria, in order to explain the text before us, while others understand it as the name of a province in that kingdom. Vitringa thinks it either means the plain or valley of Damascus, or Damascus itself, so called because divided and surrounded by the Chrysorroas, as one of the Aroers was by the Arnon (Josh. 12 : 2). It is now commonly agreed that the place meant is the northern Aroer east of Jordan, and that *its cities* are the towns around it and perhaps dependent on it. An analogous expression is the *cities of Heshbon* (Jos. 13 : 17). Knobel, however, understands the phrase to mean *the cities*

Aroer, i. e. both the towns of that name, put for all the towns east of Jordan, on account of the resemblance of the name to ערה, and perhaps with allusion to the sense of *nakedness*, belonging to the root. Thus understood, this verse predicts the desolation of Ephraim and not of Syria. It is possible, however, that as well on account of their contiguity, as of the league between them, they are here, as in ch. 7: 16, confounded or intentionally merged in one. At all times, it is probable, the boundaries between these adjacent states were fluctuating and uncertain. This accounts for the fact that the same place is spoken of at different times as belonging to Israel, to Moab, to Ammon, and to Syria. *Forsaken* probably means emptied of their people and left desolate. There is then a specific reference to deportation and exile.

V. 3. *Then shall cease defence from Ephraim and royalty from Damascus and the rest of Syria. Like the glory of the children of Israel shall they be, saith Jehovah of Hosts.* מבצר may be taken in its usual specific sense of a fortified place, meaning either Damascus (as a protection of the ten tribes) or Samaria (Mic. 1: 5). Some disregard the masoretic interpunction, and connect *the rest of Syria* with the verb in the last clause: *the rest of Syria shall be* etc. שאר may either mean the whole of Syria besides Damascus, or the *remnant* left by the Assyrian invaders. The latter agrees best with the terms of the comparison. What was left of Syria should resemble what was left of the glory of Israel. Houbigant and Lowth gratuitously read שאת *pride*, in order to obtain a parallel expression to כבוד. The *glory of Israel* is not Samaria, nor does it denote wealth or population exclusively, but all that constitutes the greatness of a people. (Vide supra, ch. 5: 14.) Jerome and others regard *glory* as an ironical and sarcastic expression; but it seems to mean simply what is left of their former glory.

V. 4. *And it shall be* (or come to pass) *in that day, the glory of Jacob shall be brought low* (or made weak), *and the fatness of his flesh shall be made lean.* This is not a mere transition from Syria to Ephraim, nor a mere extension of the previous threatenings to the latter, but an explanation of the comparison in the verse preceding. The remnant of Ephraim was to be like the glory of Israel; but how was that? This verse contains the answer. *Glory*, as before, includes all that constitutes the strength of a people, and is here contrasted with a state of weakness. The same idea is expressed in the last clause by the figure of emaciation. The image, as Gill says, is that of "a man in a consumption, that is become a mere skeleton, and reduced to skin and bones." *Jacob* does not mean Judah (Eichhorn) but the ten tribes. Hendewerk refers the suffix in the last clause to כבוד, and infers that the latter must denote a human subject. Junius regards the

sentence as unfinished: 'in the day when the glory etc. then it shall be (v. 5) etc.' Cocceius makes this the beginning of a promise of deliverance to Judah; 'in that day, it is true (quidem), the glory of Jacob shall be reduced etc. but (v. 5) etc. Both these constructions supply something not expressed, and gratuitously suppose a sentence of unusual length.

V. 5. *And it shall be like the gathering of* (or *as one gathers*) *the harvest, the standing corn, and his arm reaps the ears. And it shall be like one collecting ears in the valley of Rephaim.* The first verb is not to be rendered *he shall be* (i. e. Israel, or the king of Assyria), but to be construed impersonally, *it shall be* or *come to pass*. Some suppose the first clause to describe the act of reaping, and the second that of gleaning. Others regard both as descriptive of the same act, a particular place being mentioned in the last clause to give life to the description. The valley of Rephaim or the Giants extends from Jerusalem to the south-west in the direction of Bethlehem. There is a difference of opinion as to the purpose for which it is here mentioned. Aben Ezra and Ewald suppose it to be named as a barren spot, producing scanty harvests, and gleanings in proportion. Most writers, on the contrary, assume it to have been remarkably fertile. Vitringa imagines at the same time an allusion to the level surface, as admitting of a more complete and thorough clearing by the reaper than uneven grounds. If we consider the passage without reference to imaginary facts, the most natural conclusion is that the valley of Rephaim was mentioned as a spot near to Jerusalem and well known to the people, for the purpose of giving a specific character to the general description or allusion of the first clause. There is no proof that it was remarkable either for fertility or barrenness. Some of the commentators represent it as now waste; but Robinson speaks of it, *en passant*, as "the cultivated valley or plain of Rephaim." (Palestine I. 323.) Some refer אסף to the act of gathering the stalks in one hand, in order to cut them with the other; but this is a needless refinement. The Hebrew verb probably denotes the whole act of reaping. There are several different ways of construing קציר. Some make קמה agree with it as a feminine noun (*the standing harvest*), which is contrary to usage. Umbreit explains it as an adverb of time (*in harvest*), which is very forced. Gesenius adopts Aben Ezra's explanation of the word as equivalent in meaning to קֹצֵר or אִישׁ קָצִיר. Some make קציר itself a verbal noun analogous in form and sense to שריד פלט etc. Ewald makes the season of harvest (Erntezeit) the subject of the verb; *as when the harvest-season gathers* etc. Perhaps the simplest supposition is that קָמָה is in apposition with קָצִיר, not as a mere synonyme, but as a more specific term, *the crop, the standing corn*. The suffix in זרועו then refers to the indefinite subject of the first clause. According to Cocceius, the point of the com-

parison is the care and skill with which the grain is gathered to be stored away; in like manner God would cause his people to be gathered for their preservation. All other writers understand the figures as denoting the completeness of the judgment threatened against Israel.

V. 6. *And gleanings shall be left therein like the beating* (or *shaking*) *of an olive tree, two* (*or*) *three berries in the top of a high bough, four* (*or*) *five in the branches of the fruit-tree, saith Jehovah God of Israel.* There is here an allusion to the custom of beating the unripe olives from the tree for the purpose of making oil. Those described as left may either be the few left to ripen for eating, or the few overlooked by the gatherer or beyond his reach. The common version of עללות (*gleaning grapes*) is too restricted, and presents the incongruity of grapes upon an olive-tree. The transition from the figure of a harvest to that of an olive-gathering may be intended simply to vary and multiply the images, or, as Hitzig supposes, to complete the illustration which would otherwise have been defective, because the reaper is followed by the gleaner who completes the ingathering at once, whereas the olive-gatherer leaves some of course. The verb נשאר is masculine and singular, as in many other cases where the subject follows. The suffix in בו refers of course to Jacob or Israel, i. e. the ten tribes. Two, three, four, and five, are used, as in other languages, for an indefinite small number or *a few*. All interpreters agree that the idea of height is essentially included in אמיר. Aben Ezra connects it with the Arabic امير (Emir) from which, says Gill, "the word amiral or admiral comes." Most writers give the Hebrew the specific sense of high or highest branch; Henderson that of lofty tree; Gesenius the more general sense of top or summit, in order to accommodate his explanation of the same word in v. 9. The combination *head of the top* would then be emphatic, though unusual and scarcely natural. The suffix in סעפיה is treated by Gesenius as superfluous, and by others as belonging proleptically to the next word. Some of the older writers make פריה agree with it (*in its fruitful branches*), but the words differ both in gender and number. The latest writers seem to be agreed that the expression literally means *in the branches of it, the fruit-tree*, the *it* being unnecessary in any other idiom. The irregularity is wholly but arbitrarily removed by Hitzig's division of the words סעפי הפריה. This verse is regarded by Cocceius as a promise to the people, by others as a promise to the pious Jews and especially to Hezekiah, but by most interpreters as describing the extent to which the threatened judgment would be carried. Thegleanings, then, are not the pious remnant, but the ignoble refuse who survived the deportation of the ten tribes by the Assyrians.

V. 7. *In that day man shall turn to his Maker, and his eyes to the Holy One of Israel shall look.* Grotius and Junius make this an advice or

exhortation—*let him look*—but there is no ground for departing from the strict sense of the words as a prediction. שעה על occurs again below (ch. 31 : 1) in the sense of looking to any one for help, which implies trust or confidence. The Septuagint accordingly has here πεποιθώς. Jarchi explains the phrase as equivalent to יפנה אל. The article before אדם gives it a generic not a specific sense. It does not therefore mean *every man* or the people in general (Barnes), but *man* indefinitely. It is commonly agreed that *Maker* is here used in a pregnant sense to describe God, not merely as the natural creator of mankind, but as the maker of Israel, the author of their privileges, and their covenant God. (Compare Deut. 32 : 6.) The same idea is expressed by the parallel phrase, *Holy One of Israel*, for the import of which vide supra, ch. 1 : 4. Some refer this verse partially or wholly to the times of the New Testament, others more correctly to the effect of the preceding judgments on the ten tribes of Israel. It is matter of history, that after the Assyrian conquest and the general deportation of the people, many accepted Hezekiah's invitation and returned to the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem (2 Chron. 30 : 11); and this reformation is alluded to as still continued in the times of Josiah (2 Chron. 34 : 9). At the same time the words may be intended to suggest that a similar effect might be expected to result from similar causes in later times.

V. 8. *And he shall not turn* (or *look*) *to the altars, the work of his own hands, and that which his own fingers have made shall he not regard, and the groves* (or *images of Ashtoreth*) *and the pillars* (or *images*) *of the sun.* The positive declaration of the preceding verse is negatively expressed in this, with a particular mention of the objects which had usurped the place of God. Kimchi's superficial observation, that even God's altar was the work of men's hands, and that this phrase must therefore denote idols, is adopted by Clericus (aras erectas operi manuum) and by Lowth, who observes that "all the ancient versions and most of the modern have mistaken it," and then goes on to say that מעשה is not in apposition with מזבחות but governed by it; a construction precluded by the definite article before the latter word. The true explanation is that given by Calvin, and adopted by most later writers, viz. that idol-altars are described as the work of men's hands, because erected by their sole authority, whereas the altar at Jerusalem was, in the highest sense, the work of God himself. Vitringa arbitrarily explains the next clause (*what their fingers have made*) as synonymous neither with what goes before nor with what follows, but as denoting the *household gods* of the idolaters. The old writers take אשרים always in the sense of *groves*, i. e. such as were used for idol-worship. It has been shown, however, by Selden, Spencer, Gesenius, and others, that in some places this sense is inadmissible, as when the אשרה is said to have

stood upon an altar, or under a tree, or to have been brought out of a temple (1 Kings 14 : 23. 2 Chron. 34 : 4). The modern writers, therefore, understand it as denoting the goddess of fortune or happiness (from אשר to be prosperous), otherwise called *Ashtoreth*, the Phenician Venus, extensively worshipped in conjunction with Baal. But according to Movers, the Hebrew word denotes a straight or upright pillar. Ewald adheres to the old interpretation (Götzenhainer). חמנמים is a derivative of חַמָּה, which properly means solar heat, but is poetically used to denote the sun itself. This obvious etymology, and the modern discovery of Punic cippi inscribed to בעל חמן, *Baal the Sun* (or *Solar*), lead to the conclusion that the word before us signifies images of Baal, worshipped as the representative of the sun. From the same etymology, Montanus derives the meaning, *loca aprica*, and Junius that of *statuas subdiales*. The explanation of the word, as meaning suns or solar images, is as old as Kimchi.

V. 9. *In that day shall his fortified cities be like what is left in the thicket and the lofty branch*, (namely the cities) *which they leave* (as they retire) *from before the children of Israel, and* (the land) *shall be a waste.* It is universally agreed that the desolation of the ten tribes is here described by a comparison, but as to the precise form and meaning of the sentence there is great diversity of judgment. Some suppose the strongest towns to be here represented as no better defended than an open forest. Others on the contrary understand the strong towns alone to be left, the others being utterly destroyed. עזובת is variously understood to mean *what is left of* and *what is left in*. Hitzig and Hendewerk make *Horesh* and *Amir* proper names, the former identical with *Harosheth-goim* (Judges 4 : 2, 13, 16), the latter with the Ἀμίρυθα of Josephus or the Ἀνέρθ of Eusebius. Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion all retained the word אמיר, and Theodotion חרש also. The Septuagint renders the words οἱ Ἀμορῥαῖοι καὶ οἱ Εὐαῖοι. For the first the Peshito has *Heres*. The last two versions Vitringa connects by a reference to the statement (Judg. 1 : 35) that *the Amorites would dwell in Mount Heres*. Ewald explains the Septuagint version on the ground that the old Canaanites divided themselves into the two great classes of Amorites (mountaineers), and Hittites (lowlanders) or Hivites (villagers). Jerome translates the words *aratra et segetes*. Cappellus also has *arationis*. Most writers give אמיר the sense it has in v. 6, and חרש that of a thick forest, or more specifically its underwood or thickets. Here as before, Henderson understands by אמיר a high tree, and Gesenius the summit of a hill. From the combination of these various verbal explanations have arisen two principal interpretations of the whole verse, or at least of the comparison which it contains. The first supposes the forsaken cities of Ephraim to be here compared with those which the Canaanites forsook when they fled before

the Israelites under Joshua, or with the forests which the Israelites left unoccupied after the conquest of the country. The same essential meaning is retained by others who suppose the prophet to allude to the overthrow of Sisera by Deborah and Barak. The other interpretation supposes no historical allusion, but a comparison of the approaching desolation with the neglected branches of a tree or forest that is felled, or a resumption of the figure of the olive-tree in v. 6. This last is strongly recommended by its great simplicity, by its superseding all gratuitous assumptions beyond what is expressed, and by its taking אמיר in the same sense which it has above. Another disputed point is the construction of אשר, which some refer to the immediate antecedent, others less simply but more correctly to ערי מעוזו.

V. 10. *Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and the Rock of thy strength hast not remembered, therefore thou wilt plant plants of pleasantness* (or pleasant plantations) *and with a strange slip set it.* Some render כי at the beginning *for*, and understand the first clause as giving a reason for what goes before; but the emphatic על כן in the second clause seems to require that כי should have the meaning of *because*, and introduce the reason for what follows. The sense, then, is not merely that because they forgot God they were desolate, but that because they forgot God they fell into idolatry, and on that account were given up to desolation. Some regard the second clause of this verse and the whole of the next as a description of their punishment. Because they forgot God, they should sow and plant, but only for others; the fruit should be gathered not by themselves but by their enemies (*Barbarus has segetes et culta novalia habebit*). Others suppose the description of the sin to be continued through this verse and the first clause of the next. Because they forgot God, they planted to please themselves, and introduced strange plants into their vineyard. On the latter hypothesis, the planting is a metaphor for the culture and propagation of corrupt opinions and practices, especially idolatry and illicit intercourse with heathen nations. According to the other view, the planting is to be literally understood, and the evil described is the literal fulfilment of the threatening in Deut. 28: 39. The latter sense is given by most of the early writers. Cocceius, who seems first to have proposed the other, thought it necessary to translate תטע as a preterite (plantabas), which is ungrammatical and arbitrary. The same general sense may be attained without departing from the future form, by making the last clause of v. 10 a prediction of what they would hereafter do, without excluding the idea that they had done so already, and were actually doing it. It is not even necessary to read with Grotius *quamvis plantaveris*, or with Henderson *thou mayest plant*, or with Umbreit *lass nur wachsen*, although these translations really convey the true sense of the clause. It is urged as an objection to the older

and more literal interpretation, that the evil threatened is too insignificant for such a context. This objection might be abated by supposing the fruitless cultivation to be not strictly literal, but a figure for disappointment or labour in vain generally. On the whole, however, it seems best to acquiesce in the opinion now very commonly adopted, that the planting here described is the sin of the people, not their punishment. Jerome confounds נעמנים with נאמנים, *fideles*, i. e. not disappointing expectation. The Septuagint strangely gives an opposite meaning (*φύτευμα ἄπιστον*), which is regarded by some as a mere blunder, by others as an arbitrary change, and by others as an error in the text. The older writers make the Hebrew word an adjective agreeing with *vines*, *fruits*, or some other noun understood. It is now commonly explained as an abstract, meaning pleasantness, and the whole phrase as equivalent to pleasant or favourite plants. A similar construction occurs in the last clause, where *slip* or *shoot of a stranger* is equivalent to a *strange slip* or *shoot*. Those who think a literal planting to be meant, understand *strange* to signify exotic, foreign, and by implication valuable, costly; but upon the supposition that a moral or spiritual planting is intended, זר has its frequent emphatic sense of *alien from God*, i. e. *wicked*, or more specifically *idolatrous*. Cocceius takes תזרע as the third person, which is forbidden by the preceding second person תטע. The suffix in the last word may be most naturally referred to *vineyard*, *garden*, or a like word understood. J. D. Michaelis and others suppose an allusion in this last clause to the process of grafting with a view to the improvement of the stock. The foreign growth introduced is understood by some to be idolatry, by others foreign alliance; but these two things, as we have seen before, were inseparably blended in the history and policy of Israel. (Vide supra, ch. 2: 6–8.)

V. 11. *In the day of thy planting thou wilt hedge it in, and in the morning thou wilt make thy seed to blossom,* (but) *away flies the crop in a day of grief and desperate sorrow.* The older writers derive תשגשגי from שגג, and explain it to mean *cause to grow*. The modern lexicographers assume a root שׂוּג equivalent to שׂוּךְ, to enclose with a hedge. Either sense is appropriate as describing a part of the process of culture. *In the morning* is commonly explained as an idiomatic phrase for *early*, which some refer to the rapidity of growth, and others to the assiduity of the cultivator, neither of which senses is exclusive of the other. נֶד is elsewhere a noun meaning a *heap*, and is so explained here by the older writers: *the harvest* (shall be) *a heap*, i. e. a small or insufficient one. Vitringa derives נֶד from נוּד, to lament, and translates it *comploratio*. Others give it the sense of *shaking*, *agitation*. Gesenius and the later writers make it the preterite of נוּד to flee (in form like מֵת). נַחֲלָה, as pointed in the common text, is a noun

meaning inheritance, possession, and most of the older writers understand בְּיוֹם נַחֲלָה to mean *in the day of expected possession.* The latest writers for the most part read נַחֲלָה which is properly the passive participle of חָלָה, but is used as a noun in the sense of *deadly wound* or *disease*, here employed as a figure for extreme distress. Even Jarchi explains it by the phrase יום צרה. The same idea is expressed by כְּאַב אָנוּשׁ, which the Seventy seem to have read כְּאַב אֱנוֹשׁ, *like the father of a man.* Kimchi appears to assume an antithesis in each of these verses between the original and degenerate state of Israel: at first thou didst plant pleasant plants, but now thou hast set strange slips; at first thou didst make it to flourish, but now the harvest etc. This, though ingenious, is entirely arbitrary and gratuitous. The usual and simple construction of the sentence gives a perfectly good sense.

V. 12. *Hark! the noise of many nations! Like the noise of the sea they make a noise. And the rush of peoples! Like the rush of mighty waters they are rushing.* The diversity of judgments, as to the connexion of these verses (12–14) with the context, has been already stated in the introduction. By different interpreters they are explained, as a direct continuation of the foregoing prophecy (J. D. Michaelis)—as a later addition or appendix to it (Hitzig)—as a fragment of a larger poem (Rosenmüller)—as an independent prophecy (Lowth)—as the beginning of that contained in the next chapter (Gesenius)—and as equally connected with what goes before and follows (Vitringa). That the passage is altogether broken and detached, and unconnected with what goes before (Barnes), it is as easy to deny as to affirm. On the whole, the safest ground to assume is that already stated in the introduction, viz. that the two chapters form a single prophecy or prophetic picture of the doom awaiting all the enemies of Judah, with particular allusion to particular enemies in certain parts. הוי is variously explained as a particle of cursing (Luther), of pity for the sufferings of God's people (Calvin), of wonder (Hitzig), or of simple invocation (Vitringa). Henderson understands it as directing attention to the sound described, which the prophet is supposed to be actually hearing, an idea which Augusti happily expresses by translating the word *hark!* This descriptive character of the passage allows and indeed requires the verbs to be translated in the present tense. המון most frequently denotes a *multitude;* but here, being connected with the future and infinitive of its root (המה), it seems to have its primary sense of *noise* or *tumult.* רבים may either denote *great* (Luther) or *many* (Calvin); but the latter is preferred by most interpreters, and is most in accordance with the usage of the word. שאון is not simply noise or sound (Montanus), but more specifically a *roaring* (Lowth) or a *rushing* (Augusti). The sense of *storm* (Cocceius) is not sufficiently sustained by usage. The nations meant are not Gog and Magog (Castalio), nor Syria

and Israel (Clericus), nor their allies and abettors (Grotius), but all the hostile nations by whom Israel was scourged (Jarchi), with particular reference to Assyria, and especially to the army of Sennacherib. The application of the verse by most interpreters to these last alone is too exclusive ; much more that of Gill to the "hectoring, blustering, and blaspheming speeches of Sennacherib and Rabshakeh." To the poetical images of this verse a beautiful parallel is adduced by Clericus from Ovid's Metamorphoses (XV. 604):

> Qualia fluctus
> Aequorei faciunt, si quis procul audiat ipsos,
> Tale sonat populus.

V. 13. *Nations, like the rush of many waters, rush ; and he rebukes it, and it flees from afar, and is chased like the chaff of hills before a wind, and like a rolling thing before a whirlwind.* The genuineness of the first clause is questioned by Lowth and Gesenius, because it is a repetition of what goes before and is omitted in the Peshito and several manuscripts. Hendewerk and Knobel, on the contrary, pronounce it not only genuine but full of emphasis, and Henderson describes it as a pathetic repetition. Thus the same expressions, which one critic thinks unworthy of a place in the text, are regarded by another as rhetorical beauties, an instructive illustration of the fluctuating and uncertain nature of conjectural criticism founded on the taste of individual interpreters. Luther and Augusti insert *yes* (ja) at the beginning of the verse, which, though unnecessary, indicates the true connexion. The verb גָּעַר is often used in reference to God's control of the elements, denoting, as Gataker observes, a real rather than a verbal rebuke. Ewald, on the contrary, supposes the emphasis to lie in God's subduing the elemental strife by a bare word. The suffix in בּוֹ, and the verbs נָס and רֻדַּף, being all in the singular number, are referred by Hitzig to אַשּׁוּר, but more naturally by most other writers to Sennacherib, or his host considered as an individual. Knobel makes the suffix collective, as in ch. 5 : 26, and regards the singular verbs as equivalent to plurals. By using the neuter pronoun *it* in English, and making the verbs agree with it in number, the peculiar form of the original may be retained without additional obscurity. The subjunctive construction given by Junius (ut fugiat) and some others, is a needless departure from the idiomatic form of the original. The expression *from afar*, is explained by Kimchi as meaning that the fugitive, having reached a distant point, would flee *from it* still further. Vitringa understands it to mean that he would flee while human enemies were still at a distance. Most of the modern writers suppose *from* to be used, by a peculiar Hebrew idiom, as *to* would be employed in other languages. (See Nordheimer, § 1046, IV. 1.) Kimchi sees in רֻדַּף an allusion to the destroying angel. (Comp. Ps. 35 : 5, 6.) מֹץ is not dust or straw, but chaff

or stubble. Mountains, according to Gataker, are here contrasted with threshing-floors; but these were commonly on hills or knolls where the wind blows freely. According to Jarchi, גַּלְגַּל is a ball of thistle-down; according to Gill, "a round wisp of straw or stubble." Junius translates it *rota*, Cocceius *vortex*, Lowth *gossamer*. All these interpretations are too definite. Calvin explains it in accordance with its etymology, as meaning *rem volubilem*, any thing blown round by the wind. This is also not improbably the meaning of the Vulgate version, *sicut turbo coram tempestate*. The common version, *rolling thing*, may therefore be retained. While there seems to be an obvious allusion to the flight of Sennacherib and the remnant of his host (ch. 37: 36, 37), the terms are so selected as to admit of a wider application to all Jehovah's enemies, and thus prepare the way for the general declaration in the following verse.

V. 14. *At evening-tide, and behold terror; before morning he is not. This is* (or *be*) *the portion of our plunderers, and the lot of our spoilers.* According to Piscator, these are the words of the people; according to Henderson, their shout of exultation in the morning of their deliverance. Gill says the Prophet and the people speak together. There is no need, however, of departing from the simple supposition that the Prophet is the speaker, and that he uses the plural pronouns only to identify himself with the people. On account of the ו before חִנָּה, some think it necessary to supply a verb before לְעֵת, (they shall come) in the evening. The English Version, on the same ground, transfers *and behold* to the beginning of the sentence. But nothing is more common in the Hebrew idiom than the use of *and* after specifications of time. (See Gesenius § 152, *a.*) In many cases it must be omitted in English, or exchanged for *then;* but in the present instance it may be retained. Luther renders לְ *about* (um), Ewald *towards* (gegen), but Gesenius and most other writers *at* (zu), which is the simpler version, and the one most agreeable to usage. *Tide* is an old English word for *time*, identical in origin with the German *Zeit*. Lowth awkwardly substitutes *at the season of evening*. בַּלָּהָה is not merely *trouble*, but *terror*, *consternation*. Vitringa renders it still more strongly *horror*, and Ewald *Todesschrecken*. Cocceius has *nebula*, founded on an erroneous etymology. The reference of אֵינֶנּוּ to בַּלָּהָה, it (the terror) is no more, is ungrammatical, the latter being feminine. Gesenius, Hitzig, and Henderson have *they are no more*. Most writers suppose a specific allusion to Sennacherib or his host. It is best, at all events, to retain the singular form of the original as being more expressive and poetical. The paraphrastic versions, *he shall no more be present* (J. H. Michaelis), *he is vanished* (Ewald), *there is no more any trace of him* (Augusti), and the like, are all not only less exact but weaker than the literal translation, *he is not*. Lowth

inserts ו before אינני on the authority of several manuscripts and three ancient versions, thereby restoring, as he says, "the true poetical form," by obtaining a more exact parallel to יהנה. Umbreit and others suppose night and morning to be here combined in the sense of a very short time, as in Ps. 30 : 5, *Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.* (Compare Ps. 90 : 6.) Most interpreters, however, suppose an allusion to the destruction of Sennacherib's army in a single night. Of these some, with Aben Ezra, understand by בַּלָּהָה the terror of the Jews on the eve of that event, relieved in the morning by the sight of the dead bodies. Others, with Jarchi, understand by it the sudden consternation of the Assyrians themselves when attacked by the destroying angel. Jarchi seems, moreover, to refer this panic to the agency of demons (שדים). The allusion to Sennacherib is denied by Grotius, Clericus, and Rosenmüller, the first two supposing Syria or Syria and Israel to be the only subject of the prophecy. Gesenius and Knobel arbitrarily assert that the history of the slaughter of Sennacherib's army is a *mythus* founded on this prophecy. The only reason why this assertion cannot be refuted is because it is a mere assertion. Before such license of conjecture and invention neither history nor prophecy can stand a moment. The correct view of the verse before us seems to be, that while the imagery is purposely suited to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army, the description is intended to include other cases of deliverance granted to God's people by the sudden and complete destruction of their enemies. Calvin supposes this more general sense to be expressed by the figure of a storm at night which ceases before morning. 'Quemadmodum tempestas, vesperi excitata et paulo post sedata, mane nulla est amplius, ideo futurum ut hostibus dispulsis redeat subito praeter spem laeta serenitas.' Not content with this comprehensive exposition, Cocceius, true to his peculiar principles of exegesis, specifies as subjects of the prophecy the whole series of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, Antiochus Epiphanes, the persecuting Jews, Nero, Domitian, Chosroes king of Persia, and the persecuting kings of France and England, adding, not without reason after such a catalogue, 'utile est, cumprimis studiosis theologiae, historiam ecclesiae et hostium ejus non ignorare.' The substantive verb being suppressed, as usual, in the last clause of the verse, it may be either an affirmation of a general fact, or an expression of desire, as in the close of Deborah and Barak's song, *so let all thine enemies perish, oh Jehovah* (Judges 5 : 31). The first explanation is in this case more obvious and natural, and is accordingly preferred by most interpreters.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The two great powers of western Asia, in the days of Isaiah, were Assyria and Egypt or Ethiopia, the last two being wholly or partially united under Tirhakah, whose name and exploits are recorded in Egyptian monuments still extant, and who is expressly said in Scripture (2 Kings 19 : 9) to have come out against Sennacherib. With one or the other of these great contending powers, Judah was commonly confederate, and of course at war with the other. Hezekiah is explicitly reproached by Rabshakeh (Is. 36 : 9) with relying upon Egypt, i. e. the Ethiopico-egyptian empire. These historical facts, together with the mention of Cush in v. 1, and the appropriateness of the figures in vs. 4, 5, to the destruction of Sennacherib's army, give great probability to the hypothesis now commonly adopted, that the Prophet here announces that event to Ethiopia, as about to be effected by a direct interposition of Jehovah, and without human aid. On this supposition, although not without its difficulties, the chapter before us is much clearer in itself and in its connexion with the one before it, than if we assume with some interpreters, both Jews and Christians, that it relates to the restoration of the Jews, or to the overthrow of the Egyptians or Ethiopians themselves as the enemies of Israel. At the same time, some of the expressions here employed admit of so many interpretations, that it is best to give the whole as wide an application as the language will admit, on the ground before suggested, that it constitutes a part of a generic prophecy or picture of God's dealings with the foes of his people, including illustrations drawn from particular events, such as the downfall of Syria and Israel, and the slaughter of Sennacherib's army.

The Prophet first invites the attention of the Ethiopians and of the whole world to a great catastrophe as near at hand, vs. 1–3. He then describes the catastrophe itself, by the beautiful figure of a vine or vineyard suffered to blossom and bear fruit, and then, when almost ready to be gathered, suddenly destroyed, vs. 4–6. In consequence of this event, the same people, who had been invoked in the beginning of the chapter, are described as bringing presents to Jehovah at Jerusalem, v. 7.

V. 1. *Ho! land of rustling wings, which art beyond the rivers of Cush* (or Ethiopia)! הוֹי is rendered *woe!* by the Septuagint, Cocceius, and Paulus, *hark!* by Augusti, but by most other writers, as a particle of calling, *ho!* or *ha!* צִלְצַל is explained by some as an intensive or frequentative form of צֵל a *shadow*, in which sense it is rendered by the Peshito and

Aquila (*σκιὰ πτερύγων*)—here used as a figure for protection (Calvin)—or in allusion to the shadow cast by a double chain of mountains (Saadias, Abulwalid, Grotius, Junius, Vitringa, Dathe)—or to the opposite direction of the shadows in winter and summer under the tropics (Vogt, Aurivillius, Eichhorn, Knobel)—a circumstance particularly mentioned in connexion with Meroe by Pliny (in Meroe bis anno absumi umbras), Lucan (donec umbras extendat Meroe), and other ancient writers. Knobel takes כנפים in the sense of *sides* (ch. 30: 20. 11: 12. Ez. 7: 2), and supposes the expression to have been suggested by the common phrase *shadow of wings* (Ps. 17: 8. 36: 8. 57: 2. 63: 8). But as the double form צלצל in every other case has reference to sound, some suppose an allusion to the noise made by the locusts, one of the names of which in Hebrew is צְלָצַל (Paulus, J. D. Michaelis)—some to the rushing sound of rivers (Umbreit)—others to the clash of arms or other noises made by armies on the march, here called *wings* by a common figure (Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Maurer, Hendewerk). But Knobel denies that כנף, absolutely used, can signify an army. The plural צלצלים is elsewhere used in the sense of *cymbals*, and the Vulgate here has *terrae cymbalo alarum*. Bochart, Huet, Clericus, and Lowth, suppose the word to be here applied to the Egyptian *sistrum*, a species of cymbal, consisting of a rim or frame of metal, with metallic rods or plates passing through and across it, the extremities of which might be poetically called wings. From the resemblance of the ancient ships to cymbals, or of their sails to wings, or from both together, the phrase before us is applied to ships by the Septuagint (*πλοίων πτέρυγες*), Targum, Kimchi, and Ewald (o Land geflügelter Kähne!).—The relative אשר is construed with the nearest antecedent כנפים by Cocceius and J. H. Michaelis, but by most other writers with the remoter antecedent ארץ. מעבר ל is understood to mean *on this side* by Vitringa, Hitzig and Hendewerk—*on that side* or *beyond* by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Umbreit, and most of the older writers—*at the side* or *along* by Saadias, Grotius, Junius, Lowth, Barnes, Ewald, Knobel, and others. *Cush* is supposed by Wahl to mean *Chusistan* or *Turan*, both here and in Gen. 2: 13—by Bochart, Ethiopia and the opposite part of Arabia, but by Gesenius and the later writers, Ethiopia alone. The *rivers of Cush* are supposed by some to be the Nile and its branches—by others, the Astaboras, Astapus, and Astasobas, mentioned by Strabo as the rivers of Meroe, which last name Knobel traces to the Ethiopic root רור as he does the Hebrew *Saba* to the synonymous סבא, both implying an abundant irrigation. The country thus described is understood by Cyril, Jerome, Bochart, Vitringa, and Lowth, to be Egypt; by most other writers Ethiopia; but by Knobel, Saba or Meroe, a region contiguous to Ethiopia and watered by its rivers, often mentioned with it but distinguished from it (Gen. 10: 7. Isa. 43: 3. 45: 14). Besides the usual construction of the

first clause, may be mentioned that of Döderlein, Hensler, and Dereser, who make צלצל a verb (er schwirrt), and that of Augusti; 'hearken, oh land, to the rushing of his wings who is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia.'

V. 2. *Sending by sea ambassadors, and in vessels of papyrus on the face of the waters. Go ye light* (or *swift*) *messengers, to a nation drawn and shorn, to a people terrible since it existed and onwards, a nation of double strength, and trampling, whose land the streams divide.* Nearly every word and phrase of this difficult verse has been the subject of discordant explanations. הַשֹּׁלֵחַ is translated in the second person (thou that sendest) by Cocceius, Clericus, Vitringa, and Henderson, by most other writers in the third. It refers not to God but to the people mentioned in v. 1. Vitringa construes it with עם understood, Gesenius with ארץ in the sense of עם, and therefore masculine. ים is variously explained to mean the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Nile (Is. 19 : 5. Nah. 3 : 8). Bochart takes צירים in the sense of *images*, supposing an allusion to the Egyptian practice, mentioned by Cyril, Procopius, and Lucian, of sending an image of Osiris annually on the surface of the sea to Byblus in Phenicia. The Septuagint renders the word hostages (ὅμηρα); but all the latest writers are agreed in giving it the sense of ambassadors, to wit, those sent to Ethiopia, or from Ethiopia to Judah. The next phrase is rendered in the Septuagint, ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας, but is now universally explained to mean vessels made of the papyrus plant, the use of which upon the Nile is expressly mentioned by Theophrastus, Pliny, Lucan, and Plutarch. The second clause of the verse (לכו etc.) is regarded by some writers as the language of the people who had just been addressed, as if he had said, 'sending ambassadors (and saying to them) go etc.' More probably, however, the Prophet is still speaking in the name of God. The following epithets are applied by some to the Jews, and supposed to be descriptive of their degraded and oppressed condition. Gesenius and the later writers apply them to the Ethiopians and make them descriptive of their warlike qualities. ממשך according to usage means drawn or drawn out, which is applied by some to the shape of the country, by others to the numbers engaged in foreign war, by the Septuagint and Hitzig to the stature of the people. This meaning is rejected by Gesenius in his Commentary, but approved in his Thesaurus. The meanings convulsed (Vulgate) and torn (Luther) are not justified by usage. Those of ancient, inaccessible, and scattered, are entirely conjectural. מורט for מגורם properly denotes shorn or shaven, and is applied by some to the Egyptian and Ethiopian practice of shaving the head and beard, while others understand it as a figure for robbery and spoliation. Some understand it to mean smoothed or smooth, and by implication beautiful. Others apply it to the character, and take it in the sense of

brave or fierce. מִן הוּא is by some applied to time, from the first and hitherto, from the earliest time; from this time, by others to place, from this place and onward. Many interpreters make it comparative, more terrible than this, or than any other, more terrible than this and further off. In favour of applying it to time, are the analogous expressions in 1 Sam. 18: 9, while 1 Sam. 20: 22 justifies the local sense. קַו־קַו is explained by Clericus to be the proper name of the Egyptian plant called *kiki*. Most writers take it in its usual sense of line, i. e. as some suppose, a rule or precept, the people being described as burdened with superstitious rites; according to others, a measuring line, meted out or meting out others to destruction; according to a third class, a boundary line, enlarging its boundaries. Some make it mean *on every side* and others *by degrees*, in both cases qualifying that which follows. But the latest German writers make the word identical with the Arabic قَوٌّ meaning power, the reduplication signifying double strength. מְבוּסָה must then have an active sense, a people of trampling, i. e. trampling on their enemies. Those who apply the description to the Jews give the word of course a passive sense, a people trampled on by their oppressors. By rivers, in the last clause, some suppose nations to be meant, or the Assyrians in particular; but most writers understand it literally as a description of the country. בָּזְאוּ is explained by the Rabbins as a synonyme of בָּזַז, to spoil or plunder, and a few manuscripts read בָּזְזוּ. Others give the verb the sense of nourishing, watering, overflowing, washing away, promising; but the best sense is that of cutting up, cutting through, or simply dividing, in allusion to the abundant irrigation of Ethiopia. Vitringa supposes this clause to refer to the annual overflowing of the Nile, and the one before it to the Egyptian practice of treading the grain into the soil when softened by the inundation.

V. 3. *All ye inhabitants of the world and dwellers on the earth shall see as it were the raising of a standard on the mountains, and shall hear as it were the blowing of a trumpet.* Another construction, more generally adopted, makes the verbs imperative, and the כ a particle of time, as it usually is before the infinitive. So the English Version: *see ye when he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains, and when he bloweth a trumpet hear ye.* There seems, however, to be no sufficient reason for departing from the strict translation of the verbs as future; and if this be retained, it is better to make כ a particle of comparison. In either case, the verse invites the attention of the world to some great event. The restricted explanation of תֵּבֵל and אֶרֶץ, as meaning *land* or *country*, is entirely arbitrary. According to Vitringa, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and Maurer, the signals meant are those of the Assyrian invader, or those announcing his destruction; but according to Döderlein, Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Knobel, the signals by means of which the Ethiopians would collect their forces.

V. 4. *For thus said* (or *saith*) *Jehovah to me, I will rest* (remain quiet), *and will look on* (as a mere spectator) *in my dwelling place, like a serene heat upon herbs, like a cloud of dew* (or dewy cloud), *in the heat of harvest* (i. e. the heat preceding harvest, or the heat by which the crop is ripened). This verse assigns a reason for the preceding invitation to attend. The obvious meaning of the figure is, that God would let the enemy proceed in the execution of his purposes until they were nearly accomplished. Gesenius and the later writers explain כ before חם and עב as a particle of time, 'during the heat and dewy cloud' i. e. the summer season. This use of the particle, which is very common before the infinitive, is rare and doubtful before nouns, and ought not to be assumed without necessity. According to this construction, the words merely indicate the time of God's apparent inaction. If we give the כ its proper sense as a comparative particle, the meaning seems to be that he would not only abstain from interfering with the enemy, but would even favour his success to a certain point, as dew and sunshine would promote the growth of plants. The latest writers give to אור the sense of sunshine, and explain the whole phrase to mean the clear or genial heat which accompanies the sunshine and is produced by it. But as this requires the preposition (עַל־) to be taken in an unusual sense, it is better perhaps to regard אֵיד as synonymous with אֵידָה, herb or herbage. Some of the Rabbins explain אור, here and in Job 36: 22. 37: 11, as meaning *rain* (*like clear heat after rain*); but of this sense there are no decisive examples. Junius and Lowth make מְכוֹנִי the object of the contemplation, whereas it is merely added to express the idea of *rest at home*, as opposed to activity abroad. It is not necessary, therefore, to explain the noun as meaning *heaven*, although this is better than its application to the earthly sanctuary.

V. 5. *For before the harvest, as the bloom is finished, and the flower becomes a ripening grape, he cuts down the branches with the pruning knives, and the tendrils he removes, he cuts away.* The obvious meaning of the figures is, that although God would suffer the designs of the enemy to approach completion, he would nevertheless interfere at the last moment and destroy both him and them. Some writers give to כִּי the sense of *but*, in order to make the antithesis clearer; but in this as in many other cases the particle refers to something more remote than the immediately preceding words, and is correctly explained by Knobel as correlative and parallel with the כִּי at the beginning of v. 4. As if he had said, let all the world await the great catastrophe—*for* I will let the enemy almost attain his end —but let them still attend—*for* before it is attained, I will destroy him. The verbs in the last clause may either be referred directly to *Jehovah* as their subject, or construed indefinitely, one shall cut them down. Jarchi

supplies the participle or cognate noun (כרת הבורת) as in ch. 16 : 10. The form חֻמַּד is derived by Gesenius from חָרַד, by Hitzig from חָמַד, and by Knobel from נָחַד, but all agree as to the meaning. The verb יִתְּיָה receives its form from the predicate, and not from the subject which is feminine. (See Gesenius, § 134.)

V. 6. *They shall be left together to the wild bird of the mountains and to the wild beasts of the earth* (or *land*), *and the wild bird shall summer thereon, and every wild beast of the earth* (or *land*) *thereon shall winter.* It is commonly supposed that there is here a transition from the figure of a vineyard to that of a dead body, the branches cut off and thrown away being suddenly transformed into carcasses devoured by beasts and birds. For a like combination, vide supra, ch. 14 : 19. But this interpretation, though perhaps the most natural, is not absolutely necessary. As the act of devouring is not expressly mentioned, the reference may be, not to the carnivorous habits of the animals, but to their wild and solitary life. In that case the sense would be that the amputated branches, and the desolated vineyard itself, shall furnish lairs and nests for beasts and birds which commonly frequent the wildest solitudes, implying abandonment and utter desolation. This seems to be the meaning put upon the words by Luther, who translates the verbs *shall make their nests* and *lie therein* (darinnen nisten darinnen liegen). The only reason for preferring this interpretation is that it precludes the necessity of assuming a mixed metaphor, or an abrupt exchange of one for another, both which, however, are too common in Isaiah to excite surprise. On either supposition, the general meaning of the verse is obvious. The form of the last clause is idiomatic, the birds being said to spend the summer and the beasts the winter, not with reference to any real difference in their habits, but for the purpose of expressing the idea, that beasts and birds shall occupy the spot throughout the year. According to the common explanation of the verse as referring to dead bodies, it is a hyperbolical description of their multitude, as furnishing repast for a whole year to the beasts and birds of prey.

V. 7. *At that time shall be brought a gift to Jehovah of Hosts, a people drawn out and shorn, and from a people terrible since it has been and onward* (or still more terrible and still further off), *a nation of double power and trampling, whose land streams divide, to the place of the name of Jehovah of Hosts, Mount Zion.* Here, as in v. 2, the sense of some particular expressions is so doubtful, that it seems better to retain, as far as possible, the form of the original, with all its ambiguity, than to attempt an explanatory paraphrase. All are agreed that we have here the prediction of an act of homage to Jehovah, occasioned by the great event described in

the preceding verses. The Jews, who understand the second verse as a description of the sufferings endured by Israel, explain this as a prophecy of their return from exile and dispersion, aided and as it were presented as an offering to Jehovah by the heathen. (Vide infra, ch. 66: 20.) The older Christian writers understand it as predicting the conversion of the Egyptians or Ethiopians to the true religion. Whoever, says Gesenius, is fond of tracing the fulfilment of such prophecies in later history, may find this one verified in Rev. 8: 26 sq., and still more in the fact that Abyssinia is at this day the only great Christian power of the east. Gesenius himself, with the other recent Germans, understands the verse as describing a solemn contemporary recognition of Jehovah's power and divinity, as displayed in the slaughter of Sennacherib's army. According to Gesenius, two different nations are described both here and in v. 2, an opinion which he thinks is here confirmed by the insertion of the copulative ו before the second עַם. But Knobel refers to ch. 27: 1, and Zech. 9: 9, as proving that this form of expression does not necessarily imply a plurality of subjects. A stronger argument in favour of Gesenius's hypothesis is furnished by the insertion of the preposition before the second עַם. The most natural construction of the words would seem to be that the gift to Jehovah should consist of one people offered by another. Most interpreters, however, including Gesenius himself, infer that מִן must be supplied before the first עַם also—a gift shall be brought (*from*) *a people* etc. *and from a people* etc.—whether the latter be another or the same. If another, it may be Ethiopia as distinguished from Egypt, or Meroe as distinguished from Ethiopia. If the same, it may either be Egypt or more probably the kingdom of Tirhakah, including Ethiopia and Upper Egypt. The substitution of עַם here for גּוֹי in v. 2, and the antithesis between them there, are regarded by Cocceius as significant and founded on the constant usage of גּוֹי to denote a heathen and עַם a believing people. Most other writers seem to regard them as poetical equivalents. The place of God's name is not merely the place called by his name, as explained by Clericus and J. D. Michaelis, but the place where his name, i. e. the manifestation of his attributes, resides.

CHAPTER XIX.

This chapter admits of a well-defined division into two parts, one of which contains threatenings (vs. 1–17), and the other promises (vs. 18–25). The first part may again be subdivided. In vs. 1–4, the Egyptians are

threatened with a penal visitation from Jehovah, with the downfall of their idols, with intestine commotions, with the disappointment of their superstitious hopes, and with subjection to hard masters. In vs. 5–10 they are threatened with physical calamities, the drying up of their streams, the decay of vegetation, the loss of their fisheries, and the destruction of their manufactures. In vs. 11–17, the wisdom of their wise men is converted into folly, the courage of their brave men into cowardice, industry universally suspended, and the people filled with dread of the anger of Jehovah. The second part may be also subdivided. In vs. 18–21, the Egyptians are described as acknowledging the true God, in consequence of what they had suffered at his hand, and the deliverance which he had granted them. In vs. 22–25, the same cause is described as leading to an intimate union between Egypt, Assyria, and Israel, in the service of Jehovah, and the enjoyment of his favour.

Cocceius takes *Egypt* in what he calls its mystical sense, as meaning Rome or the Roman empire, and explains the chapter as a synopsis of church history from the conversion of Constantine to the latest time. Both the fundamental hypothesis and the details of his exposition are entirely arbitrary. He also violates the obvious relation of the parts by making the whole chapter minatory in its import. A similar objection lies against the theory of Cyril, Eusebius, Jerome, and others, who understand the whole as a prediction of the conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity. But the first part (vs. 1–17) cannot be explained, except by violence, either as a promise or a figurative description of conversion. Junius errs in the opposite extreme, by applying the first part in a literal sense to events in the early history of Egypt, and the last in a figurative sense to the calling of the Gentiles, without sufficiently explaining the transition or connexion of the parts. Grotius applies the whole to events which occurred before the advent. He regards the first part as a description of the troubles in Egypt during the dodecarchy which preceded the reign of Psammetichus, the last part as a prophecy of the diffusion of the true religion by the influx of Jews into Egypt. Clericus agrees with him in principle, but differs in detail, by referring the first part of the chapter to the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. J. D. Michaelis takes the same general view, but applies the first part to the troubles in Egypt under Sethos, and the last part to the recognition of Jehovah as a true God by the Egyptians themselves, but without abjuring heathenism. Vitringa more ingeniously explains the first part as a prediction of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, and the second as a promise of deliverance by Alexander the Great, and of general peace and friendly intercourse as well as religious advancement under his successors, the Syrian and Egyptian kings, by which the way would be prepared for the introduction of the gospel. This view of the passage is

substantially adopted by Lowth, Barnes, and Henderson. Of the modern German writers some explain the difference between the two parts of the chapter by supposing an interpolation. Thus Koppe and Eichhorn regard vs. 18–25 as a distinct prophecy, and even Gesenius doubts the genuineness of vs. 18–20. Hitzig supposes vs. 16–25 to have been forged by Onias, when he induced Ptolemy to build a temple for the Jews at Leontopolis. These absurd suppositions have been fully and triumphantly refuted by later writers of the same school, and especially by Hendewerk and Knobel. The notion of Koppe and Eichhorn, that even the first part is later than the times of Isaiah, has also been exploded. Ewald admits a peculiarity of manner, but ascribes it to the old age of Isaiah when this prophecy was written. Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Hendewerk, and Knobel, proceeding on the twofold supposition, that the first part must describe the events of a particular period, and that prophetic foresight is impossible, are under the necessity of finding something in the contemporary history of Egypt corresponding to the terms of the description. Gesenius and Knobel, in particular, have taken vast pains to combine and reconcile the contradictory accounts of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho, as to the dynasties of Egypt, the succession of the several monarchs, and especially the date of the accession of Psammetichus. Ewald and Umbreit, much more rationally, reject the hypothesis of specific historical allusions, and regard the whole as an indefinite anticipation. On the same general principle, but with a far closer approximation to the truth, Calvin and J. D. Michaelis understand the chapter as a prophetic picture of the downfall of the old Egyptian empire, and of the subsequent conversion of its people. The most correct view of the matter seems to be as follows. The Prophet wishing to announce to the Jews the decline and fall of that great heathen power, in which they were so constantly disposed to trust (30 : 1. 31 : 1), describes the event under figures borrowed from the actual condition of Egypt. As a writer, who should now predict the downfall of the British empire, in a poetical and figurative style, would naturally speak of its fleets as sunk or scattered, its colonies dismembered, its factories destroyed, its railways abandoned, its universities abolished, so the Prophet vividly portrays the fall of Egypt by describing the waters of the Nile as failing, its meadows withering, its fisheries ceasing, and the peculiar manufactures of the country expiring, the proverbial wisdom of the nation changed to folly, its courage to cowardice, its strength to weakness. Whether particular parts of the description were intended to have a more specific application, is a question not affecting the truth of the hypothesis, that the first part is a metaphorical description of the downfall of the great Egyptian monarchy. So too in the second part, the introduction of the true religion, and its effect as well on the internal state as on the international relations of the different countries, is expressed by

figures drawn from the civil and religious institutions of the old economy. The comparative merits of this exegetical hypothesis and those which have been previously stated will be best exhibited in the detailed interpretation of the chapter. It will only be necessary here to add that there is no abrupt transition, but a natural and intimate connexion between the downfall of a heathen power and the growth of the true religion, and also that nothing can be more arbitrary than the exposition of the first part as a literal and of the other as a metaphorical prediction.

V. 1. *The Burden of Egypt. Behold! Jehovah riding on a light cloud, and he comes to* (or *into*) *Egypt, and the idols of Egypt move at his presence, and the heart of Egypt melts within him.* This verse describes God as the author of the judgments afterwards detailed. His visible appearance on a cloud, and the personification of the idols, prepare the mind for a poetical description. Lowth, Barnes, and Henderson, translate the suffix in the last word *her*. But מִצְרַיִם is here the name of the ancestor (Gen. 10 : 6) put for his descendants. The English Version has the neuter *it*. The act of riding on a light cloud implies that he comes from heaven, and that he comes swiftly. On the contemptuous import of the word translated *idols*, vide supra, ch. 2 : 8 ; on the meaning of מַשָּׂא, ch. 13 : 1.

V. 2. *And I will excite Egypt against Egypt, and they shall fight, a man with his brother, and a man with his fellow, city with city, kingdom with kingdom.* The first verb is by some rendered *arm*, by others *join* or engage in conflict ; but the sense of *stirring up* or *rousing* is preferred both by the oldest and the latest writers. The version usually given, *Egyptians against Egyptians*, though substantially correct, is neither so expressive nor so true to the original as that of J. D. Michaelis and Augusti, *Egypt against Egypt*, which involves an allusion to the internal divisions of the kingdom, or rather the existence of contemporary kingdoms, more explicitly referred to in the other clause. The last words are rendered in the Septuagint, *νόμος ἐπὶ νόμον*, meaning no doubt the thirty-six *nomes* or provinces of ancient Egypt. Grotius, J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, and others, understand this verse as referring specifically to the civil wars of Egypt in the days of Sethos or Psammetichus. But while the coincidence with history adds greatly to the propriety and force of the description, there is no sufficient reason for departing from its obvious import, as a description of internal strife and anarchy in general. The expressions bear a strong resemblance to those used in the description of the state of Judah, ch. 3 : 5. Junius regards these as the words to be uttered by Jehovah when he enters Egypt. It may, however, be a simple continuation of the prophecy, with a sudden change from the third to the first person, of which there are many other examples.

V. 3. *And the spirit of Egypt shall be emptied out* (or *exhausted*) *in the midst thereof, and the counsel* (or *sagacity*) *thereof I will swallow up* (annihilate or render useless), *and they will seek to the idols, and to the mutterers, and to the familiar spirits, and to the wizards.* By *spirit* we are not to understand courage but intellect. Gesenius, in his lexicon, reads מִקִּרְבּוֹ and renders it *out of* or *from the midst of it.* The original and proper sense of אִטִּים seems to be *murmurs* or *mutterings*, here applied to the mutterers themselves, in allusion to the ancient mode of incantation, as to which, and the meaning of אוֹבוֹת and יִדְּעֹנִים, vide supra, ch. 8 : 19. נִבְהָה is variously rendered by the early writers, *troubled, decayed, destroyed*, etc. but the etymology is decisive in favour of the sense now commonly adopted. Augusti expresses the contemptuous import of אֱלִילִים by translating it *their wretched gods.*

V. 4. *And I will shut up Egypt in the hands of a hard master, and a strong king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, Jehovah of Hosts.* As סָגַר means to shut up wherever it occurs, the intensive form here used cannot have the weaker sense of *giving up, delivering*, in which some take it. קָשֶׁה and עַז do not mean *cruel* or *fierce*, but *stern* or *rigorous.* The first of these Hebrew words is singular in form but construed with a plural noun. The Septuagint renders both phrases in the plural. Junius makes the first plural and refers it to the dodecarchy which intervened between the reigns of Sethos and Psammetichus. Cocceius makes קָשֶׁה agree with something understood (*dominorum gravis* dominationis), and refers to examples of a similar construction in Ex. 28 : 17. Judg. 5 : 13. 1 Kings 7 : 42. 2 Kings 3 : 4. Most of the later writers are agreed in explaining אֲדֹנִים as a *pluralis majestaticus*, elsewhere applied to individual men (2 Kings 42 : 30, 33. 2 Kings 2 : 3, 5, 16). The king here mentioned is identified, according to their various hypotheses, by J. D. Michaelis with Sethos, by Grotius, Gesenius, and others with Psammetichus, by the Rabbins with Sennacherib, by Hitzig and Hendewerk with Sargon, by Clericus with Nebuchadnezzar, by Vitringa with Cambyses or Ochus, by Cocceius with Charlemagne. The very multiplicity of these explanations shows how fanciful they are, and naturally leads us to conclude, not with Ewald that the prophet is expressing mere conjectures or indefinite anticipations (reine Ahnung), but with Calvin that he is describing in a general way the political vicissitudes of Egypt, one of which would be subjection to an arbitrary power, whether foreign or domestic, or to both at different periods of its history.

V. 5. *And the waters shall be dried up from the sea, and the river shall fail and be dried up.* Three distinct verbs are here used in the sense of drying up, for which our language does not furnish equivalents. As the

Nile has in all ages been called a sea by the Egyptians (Robinson's Palestine, I. 542), most interpreters suppose it to be here referred to, in both clauses. Gesenius and others understand the passage as foretelling a literal failure of the irrigation upon which the fertility of Egypt depends. Vitringa, Knobel, and others, explain it as a figurative threatening of disorder and calamity. Grotius supposes an allusion to the decay of the Egyptian commerce as conducted on the Nile and the adjacent seas; Calvin to the loss of the defence and military strength afforded by these waters. According to the exegetical hypothesis laid down in the introduction to the chapter, this is a prediction of Egypt's national decline and fall, clothed in figures drawn from the characteristic features of its actual condition. As the desolation of our own western territory might be poetically represented as the drying up of the Mississippi and its branches, so a like event in the history of Egypt would be still more naturally described as a desiccation of the Nile, because that river is still more essential to the prosperity of the country which it waters. In favour of this figurative exposition is the difficulty of applying the description to particular historical events, and also the whole tenor of the context, as will be more clearly seen hereafter. The Septuagint treats וְנִשְׁתּוּ as an active form of שָׁתָה, to drink, the Egyptians shall drink water from the sea. Aquila makes it a passive from the same root, shall be drunk up or absorbed. Hitzig derives it from שָׁחַת, in the sense of settling, subsiding, and so failing. Gesenius and most other writers make it a derivative of נָשַׁת. Junius understands this verse as relating to the diversion of the waters of the Nile to form the lake Moeris, and Luzzatto proposes to take יָם as the name of the lake itself. By the drying up of the seas and rivers, Cocceius understands the irruption of the Saracens and Turks into Europe.

V. 6. *And the rivers shall stink* (or become putrid), *the streams of Egypt are emptied and dried up, reed and rush sicken* (pine or wither). The streams meant are the natural and artificial branches of the Nile. יְאֹר is an Egyptian word meaning *river*, and is specially appropriated to the Nile itself. The older writers take מָצוֹר in its usual meaning of defence or fortification, and understand the whole phrase as denoting either the moats and ditches of fortified places, or walled reservoirs. The modern writers regard מָצוֹר as the singular of מִצְרַיִם, denoting either Lower Egypt or the whole country indiscriminately. Ewald translates it *Angstland*, in allusion to the supposed root צוּר or צָרַר, to press. הֶאְזִינוּ is explained by the older writers as meaning to depart or to be turned away, but is now commonly understood to denote the stench or putrescence produced by the failure of the Nile to fill its branches or canals. Gesenius explains it as a mixed form compounded of the Chaldee and Hebrew Hiphil; Ewald, Maurer, Hitzig,

and Knobel, as a verb derived from an adjective אָזוּחַ, meaning fetid or putrescent. The reed and rush are mentioned as a common growth in marshy situations. The Septuagint makes סוּף mean the papyrus, Vitringa and Lowth the lotus.

V. 7. *The meadows by the river, by the mouth of the river, and all the sown ground of the river, shall wither, being driven away, and it is not* (or shall be no more). The Septuagint for עָרוֹת has ἄχι which it elsewhere gives as the equivalent of אָחוּ, an Egyptian word meaning, according to Jerome, every thing green that grows in the marshes of the Nile. Luther, Calvin, and others, explain it to mean *grass*. Gesenius derives it from עָרָה to be naked, and explains it to mean bare or open places, i. e. meadows, as distinguished from woodland. The English and some other versions treat it as the name of the papyrus, but without authority. The English Version also takes יְאֹר as a collective (*brooks*), and Barnes erroneously observes that the Hebrew word is here in the plural number. It is the word already mentioned as the common name in Scripture for the Nile, nor is there any need of departing from this sense in the case before us, by translating it *canals*, as Lowth does. Calvin explains *mouth* to mean source or fountain, which is wholly arbitrary. J. H. Michaelis, Gesenius, and others, regard it as synonymous with *lip*, used elsewhere (Gen. 41 : 3. Exod. 2 : 3) to denote the brink or margin of the Nile. Knobel gives the same sense to the Hebrew word in Prov. 8 : 29. Hendewerk and some of the older writers give the word its geographical sense, as denoting the place where the waters of a stream are discharged into another or the sea. מִזְרָע is not *produce* (Henderson), but a local noun meaning the *place of seed* or *sowing*, i. e. cultivated grounds, here distinguished from the meadows or uncultivated pastures. נִדַּף is commonly supposed to refer to the driving away of the withered and pulverized herbage by the wind. The Vulgate seems to take עָרוֹת as a verb, and the first clause as describing the disclosure of the bed of the river by the sinking of the water (nudabitur alveus rivi a fonte suo). The decay of vegetation here predicted Cocceius explains to be the dying out of Christianity in those parts of Europe conquered by the Saracens and Turks.

V. 8. *And the fishermen shall mourn, and they shall lament, all the throwers of a hook into the river* (Nile), *and the spreaders of a net upon the surface of the water languish.* Having described the effect of the drought on vegetation, he now describes its effect upon those classes of the people who were otherwise dependent on the river for subsistence. The multitude of fishes in the Nile, and of people engaged in catching them, is attested both by ancient and modern writers. The use of fish in ancient

Egypt was promoted by the popular superstitions with respect to other animals. The net is said to be not now used in the fisheries of Egypt. It is remarkable, however, that the implement itself appears on some of the old monuments. This verse is not to be applied to an actual distress among the fishermen at any one time, but to be viewed as a characteristic trait in the prophetic picture. When he speaks of a wine-growing country, as Calvin well observes, the Prophet renders vineyards and vine-dressers prominent objects. So here, when he speaks of a country abounding in fisheries and fishermen, he describes their condition as an index or symbol of the state of the country. In like manner, a general distress in our southern states might be described as a distress among the sugar, cotton, or tobacco planters. By the fishermen of this verse, Cocceius understands the bishops, archbishops and patriarchs, whose sees became subjected to the Moslem domination, with sarcastic allusion to the seal of the fisherman by which the pope authenticates his briefs.

V. 9. *And ashamed* (disappointed or confounded) *are the workers of combed* (or hatchelled) *flax, and the weavers of white* (stuffs). The older writers supposed the class of persons here described to be the manufacturers of nets for fishing, and took חוּרִי in the sense of perforated open-work, or net-work. The moderns understand the verse as having reference to the working of flax and manufacture of linen. Knobel supposes חוּרִי to mean *cotton*, as being white by nature and before it is wrought. Some of the older writers identified שְׂרִיקוֹת with *sericum*, the Latin word for silk. Calvin supposes an allusion in the last clause to the diaphanous garments of luxurious women. Cocceius applies the verse to those who would force all men into one church or commonwealth, like fish collected in a net.

V. 10. *And her pillars* (or *foundations*) *are broken down, all labourers for hire are grieved at heart.* Many of the older writers suppose the allusion to the fisheries to be still continued, and arbitrarily make שְׁתוֹת mean *nets* and נֶפֶשׁ *fish*. Others take שְׁתוֹת in the sense of *looms* or *weavers*, and עֹשֵׂי שֵׂכָר in that of *brewers* or makers of strong drink, which last interpretation is as old as the Septuagint version (*οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν ζύθον*). The simplest exposition of the verse is that proposed by Gesenius and adopted by most succeeding writers, which regards this as a general description of distress extending to the two great classes of society, the pillars or chief men and the labourers or commonalty. Hendewerk less naturally understands by the שְׁתוֹת or foundations the agricultural class as distinguished from manufacturers and traders. All the late writers explain אֲגַמֶּיהָ, not as the plural of אגם, a pool, but of an adjective signifying *sorrowful*, from one of the senses of the same root in Chaldee. This explanation of אֲגַמֶּיהָ removes all necessity and ground for taking נֶפֶשׁ in any other than its usual sense.

V. 11. *Only foolish* (i. e. entirely foolish) *are the princes of Zoan, the sages of the counsellors of Pharaoh,* (their) *counsel is become brutish* (or irrational). *How can ye say to Pharaoh, I am the son of wise* (fathers), *I am the son of kings of old?* The reference is not merely to perplexity in actual distress, but also to an unwise policy as one of the causes of the distress itself. The meaning of אַךְ is not *for* or *surely*, but *only*, nothing else, exclusively. Zoan, the Tanis of the Greeks, was one of the most ancient cities of Lower Egypt (Num. 13 : 22), and a royal residence. The name is of Egyptian origin and signifies a low situation. *Pharaoh* was a common title of the Egyptian kings. It is originally an Egyptian noun with the article prefixed. חַכְמֵי cannot agree directly as an adjective with וְיֹעֲצֵי (*wise counsellors*)—but must either be in apposition with it (*the wise men, counsellors of Pharaoh*, 2 Kings 10 : 6)—or be understood as a superlative (*the wisest of the counsellors of Pharaoh*). The statesmen and courtiers of ancient Egypt belonged to the sacerdotal caste, from which many of the kings were also taken. The *wisdom of Egypt* seems to have been proverbial in the ancient world (1 Kings 4 : 30. Acts 7 : 22). The last clause is addressed to the counsellors themselves. The interrogation implies the absurdity of their pretensions. The question is not, how can you say this *of* Pharaoh (Luther), or how can you *dictate* this *to* Pharaoh, i. e. put these words into his mouth (Junius), but how can *you* say it, each one for himself? Hence the use of the singular number. מַלְכֵי does not mean *sages* or *counsellors* (Vitringa), but *kings* as elsewhere. Cocceius applies the last clause to the popish claim of apostolical succession. His comment on the first clause may be quoted as a characteristic specimen of his exegesis. 'Consilium certe stultum fuit in Belgio novos episcopatus instituere, quod factum A. 1562. Eodem anno primum bellum civile religionis causa motum est in Gallia, duce inde Francisco Guisio, hinc Ludovico Condaeo. Exitus fuit ut regina religionis reformatae exercitium permitteret sequenti anno 19 Martii. An principes Galliae per principes Tsoan intelligi possint, fortasse magis patebit ex v. 13.'

V. 12. *Where* (*are*) *they? Where* (*are*) *thy wise men? Pray let them tell thee, and* (if that is too much) *let them* (at least) *know, what Jehovah of Hosts hath purposed against* (or *concerning*) *Egypt.* It was a proof of their false pretensions that so far from being able to avert the evil, they could not even foresee it. Knobel thinks there may be an allusion to the belief of the Egyptians, as recorded by Herodotus, that supernatural foresight of the future is impossible, an article of faith which they could not more devoutly hold than Knobel himself appears to do. נָא is not an adverb of time equivalent to *nunc* (Vulgate) or *jam* (Junius), but a particle of exhortation or entreaty not unlike the Latin *age* (Cocceius). וְיֵדְעוּ is

not synonymous with וַיָּדְעוּ (Sept. Vulg. Luther, Clericus, Augusti, Barnes); nor does it mean *inquire* or *investigate* (Hitzig); nor is the true text וְיוֹדִיעוּ (Secker); but the word is to be taken in its usual sense with emphasis, *or let them even know*, as well expressed by Calvin (aut etiam sciant) and by Maurer (quin sciant). The repetition of the interrogative *where* is highly emphatic, through neglect of which the expression is materially weakened in the ancient versions and by Luther, Hitzig, Hendewerk, Henderson, DeWette, Ewald, Umbreit. The construction is assumed to be subjunctive by Calvin (ut annuncient), relative by Junius (qui indicent), conditional by J. H. Michaelis (wenn sie wissen), and indefinite by Gesenius (dass man's erfahre); but the simple imperative, retained by Ewald, is at once more exact and more expressive. The sense of עַל is not *upon* but either *concerning* or *against*.

V. 13. *Infatuated are the chiefs of Zoan, deceived are the chiefs of Noph, and they have misled Egypt, the corner* (or *corner-stone*) *of her tribes.* There is no need of supplying *but* at the beginning of the sentence (Luther). The first verb does not mean to *fail* (Septuagint), or to *act lightly* (Cocceius), or to act foolishly (Junius, Vitringa, Rosenmüller), but to be rendered or become foolish (Vulgate), to be infatuated (Calvin). The translation *they are fools* (DeWette) is correct but inadequate. *Noph* is the *Memphis* of the Greek geographers, called *Moph*, Hos. 9 : 6. It was one of the chief cities of ancient Egypt, the royal seat of Psammetichus. After Alexandria was built it declined. Arabian writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries speak of its extensive and magnificent ruins, which have now almost wholly disappeared. נִשְּׂאוּ is explained as if from נָשָׂא to lift up, by the Septuagint (ὑψώθησαν), the Peshito and Cocceius (elati sunt). The Vulgate renders it *emarcuerunt*. All others make it the passive of נָשָׁא, to *deceive*. פִּנַּת is not to be read פִּנּת (Grotius), nor is it the object of the preceding verb (Vulgate, J. H. Michaelis, Luther), nor governed by a preposition understood (Cocceius *quoad angulum*, Clericus *in angulo*), but construed collectively with חַמְּטֵי (Calvin, Vitringa, Gesenius, etc.). It is a figure not for the nomes (Clericus, Vitringa, Rosenmüller), nor for the noble families (Luther), nor for the wise men (Calvin) or the king (J. H. Michaelis), but for the chief men of the different castes (Hitzig, Ewald). Knobel conjectures that the military caste may have been predominant at Memphis, as the sacerdotal was at Tanis. The view which Cocceius takes may be gathered from a single observation. 'Gallia et Belgium extremae orae spiritualis Aegypti sunt.'

V. 14. *Jehovah hath mingled in the midst of her a spirit of confusion, and they have misled Egypt in all its work, like the misleading of a drunk-*

ard in his vomit. This verse describes the folly before mentioned as the effect not of natural causes or of accident but of a judicial infliction. מָסַךְ may be either a preterite or a present, but not a future. It does not strictly mean to *pour out*, but in usage is nearly equivalent, from its frequent application to the mixing or preparation of strong drinks. (Vide supra, ch. 5: 22.) There is no need of reading קִרְבּוֹ with Secker, on the authority of the ancient versions, which evidently treat the singular suffix as a collective. The antecedent of the suffix is not פָּנָה (Hitzig) but אֶרֶץ (Knobel). The translation *breast* or *bosom* is too specific. *Spirit* here means a supernatural influence. עִוְּעִים is not *error* or *perverseness*, but *subversion*, turning upside down, and thence perplexity, confusion. It is strongly expressed by the Vulgate (spiritum vertiginis) and by Luther (Schwindelgeist). The plural הִתְעוּ may possibly agree with עִוְּעִים, but it may be more naturally construed with the Egyptians understood, or taken indefinitely, as equivalent to a passive form, *they have misled them*, i. e. *they have been misled.* By *work* we are here to understand affairs and interests. The masculine form of the suffix here returns, with the usual reference to the national ancestor. הִתָּעוֹת does not directly denote staggering, much less rolling or wallowing, but the act of wandering from the straight course; or, retaining the passive form, that of being made to wander from it; or, assuming the reflexive sense of Niphal, that of making one's self to wander, leading one's self astray. The same verb is elsewhere used in reference to the unsteady motions of a drunken man (Job 12: 25. Isai. 28: 7).

V. 15. *And there shall not be to Egypt a work which head and tail branch and rush may do.* לְ is neither *for* nor *in*, but *to*, as usual denoting possession, *Egypt shall not have.* The translation *shall not succeed* or *be completed* is not a version but a paraphrase of the original. מַעֲשֶׂה is not merely a deed (Gesenius), much less a great deed (Hendewerk), nor does it refer exclusively to the acts or occupations before mentioned; but it means any thing done or to be done, including private business and public affairs. The figures of head and tail, branch and rush, are used, as in ch. 9: 13, to denote all classes of society, or rather the extremes between which the others are included. The Septuagint translates the last two *beginning and end.* The Targum makes them all mean chiefs and rulers. The Peshito, by a strange repetition and inversion, has *head and tail, tail and head.* Cocceius thinks it easy to trace the fulfilment of this prophecy in the history of Europe from 1590 to 1608.

V. 16. *In that day shall Egypt be like women, and shall fear and tremble from before the shaking of the hand of Jehovah of Hosts, which he (is) shaking over it.* The comparison in the first clause is a common one

for terror and the loss of courage. מִפְּנֵי may be rendered *on account of*, which idea is certainly included, but the true force of the original expression is best retained by a literal translation. תְּנוּפַת יָד is not the act of beckoning for the enemy, but that of threatening or preparing to strike. The reference is not to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army, but more generally to the indications of divine displeasure. At this verse Hitzig supposes the forgery of Onias to begin, but admits that it cannot be proved from the use of the masculine suffix in reference to Egypt, which occurs several times in what he assumes to be the genuine part of this very chapter, nor does it follow from the repetition of the phrase *in that day* at the beginning of vs. 15, 18, 23, 24, as this formula occurs with equal frequency in the seventh chapter. Knobel observes, moreover, that this verse and the next bear the same relation to v. 4 that vs. 11–15 do to vs. 1–3, and are therefore necessary to complete the context.

V. 17. *And the land of Judah shall be for a terror* (or *become a terror*) *unto Egypt, every person to whom one mentions it* (or every one who recalls it to his own mind) *shall fear before the purpose of Jehovah of Hosts which he is purposing against it.* This verse relates, not to the destruction of Sennacherib's army in Judah, nor to the approach of the Assyrians from that quarter, nor to an attack upon Egypt by Judah itself, but to the new feelings which would be entertained by the Egyptians towards the God of the Jews and the true religion. Judah, in a political and military sense, might still appear contemptible; but in another aspect, and for other reasons, it would be an object of respect and even fear to the Egyptians. A different sense is put upon the verse by Schultens, J. D. Michaelis, and Dathe, who take חָגָא in the sense of *refuge*, deduced from an Arabic analogy. אֵלָיו is referred by some interpreters to Judah, but the change of gender renders it more probable that it relates to Egypt. The sense will then be that the knowledge of God's purpose against Egypt will dispose its inhabitants to look with awe upon the chosen people. There is no need of taking אַדְמָה with Hendewerk in the strict sense of soil or ground as distinguished from the people. אֵלָיו is not to be construed with יִפָּחֵד but with יַזְכִּיר. This last verb Ewald takes in the strict sense of causing to remember or recalling to mind; most other writers in the secondary but more usual sense of mentioning. According to Coccius, the Judah of this verse is the northern part of Europe, in which the Reformation was successfully established, and which holds the same relative position with respect to the unreformed regions, that Judea occupied in reference to Egypt.

V. 18. *In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt speaking the lip* (i. e. language) *of Canaan, and swearing to Jehovah of Hosts.*

The city of destruction shall be said to one (i. e. shall one be called). *In that day*, according to prophetic usage, is a somewhat indefinite expression, and may either mean *during* or *after* the distresses just described. *Canaan* is here put for the land of Canaan (as in Ex. 15 : 15) and the *language of Canaan* for the Hebrew language, not because it was the language of the old Canaanites, but because it was spoken in the land which they once occupied. Some of the later writers understand what is here said strictly as denoting an actual prevalence of the Hebrew language, while others take it as a strong expression for such intimate union, social, commercial, and political, as would seem to imply a community of language. The older writers very generally apply the terms to religious union and communion. Calvin explains *lip* or *language* as a figure for confession or profession, and the speaking of the language of Canaan for a public profession of the true religion. Vitringa gains the same end by a reference to the phrase *speaking the same things*, used in the New Testament to signify conformity of feeling and opinion. (See 1 Cor. 1 : 10.) He also admits the possibility of an allusion to the dialect of saints or believers as distinguished from that of the world, and to the study of the literal Hebrew as promoted by the spread of the true religion. Cocceius and some others understand directly by the use of the language of Canaan, the study of the Bible or rather the reception and promulgation of its doctrines. The simplest interpretation of the phrase is, that in itself it denotes intimate intercourse and union generally, but that the idea of religious unity is here suggested by the context and especially by the following clause. Many interpreters appear to regard the phrases *swearing by* and *swearing to* as perfectly synonymous. The former act does certainly imply the recognition of the deity by whom one swears, especially if *oaths* be regarded as they are in Scripture as solemn acts of religious worship. But the phrase *swearing to* conveys the additional idea of doing homage and acknowledging a sovereign by swearing fealty or allegiance to him. This is the only meaning that the words can bear in 2 Chr. 15 : 14, and in Isai. 45 : 23 the two phrases seem to be very clearly distinguished. The distinction intended in Zeph. 1 : 5 is not so clear. The act of thus professing the true faith and submitting to the true God is ascribed in the verse before us to *five towns* or *cities*. Of this phrase there are three distinct interpretations. Gesenius, Ewald, Knobel, and others, understand five as a round or indefinite number, meaning few or many, and derived either from Egyptian usage (Gen. 43 : 34. 45 : 22. 47 : 2), or from the practice of counting on the fingers. Thus understood, the sense is simply that *a number of cities* shall do so and so. Another class of writers understand the words strictly as denoting five and neither more nor less. The five cities meant are supposed by Vitringa to be Heliopolis, Memphis, Sais, Bubastus, Alexandria ; by Clericus, Migdol,

Tahpanhes, Memphis, Heliopolis, and one in Pathros, probably No-ammon or Diospolis; by Hitzig the same, except the last, for which he substitutes Leontopolis; by Hendewerk the five cities of the Philistines, which he supposes to be here considered as belonging to Egypt. Among the five cities perhaps referred to, Barnes includes *Pathros* or *Thebais*, which was not a city at all. A third interpretation understands the words as expressive not of absolute number but proportion; five out of the twenty thousand cities which Herodotus says Egypt contained; or out of the one thousand which Calvin thinks a more reasonable estimate; or five out of ten, i. e. one half; or five out of six, which is Calvin's own interpretation. The objection to the first or indefinite construction is the want of any clear example of this number being used in that way without something in the context to afford a standard of comparison. (See Lev. 26 : 8. 1 Cor. 14 : 19.) The objection to the second or absolute construction is the impossibility of fixing certainly what five are meant, or of tracing the fulfilment of so definite a prophecy, or even of ascertaining from the context any reason why just five should be distinguished in this manner. Of the third class or relative constructions, that of Calvin is to be preferred, because the others arbitrarily assume a standard of comparison (twenty thousand, ten thousand, ten etc.), whereas this hypothesis finds it in the verse itself, *five* professing the true religion to *one* rejecting it. Most of the other interpretations understand the one to be included in the five, as if he had said *one of them*. As לְאֶחָת admits either of these senses, or rather applications, the question must depend upon the meaning given to the rest of the clause. Even on Calvin's hypothesis, however, the proportion indicated need not be taken with mathematical precision. What appears to be meant is that five-sixths, i. e. a very large proportion, shall profess the true religion, while the remaining sixth persists in unbelief. *It shall be said to one*, i. e. one shall be addressed as follows, or called by the following name. This periphrasis is common in Isaiah, but is never applied, as Gesenius observes, to the actual appellation, but always to a description or symbolical title. (See Isai. 4 : 3. 61 : 6. 62 : 4.) This may be urged as an argument against the explanation of הַהֶרֶס as a proper name. The Hebrew form is retained in the Complutensian text of the Septuagint (Ἀχερές), by Theodotion and Aquila (Ἀρές), by the Peshito (ܗܪܣ), and by Luther (Irheres). Sixteen manuscripts and several editions read הַחֶרֶס, and this is adopted as the true text by most of the modern writers. It is also supposed to be confirmed by the Greek form Ἀχερές above quoted. Jerome compares it with חֶרֶשׂ a potsherd, and refers to the town which the Greeks called Ὀστρακίνη (i. e. earthen). Others suppose an allusion to Tahpanes, the brick-kilns of which are mentioned Jer. 43 : 9. Gesenius, in his Commentary, derives the meaning of the name from the Arabic حرس and renders it *deliverance* (Errettung). Ewald, with reference

to the same root, renders it *fortune* or *happiness* (Glückstadt). But most of those who adopt this reading give to חֶרֶס the sense of *sun*, which it has in several places (Judg. 8: 13. 14: 18. Job 9: 7), and regard the whole phrase as equivalent to the Hebrew *Bethshemesh* (dwelling of the sun) and the Greek *Heliopolis* (city of the sun), the name of a famous town of Lower Egypt, in the Heliopolitan Nome, so called from it. In this nome, Onias, a fugitive priest from Palestine, about 150 years before Christ, prevailed upon Ptolemy Philometor to erect a temple for the Jews of Egypt, an event which some suppose to be predicted here. The exact site of this temple, although in the nome just mentioned, was at *Leontopolis* (or city of the lion), and this name also has been found by some interpreters in the prediction. J. D. Michaelis and Dathe, following a suggestion made by Iken, identify the common reading הרס with the Arabic هرس. But this has been shown by later writers to be merely a poetical epithet of the lion, denoting its voracity. Rosenmüller, in his larger Scholia, agrees with Hezel in explaining הרס from the Syriac analogy as signifying safety or salvation. But Gesenius has shown that there is no such Syriac word, and that the Syriac writers quoted merely give conjectural explanations of the Hebrew word before us. Rosenmüller, therefore, in the Compendium of his Scholia, adopts Gesenius's interpretation given above, while Gesenius himself, in his Thesaurus, adopts that of Vitringa and the Vulgate (civitas solis). This is also given by Hitzig, who identifies חֶרֶס the sun with חֶרֶס a scab (Deut. 28: 27), the disk of the former being so called on account of its scratched, scraped, or smoothed appearance, an etymological deduction of which Umbreit gravely signifies his approbation. All the interpretations which have now been mentioned either depart from the common text or explain it by some forced or foreign analogy. If, however, we proceed upon the only safe principle of adhering to the common text and to Hebrew usage, without the strongest reasons for abandoning either or both, no explanation of the name can be so satisfactory as that given by Calvin (civitas desolationis) and the English Version (city of destruction). It is very remarkable that both the readings (הרס and חרס) appear to be combined in the Chaldee Paraphrase: 'the city of Bethshemesh (i. e. Heliopolis), which is to be destroyed.' This would seem to imply that the text or the meaning of the word was already doubtful and disputed at the date of that old version. It has been objected to the common reading and the sense just put upon it, that a threatening of destruction would here be out of place. But on Calvin's hypothesis, there is a promise of salvation to five-sixths. It is also a favourite idea with some writers, that the text was corrupted by the Jews of Palestine, in order to convert what seemed at least to be an explicit prediction of the temple of Onias into a threatening of its destruction. To the same source some ascribe the reading החרם which is found in a few manuscripts. On

the other hand, the common text of the Septuagint version has ἀσεδὲκ (הצדק), which is supposed to have been introduced (from ch. 1 : 26) by the Egyptian Jews in order to put honour on their temple. Even this, however, is pressed into the service of other hypotheses by Iken, who identifies ἀσεδὲκ with an Arabic word used by the poets in describing the appearance of a lion, and by Le Moyne, who argues from Mal. 3 : 20, that צדק and צדקה were applied to the sun. Thus the same blunder of the Seventy is made to prove that the Hebrew word means Heliopolis and Leontopolis. Hitzig, as we have seen already, looks upon this whole passage from the sixteenth verse as a fabrication of Onias, intended to facilitate the rearing of his temple. But in that case he would surely have made it more explicit, or at least have prevented its conversion into an anathema against himself. It is not even true that he interpreted this clause as pointing out the place for the erection, as alleged by Lowth and others after him. Josephus merely says that he appealed to the prediction of an altar to Jehovah in the land of Egypt, which would hardly have contented him if he had understood the verse before us as expressly naming either Heliopolis or Leontopolis. These facts, when taken in connexion with the usage of יֵאָמֵר לְ already stated, make it altogether probable that עִיר הַהֶרֶס is not a proper name but a descriptive and prophetic title, meaning (in accordance with the constant usage of the verb הָרַס) *the city of destruction*. Kimchi, who puts this sense upon the words, but is puzzled by the threatening against one of the five towns, as he supposes it to be, absurdly makes the words to mean that the five cities would be so devoted to the true religion that if either of them should apostatize the others would destroy it. Scarcely more natural is the explanation of the words by Junius and Tremellius, as meaning a city almost destroyed or saved from destruction. Schmidius more ingeniously evades the difficulty by taking הֶרֶס in an active sense, *a city of destruction* i. e. to its enemies or those of the true religion. Both the hypotheses last mentioned give to אֶחָת the distributive sense of *each* or *every one*, which it sometimes derives from repetition or the context. (See Ezek. 1 : 6.) Hendewerk, who supposes the five towns of the Philistines to be meant, understands this as a prophecy that one of them (Ashdod) should be destroyed but afterwards rebuilt, with an allusion to the derivation of the name from בָּנָה to destroy. But of all the explanations of the common text, the simplest is the one proposed by Calvin, which supposes the whole verse to mean that for one town which shall perish in its unbelief five shall profess the true faith and swear fealty to Jehovah. The simplicity of this interpretation, and its strict agreement with the general tenor of the passage as a prophetic picture of great changes in the state of Egypt, serve at the same time to commend the common reading as the true one. By the five cities Cocceius understands the five states in which the Reformation was permanently established (Great Britain, Denmark, Swe-

den, Holland, and northern Germany), and by *desolation* or *destruction* what they subsequently suffered by war and otherwise from the popish powers.

V. 19. *In that day there shall be an altar to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at* (or *near*) *its border to Jehovah.* It has been disputed whether we are here to understand an altar for sacrifice or an altar to serve as a memorial (Josh. 22: 26, 27). It has also been disputed whether the prohibition of altars and consecrated pillars (Lev. 26: 1. Deut. 12: 5. 16: 22) was applicable only to the Jews or to Palestine, leaving foreign Jews or proselytes at liberty to rear these sacred structures as the Patriarchs did of old (Gen. 28: 18. 35: 14). The necessity of answering these questions is removed by a just view of the passage, as predicting the prevalence of the true religion and the practice of its rites, in language borrowed from the Mosaic or rather from the patriarchal institutions. As we might now speak of a missionary *pitching his tent* at Hebron or at Shechem, without intending to describe the precise form of his habitation, so the Prophet represents the converts to the true faith as erecting an altar and a pillar to the Lord in Egypt, as Abraham and Jacob did of old in Canaan. A still more exact illustration is afforded by the frequent use among ourselves of the word *altar* to denote the practice of devotion, especially in families. There is a double propriety and beauty in the use of the word מַצֵּבָה, because while it instantly recalls to mind the patriarchal practice, it is at the same time finely descriptive of the obelisk, an object so characteristic of Egypt that it may be regarded as its emblem. Both the obelisk and the patriarchal pillar, being never in the human form, are to be carefully distinguished from statues or images, although the latter word is sometimes used to represent the Hebrew one in the English Version. (See 2 Kings 3: 2. 10: 26. Mic. 5: 13.) Those explanations of the verse which suppose the altar and the pillar, or the centre and the border of the land, to be contrasted, are equally at variance with good taste and the usage of the language, which continually separates in parallel clauses words and things which the reader is expected to combine. See an example of this usage in the sixth verse of the preceding chapter. As the wintering of the beasts and the summering of the birds are there intended to denote the presence of both beasts and birds throughout the year, so here the altar in the midst of the land and the pillar at its border denote altars and pillars through its whole extent. This is much more natural than Ewald's supposition that the words are expressive of a gradual progress or extension of the truth.

V. 20. *And it shall be for a sign and for a testimony to Jehovah of Hosts in the land of Egypt, that they shall cry to Jehovah from the pres-*

ence of oppressors, and he will send them a deliverer and a mighty one and save them. The older writers for the most part construe וְהָיָה with what goes before: 'and it (or they) shall be etc.' In that case we must either suppose an enallage of gender (so as to make מַצֵּבָה the subject of the verb) or an enallage of number (so as to construe it with both the nouns), or else refer it to the remoter antecedent מִזְבֵּחַ. Any of these constructions would be admissible if absolutely necessary; but in the case before us they are all superseded by a simpler one now commonly adopted. This refers וְהָיָה not at all to what precedes but to what follows, taking כִּי in its proper sense of ὅτι, *that*. 'This shall be a sign and a witness to (i.e. with respect to, in behalf of) Jehovah in the land of Egypt, viz. that when they cry etc.' He will afford a providential testimony in behalf of his own being, presence, and supremacy, by saving those who cry to him. Those who refer וְהָיָה to what goes before either take the other verbs in the past tense (a sign and a testimony that they cried), which is entirely arbitrary, or give to כִּי its usual sense of *for*, *because* (for they shall cry), in which case the connexion is not obvious between their crying and the altar's being a sign and witness for Jehovah. Even then, however, we may understand the Prophet to mean that when they cry *at the altar* of Jehovah, he will answer and deliver them, and thus the altar will bear witness to him. But as nothing is said of crying at the altar, the other construction is to be preferred, which makes the hearing of their prayers and their deliverance from suffering the sign and witness in behalf of Jehovah. רַב may be either an adjective meaning *great* or the participle of רִיב to strive, especially at law, and then to plead the cause or take the part of any one, the participle of which might well be used to signify an advocate, patron, or defender. Calvin and others, adopting the former explanation of the word (salvatorem et principem), apply it to Christ. Vitringa, laying stress upon the word as meaning *great*, regards it as a proof that the deliverer here mentioned was Alexander the Great, or his Egyptian successor Ptolemy, also called the Great and (by a singular coincidence) *Soter* or the Saviour. The whole force of this ingenious combination lies in the explanation of רַב as an adjective. It cannot, therefore, be consistently maintained by those who adopt the other supposition, as Henderson does. Barnes also weakens the argument in favour of Vitringa's exposition by exchanging *great* for *powerful*. The other explanation of רַב as a participle is found in all the ancient versions, and is adopted by most modern writers. It is also favoured by the fact that the adjective is usually written רַב when not in pause, although some cases of the other pointing do occur (e.g. Gen. 36: 7. Josh. 11: 4), and Hitzig thinks the form here sufficiently accounted for by the accompanying accent. As to the application of the term in either case, besides that adopted by Vitringa and others, may be mentioned the rabbinical opinion that it means the angel

who destroyed Sennacherib's army, and the opinion of some modern writers that it denotes Psammetichus. A name, which admits of being plausibly applied to things so far apart and unlike, may safely be regarded as generic in its import. Even if the language of this verse by itself might seem to point to a particular deliverer, the comprehensive language of the context would forbid its reference to any such exclusively. If, as we have seen reason to believe, the chapter is a prophecy not of a single event but of a great progressive change to be wrought in the condition of Egypt by the introduction of the true religion, the promise of the verse before us must be that when they cried God would send them a deliverer, a promise verified not once but often, not by Ptolemy or Alexander only but by others, and in the highest sense by Christ himself. The assertion, that the meaning of the prophecy was exhausted by events before the advent, is as easily contradicted as advanced. It is admitted that the rise of Alexander's power was contemporaneous with a great increase of Jewish population and Jewish influence in Egypt, and also with a great improvement in the social and political condition of the people. This was still more remarkably the case when Christianity was introduced, and who shall say what is yet to be witnessed and experienced in Egypt under the influence of this same gospel? In the language of this verse there is an obvious allusion to the frequent statement in the book of Judges, that the people cried to God and he raised them up deliverers who saved them from their oppressors (Judg. 2: 16. 3: 9 etc.). Cocceius applies these terms to the various deliverers who were raised up to free the Reformed Church from its enemies.

V. 21. *And Jehovah shall be known to Egypt, and Egypt* (or the Egyptians) *shall know Jehovah in that day, and shall serve* (*with*) *sacrifice and offering, and shall vow a vow to Jehovah and perform* it. This is not the prediction of a new event, but a repetition in another form of the preceding promise. The first clause may be understood as containing an emphatic repetition, or נוֹדַע may be taken in a reflexive sense as meaning *he shall make himself known*, in which case each of the parties is the subject of an active verb. The second clause is still but another variation of the same idea. What is first described as the knowledge of the true God, is afterwards represented as his service, the expressions being borrowed from the ancient ritual. If the last clause be literally understood, we must either regard it as an unfounded expectation of the Prophet which was never fulfilled, or suppose that it relates to an express violation of the law of Moses, or assume that the ancient rites and forms are hereafter to be re-established. On the other hand, the figurative explanation is in perfect agreement with the usage of both testaments and with the tenor of the prophecy itself. Bloody and unbloody sacrifice is here combined with vows in order to express the

totality of ritual services as a figure for those of a more spiritual nature. The express mention of the Egyptians themselves as worshipping Jehovah shows that they are also meant in the preceding verse, and not, as Hitzig imagines, the Jews resident in Egypt, whose example and experience of God's favour were to be the means of bringing those around them to the knowledge and reception of the truth. Gesenius explains עָבְרוּ as a synonyme of עָשׂוּ, and makes it govern the noun directly in the sense of *performing* or *offering* sacrifice etc. Hitzig adopts the same construction, and moreover makes this use of עָבַד symptomatic of a later writer. Hendewerk justly condemns this reasoning as exceedingly unfair, when the common acceptation of the term gives a perfectly good sense, and the absolute use of עָבַד in the sense of serving God occurs elsewhere (Job 36: 11), and the same ellipsis in this very chapter (v. 23).

V. 22. *And Jehovah shall smite Egypt* (or *the Egyptians*), *smiting and healing, and they shall return unto Jehovah, and he shall be entreated of them and shall heal them.* Here again the second clause contains no advance upon the first, and the whole verse no advance upon the foregoing context, but an iteration of the same idea in another form. This verse may indeed be regarded as a recapitulation of the whole preceding prophecy, consisting as it does of an extended threatening (vs. 1–17) followed by an ample promise (vs. 18–21). As if he had said, thus will God smite Egypt and then heal it. That great heathen power, with respect to which the Jews so often sinned both by undue confidence and undue dread, was to be broken and reduced; but in exchange for this political decline, and partly as a consequence of it, the Egyptians should experience benefits far greater than they ever before knew. Thus would Jehovah *smite and heal*, or smite but so as afterwards to heal, which seems to be the force of the reduplicated verb. (See Ewald § 540.) The meaning is not simply that the stroke should be followed by healing, nor is it simply that the stroke should itself possess a healing virtue; but both ideas seem to be included. Returning to Jehovah is a common figure for repentance and conversion, even in reference to the heathen. (See Psalm 22: 28.)

V. 23. *In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and Assyria shall come into Egypt and Egypt into Assyria, and Egypt* (or *the Egyptians*) *shall serve with Assyria.* No translation will convey the precise form of the original, in which the ancestral names מִצְרַיִם and אַשּׁוּר are put not only for their descendants but for the countries which they occupied. Thus in one clause we read of coming into מִצְרַיִם, while in the next the same name is construed with a plural verb. No one, it is probable, has ever yet maintained that a road was literally opened between Egypt

and Assyria, or that Isaiah expected it. All classes of interpreters agree that the opening of the highway is a figure for easy, free, and intimate communication. This unanimous admission of a metaphor in this place not only shows that the same mode of interpretation is admissible in the other parts of the same prophecy, but makes it highly probable that what is said of altars and sacrifices is to be likewise so understood. The Chaldee Paraphrast alone seems to have understood the second clause as having reference to hostile communication. Some understand it as relating only to commercial intercourse; others confine it to religious union. But the same thing is true here and in v. 18, that while the language itself denotes intimate connexion and free intercourse in general, the context renders the idea of spiritual union prominent. The last clause admits of two constructions, one of which regards את as the objective particle and understands the clause to mean that *the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians;* the other makes את a preposition and explains the clause to mean that *the Egyptians shall serve* (God) *with the Assyrians.* In favour of the first is the constant usage of עבד with את (Gen. 14: 4. 27: 40. 31: 6. Ex. 14: 12 etc.) and the unanimous agreement of the ancient versions. But the sense thus yielded is at variance with the context, what precedes and follows being clearly expressive of a union so complete and equal as to exclude the idea of subjection or superiority. Some have attempted to evade this difficulty by attaching to עבד the sense of serving by benevolence (Gal. 5: 13) or of simply treating with respect or reverence. But even if this explanation of the word were justified by usage, why should this deference be confined to one party instead of being mutual, especially when what precedes and follows so emphatically expresses the idea of reciprocity? In favour of the other construction is the constant use of עבד to denote the service of Jehovah, and the omission of the divine name after it, not only in Job 36: 11, but in v. 21 of this very chapter. For although the latter place admits, as we have seen, of two interpretations, the very fact that the elliptical construction is appropriate in both, and that no other sense but that of *serving God* is equally appropriate to both, would seem to be decisive in favour of this sense and this construction as the true one. Some understand the clause to mean that the Egyptians should *serve* with the Assyrians in the same army under the same leader, viz. Alexander the Great or his successors. But עבד is nowhere absolutely used, if at all, in this modern military sense, which is moreover wholly inadmissible in v. 21. The sense of *serving God together* is adopted by Luther and all the later German writers except Hitzig, who agrees with Cocceius and the ancient versions. Some remove the ambiguity by supplying the ellipsis, others by giving a specific meaning to the verb, as Lowth (worship) and Ewald (huldigen).

V. 24. *In that day shall Israel be a third with respect to Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth.* The meaning obviously is that Israel should be *one of three* or a party to a triple union. שְׁלִישִׁיָּה therefore does not agree with יִשְׂרָאֵל considered as a feminine noun, because intended to denote not the country but the nation. This explanation, the one suggested by Gesenius, is directly contrary to usage, which makes countries feminine and nations masculine, as stated by Gesenius himself in his comment on the next verse. Nor is it necessary to suppose a reference to עֵדָה or any other noun understood. "As the fractional numerals are all abstract nouns, the feminine form of the ordinals is employed exclusively for their representation." (Nordheimer § 627. Compare Gesenius § 96.) The word therefore means a third part or one equal part out of three. The idea meant to be conveyed, however, is not, as Cocceius supposes, merely that of equality in magnitude or power, but also that of intimate conjunction, as in the preceding verse. *Blessing* is here used in a comprehensive sense, as denoting at the same time a source of blessing, a means of blessing, and an object to be blessed. Luther supplies a preposition before it and a relative after it (through the blessing which is in the midst of the earth). Knobel simply supplies the verb of existence (blessing shall be in the midst etc.). The simplest construction is to put it in apposition with ישראל or שלישליה, a blessing in the midst of the earth, which is equivalent to saying *as a blessing* or (as Ewald has it) *for a blessing* in the midst of the earth. The restricted sense of *land*, whether understood to mean the land of Israel or the land of the three united powers now reckoned as one, is not only arbitrary, i. e. assumed without necessity, but greatly impairs the strength of the expressions.

V. 25. *Which Jehovah of Hosts has blessed* (or *with which Jehovah of Hosts has blessed it*) *saying, Blessed be my people Egypt, and the work of my hands Assyria, and my heritage* (or peculiar people) *Israel.* The perfect union of the three great powers in the service of God and the enjoyment of his favour is now expressed by a solemn benediction on the three, in which language commonly applied to Israel exclusively is extended to Egypt and Assyria. The force of the expressions would be much enhanced by the habitual associations of a Jewish reader. It arises very much from the surprise excited by the unexpected termination of the clauses. Instead of *Blessed be my people Israel*, the formula is *blessed be my people Egypt.* That *the work of my hands* does not merely mean *my creature*, or a creature perfectly at my disposal, but my creature in a special and a spiritual sense, the same in which God is said to be the maker or founder of Israel (Deut. 32 : 6. Isai. 43 : 6, 7), is evident from this consideration, that the clause would otherwise say nothing peculiar or distinctive of Assyria, as those

before and after it do of Egypt and Israel. Some writers understand the last clause as still making a distinction in favour of Israel, as if he had said, Egypt is indeed my people and Assyria my handiwork, but Israel after all and alone is my inheritance. The objections to this interpretation are, first, that it is wholly arbitrary, that is, it assumes a peculiar emphasis in the word *inheritance* which neither usage nor the context warrants; and secondly, that it contradicts or makes unmeaning the varied and reiterated forms of speech by which the Prophet had before expressed the ideas of equality and union. Where his very object seems to be to represent the three united powers as absolutely one in privilege, it cannot be supposed that he would wind up by saying that they are not absolutely equal after all. Much less is such a meaning to be put upon his words when there is nothing in the words themselves to require or even authorize it. The correct view of the verse seems to be this. In order to express once more and in the most emphatic manner the admission of Egypt and Assyria to the privileges of the chosen people, he selects three titles commonly bestowed upon the latter exclusively, to wit, *God's people*, the *work of his hands*, and his *inheritance*, and these three he distributes to the three united powers without discrimination or invidious distinction. If this view of the matter be correct, the meaning of the whole will be distorted by attaching any undue emphasis to the concluding words. As to the application of the prophecy there are three distinct opinions. One is that the Prophet here anticipates a state of peace and international communion between Egypt, Israel, and Assyria in his own times, which may or may not have been actually realized. Another is that he predicts what actually did take place under the reign of Alexander and the two great powers that succeeded him, viz. the Graeco-Syrian and Egyptian monarchies, by which the true religion was protected and diffused and the way prepared for the preaching of the gospel. A third is that Egypt and Assyria are here named as the two great heathen powers known to the Jews, whose country lay between them and was often the scene if not the subject of their contests, so that for ages they were commonly in league with the one against the other. To describe these two great belligerent powers as at peace with Israel and one another, was not only to foretell a most surprising revolution in the state of the world, but to intimate at least a future change in the relation of the Jews and Gentiles. When he goes still further and describes these representatives of heathenism as received into the covenant and sharing with the church of God its most distinctive titles, we have one of the clearest and most striking predictions of the calling of the Gentiles that the word of God contains. One advantage of this exposition is that while it thus extends and elevates the scope of the prediction, it retains unaltered whatever there may be of more specific prophecy or of coincidence with history. If Alexander is referred to, and the spread of Judaism

under him and his successors, and the general pacification of the world and progress of refinement, these are so many masterly strokes added to the great prophetic picture; but they cannot be extracted from it and made to constitute a picture by themselves. As to the construction of the first clause, it may be observed that most writers refer the relative pronoun to הָאָרֶץ, or give אֲשֶׁר the sense of *for, because*, but Ewald and Knobel make בְּרָכָה the antecedent—the blessing wherewith God has blessed it—as in Deut. 12: 7. 15: 14. In either case, the suffix בֵּרְכוֹ refers not to הָאָרֶץ as a masculine because denoting people, but to Egypt, Assyria, and Israel, considered as a single nation. The preterite form of the verb has reference to the benediction as preceding and occasioning the union just before described. When Egypt, Assyria, and Israel are thus united, it will be because God *has already blessed them, saying*, etc. There is therefore no necessity or ground for an arbitrary change of the preterite into a future, nor even for evading an exact translation by the substitution of the present form. How far the early Jews were below the genuine spirit of the Prophecies may be gathered from the fact that both the Septuagint and Targum make this a promise to Israel exclusively, Assyria and Egypt being mentioned merely as the places where they had experienced affliction.

CHAPTER XX.

About the time of the Assyrian attack on Ashdod, the Prophet is directed to walk naked and barefoot as a sign of the defeat and captivity of the Egyptians and Ethiopians who were at war with Assyria. The first verse fixes the date of this symbolical transaction; the second contains the divine command and the record of its execution; the third and fourth explain the meaning of the symbol; the fifth and sixth predict its effect, or rather that of the event which it prefigured. The questions which have been raised, as to the date of the composition and the fulfilment of the prophecy, will be most conveniently considered in the course of the detailed interpretation. It may be added here, however, that Cocceius, with all other interpreters, applies this chapter to the literal Egypt, but instead of admitting any inconsistency between this hypothesis and that which supposes ch. 19 to relate to the mystical Egypt, he ingeniously converts the juxtaposition into an argument for his opinion, by alleging that the chapter now before us was added for the very purpose of showing that the foregoing promises and threatenings did not belong to the literal Egypt.

V. 1. *In the year of Tartan's coming to Ashdod, in Sargon king of Assyria's sending him* (i. e. when Sargon king of Assyria sent him), *and he fought with Ashdod* (i. e. besieged it) *and took it.* Ashdod was one of the five cities of the Philistines (Josh. 11: 22. 15: 46. 1 Sam. 5: 1), considered on account of its strong fortifications (from which its name is supposed to be derived) the key of Egypt, and therefore frequently attacked in the wars between Egypt and Assyria. According to Herodotus, Psammetichus besieged it twenty-nine years. This, if not an exaggeration, is the longest siege in history, and probably took place after what is here recorded, to recover Ashdod from Assyria. Its site is marked by a village still called *Esdûd* (Robinson's Palestine II. 368). The name of Sargon nowhere else occurs. Tartan appears again as a general under Sennacherib (2 Kings 18: 17). From this Usher, Grotius, Lowth, and Doederlein infer that Sargon and Sennacherib are one and the same person. According to Jerome, this king had seven names; according to Kimchi and the Talmud, eight. This looks very much like a Jewish figment designed to render the alleged identity more probable. Marsham and J. D. Michaelis identify Sargon with Esarhaddon; Sanctius, Vitringa, and Eichhorn, with Shalmaneser. All these suppositions are less probable than the obvious one, that Sargon was a king of Assyria mentioned only here, because his reign was very short, and this was the only occurrence that brought him into contact with the Jews. That he was not the immediate successor of Sennacherib, is clear from ch. 37: 38, and from the fact which seems to be implied in 2 Chr. 32: 21, that Tartan perished in the great catastrophe. The most plausible hypothesis, and that now commonly adopted, is, that he reigned three or four years between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib (according to Knobel's computation, from 718 to 715 B. C.). It is said indeed in one of the Apocryphal books (Tob. 1: 15) that Sennacherib was the son of Enemessar (i. e. Shalmaneser); but even allowing more weight to this authority than it deserves, Sargon may have been an elder brother. In the Vatican text of the Septuagint this name is written Ἀρνᾶ, in the Complutensian Ναρνᾶ, by Aquila and Theodotion Σαραγών. The immediate succession of these two kings readily accounts for Tartan's being named as an officer of both, as Vitringa observes that Abner served under Saul and Ishbosheth, and Benaiah under David and Solomon. So the Duke of Wellington, in our day, has served under four successive sovereigns. Nothing, therefore, can be proved in this way as to the identity of Sargon and Sennacherib. Hendewerk even questions the propriety of inferring that they reigned in immediate succession, on the ground that *Tartan*, like *Rabshakeh* and *Rabsaris* (2 Kings 18: 17), was not a proper name but an official title. Hendewerk himself, however, acquiesces in the common chronological hypothesis, although he questions this mode of proving it. The name Tartan is written in the Alexandrian

text of the Septuagint *Νάθαν*, in the Vatican *Ταράθαν*. Here, as in ch. 6: 1, it is disputed whether *in the year of Tartan's coming* means before or after that occurrence. The truth is, it means neither, but leaves that question undetermined, or at most to be determined by the context. Those who refer the last two verses of the chapter to the Philistines, and suppose the prophecy to have been intended to forewarn them of the issue of the siege of Ashdod and of the folly of relying on Egyptian or Ethiopian aid against Assyria, must of course assume that this symbolical transaction took place before the arrival of Tartan, or at least before the end of the siege. Those, on the other hand, who suppose it to refer to the Jews themselves, find it more natural to assume that the prophecy was uttered after the fall of Ashdod. In this case, the recording of the prophecy may have been contemporaneous with its publication. In the other case, we must suppose it to have been reduced to writing after the event. Here, as in ch. 7: 1–16, Gesenius infers from the use of the third person, that the chapter was not written by Isaiah himself, but by a scribe or amanuensis. Here too, as in ch. 7: 1, Ewald regards the last clause as a parenthetical anticipation, and the next verse as continuing the narrative directly. As if he had said: 'in the year that Tartan came to Ashdod (which he besieged and finally took), at that time etc.' But this supposition is at least unnecessary. On the change of construction from the infinitive to the future, and the collocation of the subject and the object in the first clause, vide supra, ch. 5: 24.

V. 2. *At that time spake Jehovah by the hand of Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and thou shalt open* (i. e. loose) *the sackcloth from upon thy loins, and thy shoe thou shalt pull off from upon thy foot. And he did so, going naked and barefoot.* Maimonides, Kimchi, Stäudlin, and Hendewerk, suppose this to have been done merely in vision. This supposition is not only altogether arbitrary, i. e. without any intimation in the text, but is rendered more improbable by the expression *and he did so*, as well as by the statement in the next verse that the act required was to be a sign or symbol to the spectators, which certainly implies that it was really exhibited. This supposition of an ideal exposure seems to have been resorted to, in order to avoid the conclusion that the Prophet really appeared before the people in a state of nudity. It is commonly agreed, however, that this was not the case. The word *naked* is used to express partial denudation in all languages. The examples quoted by Vitringa from Seneca, Suetonius, and Aurelius Victor, have been copied or referred to by most later writers. As biblical examples, may be cited 1 Sam. 19: 24. 2 Sam. 6: 20. Amos 2: 16. John 21: 7. In the case before us, we may either suppose that the שַׂק was an upper garment which he threw entirely off, or an inner garment which he opened by ungirding it, or a

girdle itself which he loosened and perhaps removed. Sackcloth was a common mourning dress, and some suppose that Isaiah was now wearing it in token of his grief for the exile of the ten tribes (Kimchi, Lightfoot). Others understand it as an official or ascetic dress worn by the prophets (Zech. 13: 4), as for instance by Elijah (2 Kings 1: 8) and by John the Baptist (Matt. 3: 4). Others again suppose that it is mentioned as a cheap coarse dress worn by the Prophet in common with the humbler class of people. The name שַׂק appears to have reference merely to the coarseness of the texture; but the cloth would seem to have been usually made of hair, and, in later times at least, of a black colour (Rev. 6: 12). The expression *by the hand* denotes ministerial agency or intervention, and is often used in reference to communications made to the people *through* the prophets. (Ex. 4: 13. 1 Sam. 16: 20. Jer. 37: 2.) So in this case, the divine communication was really addressed to the people, though the words immediately ensuing are addressed to the Prophet himself. There is no ground, therefore, for suspecting, with Hendewerk, that the words בְּיַד etc. were interpolated afterwards as an explanatory gloss, or for assuming, with Gesenius, that בְּיַד is here used like a corresponding phrase in Arabic to mean *before* or *in the presence of*, as some suppose it does in 1 Sam. 21: 14 and Job 15: 27. It is not even necessary to suppose that the phrase has exclusive reference to the symbolical action. Gill: "he spoke *by* him by the sign he used according to his order, and he spoke *to* him to use the sign." The simplest and most natural solution is, that what was said *to* the Prophet was obviously said *through* him to the people. Above thirty manuscripts and several editions read רגליך in the plural, but of course without a change of meaning.

V. 3. *And Jehovah said, As my servant Isaiah hath gone naked and barefoot three years a sign and symbol concerning Egypt and concerning Ethiopia.* Here begins the divine explanation of the symbolical act before commanded. Although the design of this transaction was to draw attention by exciting surprise, מוֹפֵת does not merely mean a *wonder*, but a *portent* or extraordinary premonition. עַל might here be taken in the more specific sense of *against*, but the more general meaning is sufficient and agrees well with the context. *Cush* has been variously explained to mean a part of Arabia on the coast of the Red Sea (Bochart), or this part of Arabia with the opposite part of Africa (Vitringa); but the latest authorities confirm the ancient explanation of the word as meaning *Ethiopia*. In the prophecies belonging to the reign of Hezekiah, Egypt and Ethiopia are frequently combined, either because they were in close alliance, or because an Ethiopian dynasty then reigned in Upper Egypt. It has been a question with interpreters whether the words *three years* are to be connected with what follows

or what goes before. The Septuagint gives both solutions by repeating τρία ἔτη. The masoretic interpunction throws the words into the second clause, *three years a sign etc.* This construction is adopted by some modern writers for the purpose of avoiding the conclusion that Isaiah walked naked and barefoot for the space of three years, which is certainly the obvious and *prima facie* meaning of the words. Those who adhere to the masoretic accents, understand the second clause to mean *a three years' sign and wonder*, i. e. either a sign of something to occur in three years or to continue three years, or a sign for three years of a subsequent event. Those who connect *three years* with what precedes either understand the language strictly as denoting that the Prophet continued to go naked and barefoot for that space of time, or palliate the harshness of this supposition by assuming that he only appeared thus when he went abroad, or at certain set times, or occasionally. The most improbable hypothesis of all is that of a transposition in the text, שלש שנים אות for אות שלש שנים (Gesenius), unless the preference be due to that of Lowth, that the original reading was *three days*, or to that of Vitringa, that *three days* was meant to be supplied by the reader. On the whole, the simplest and most satisfactory solution is that proposed by Hitzig, who supposes the Prophet to have exposed himself but once in the way described, after which he continued to be a sign and wonder for three years, i. e. till the fulfilment of the prophecy. This explanation avoids the difficulty as to the three years' exposure, and at the same time adheres to the masoretic interpunction. The three years have been variously understood, as the duration of the siege of Ashdod, as the duration of the exile threatened in the next verse, and as the interval which should elapse between the prophecy and its fulfilment. Of these three hypotheses the second is the least probable, while the first and third may be combined.

V. 4. *So shall the king of Assyria lead the captivity* (i. e. *the captives*) *of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, with their buttocks uncovered, the nakedness* (or *disgrace*) *of Egypt.* This verse completes the comparison begun in that before it. נָהַג is commonly applied to flocks and herds, and like the Latin *ago*, corresponds both to *lead* and *drive* in English. Our language does not furnish two equivalents to שִׁבְיָה and גָּלוּת as abstract nouns, *exile* being never used as a collective for *exiles*. The sense of the original is expressed, with a change of form, in the English Version (*the Egyptians prisoners and the Ethiopians captives*), and by Luther (*das gefangene Egypten und vertriebene Mohrenland*). The phrase נְעָרִים וְזְקֵנִים is not meant to exclude men in the prime of life because already slain in battle (Musculus), but comprehends all ages. It is clear from this verse that Isaiah's exposure did not prefigure the spoliation of the Egyptians (Barnes), but their personal captivity. It is also clear from a

comparison of the type and antitype, that the nakedness of v. 2 was a partial one, since captives were not commonly reduced to a state of absolute nudity. This is confirmed by the addition of the word *barefoot* in both cases, which would be superfluous if *naked* had its strictest sense. The last clause is separately construed by Ewald: they who are thus uncovered are the shame of Egypt. Other interpreters continue the construction from the previous clause. עֶרְוַת is not to be taken in its strict sense, as in apposition with the phrase before it, but in its secondary sense of *shame* or *ignominy*, with or without a preposition understood. The omission of Ethiopia in this last clause is no ground for supposing it to be interpolated in the other (Hitzig), nor is there an allusion to the greater sensitiveness of the Egyptians (Vitringa). The omission is, so to speak, an accidental one, i. e. without design or meaning. Even Hendewerk exclaims against the tasteless and unmeaning maxim, that a writer who repeats his own expressions must do it with servile exactness, or be suspected of some deep design in the omission. Connected as Egypt and Ethiopia were in fact and in the foregoing context, either name includes the other. The *king of Assyria* here meant is neither Nebuchadnezzar (Cocceius), nor Esarhaddon, nor Shalmaneser; but either Sennacherib or Sargon himself. The modern German writers suppose this prediction to have been fulfilled in the conquest of No-Ammon (i. e. Diospolis or Thebes) mentioned in Nah. 3: 8 as a recent event. How long beforehand the prediction was uttered, is a question of small moment and one which cannot be decided. There is no ground, however, for the supposition that the interval was so short as to convert the prophecy into a mere conjecture or an act of sagacious forecast. Equally vain are the attempts to determine whether the king of Assyria remained at home during the siege of Ashdod, or was then engaged in his attack upon Egypt. The chronological hypotheses of Usher, Marsham, and Vitringa, all assume that Sargon was identical either with Shalmaneser, Esarhaddon, or Sennacherib. חַשּׂוּפֵי is explained by Jarchi as a singular with a supernumerary syllable, by Kimchi and Gesenius as an old form of the plural absolute, by Ewald as an old form of the plural construct. On the construction with the following noun, vide supra, ch. 1: 4. 3: 16.

V. 5. *And they shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation and of Egypt their boast.* This is the effect to be produced by the catastrophe just threatened. Both the Hebrew verbs take מִן after them, as *afraid* and *ashamed* take *of* in English; but the full sense of חָתוּ is that they shall be confounded, filled with consternation, at the fate of those in whom they trusted for deliverance. מִבָּטָם is that to which they *look* for help. It is used in the same sense Zech. 9: 5. According to Hitzig, מִבָּטָם properly belongs to מִצְרַיִם, but was taken from it to be joined with the interpolated

כּוּשׁ, its place being supplied by the inappropriate word תִּפְאַרְתָּם. Knobel, on the contrary, sees a peculiar beauty in the distinction between Ethiopia, to which they merely looked for help, and Egypt, from which they had formerly received it, and in which they therefore gloried. The verbs in this verse are indefinite. Some refer them to the Philistines, others to the Jews, and a third class to an Egyptian faction in Jerusalem. These are mere conjectures, nor can any thing more be ascertained from the intentionally vague terms of the text. That the words refer to the Philistines, is inferred from the mention of the siege of Ashdod in the first verse. But this is by no means a necessary inference, since Ashdod was attacked and taken, not as a town of the Philistines, but as a frontier post of great importance to both parties in the war. So far then as the Jews were interested in the war at all, they were interested in the fate of Ashdod, and the mention of this siege as one of the principal events of the campaign is altogether natural. In favour of the reference to Judah may be also urged the want of any clear example in Isaiah of a prophecy exclusively intended for the warning or instruction of a foreign power. In either case, the meaning of the verse is, that they who had relied on Egypt and its ally Ethiopia for aid against Assyria, whether Jews or Philistines or both, should be confounded at beholding Egypt and Ethiopia themselves subdued.

V. 6. *And the inhabitant of this isle* (or *coast*) *shall say in that day, Behold, thus* (or *such*) *is our expectation, whither we fled for help, to be delivered from the presence of the king of Assyria. And how shall we* (*ourselves*) *escape?* The disappointment described in the foregoing verse is now expressed by those who felt it. The argument is one *a fortiori*. If the protectors were subdued, what must become of the protected? The pronoun in the last clause is emphatic, as it usually is when not essential to the sense. The Hebrew אֵי has no exact equivalent in English. Three distinct shades or gradations of meaning seem to be clearly marked in usage. The first is that of *land* as opposed to water; the second that of *coast* as opposed to inland; the third that of *island* as opposed to mainland. The last, although commonly expressed in most translations, is perhaps the least frequent of the three. The word here denotes, not Lower Egypt or the Delta of the Nile (Clericus), but the southeastern shore of the Mediterranean, here called *this coast*, as Hendewerk observes, in order to distinguish it from *that coast*, viz. Ethiopia and Egypt, which had just before been mentioned. As to the extent of country meant to be included, nothing of course can be determined from the word itself, which is designedly indefinite. Hitzig, in accordance with his view of the whole prophecy, restricts the application to the land of the Philistines, as the maritime tract in the southwest of Palestine, adjacent to Egypt. Others with more probability regard

it as denoting Palestine itself, in the large modern sense, but with particular reference to Judah.—*Thus* or *such is our expectation* i. e. this is the end of it, you see what has become of it, you see the fate of that to which we looked for help (מִצְרַיִם); how then can we ourselves (אֲנַחְנוּ) be delivered or escape? See a similar expression 2 Kings 10: 4.

CHAPTER XXI.

As three of the verses of this chapter begin with the word מַשָּׂא (vs. 1, 11, 13), it is now commonly supposed to consist of three distinct prophecies. It is also agreed that the first of these (vs. 1–10) relates to the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Persians; the second (vs. 11, 12) either to Edom or the Arabian tribe Dumah, and the third (vs. 13–17) to another Arabian tribe or to Arabia in general. The second and third of these divisions are admitted by the recent German writers to be genuine, that is to say, composed by Isaiah himself, while the first is with almost equal unanimity declared to be the product of a later age. This critical judgment, as in other cases, is founded partly on alleged diversities of phraseology, but chiefly on the wonderful coincidences with history both sacred and profane, which could not be ascribed to Isaiah or to any contemporary writer, without conceding the reality of prophetic inspiration. The principle involved in this decision is consistently carried out by Paulus, Eichhorn, and Rosenmüller, who regard the passage as an *ex post facto* prophecy, while Gesenius, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, and Knobel, arbitrarily reject this supposition, and maintain that it was written just before the event, when Isaiah, as a politician or a poet, could foresee what was to happen. Upon this we may observe, first, that all such reasoning proceeds, not upon the want of satisfactory evidence, but upon the impossibility of inspiration or prophetic foresight, so that even supposing it to have existed, no proof could establish it. There is nothing, therefore, in the reasoning of such writers to shake the faith of any who do not hold their fundamental principle of unbelief. In the next place, this hypothesis entirely fails to account for the minute agreement of the prophecy with history in circumstantials, which must therefore be explained away by forced constructions and interpretations. Taking the language in its obvious meaning and excluding all gratuitous assumptions, we shall be constrained to look upon this passage as one of the most striking instances of strict agreement between prophecy and history. As to the remainder of the chapter, while it cannot be denied that the connexion of the

parts, and the meaning of each in itself, are exceedingly obscure, it may be doubted whether there is sufficient ground for their entire separation as distinct and independent prophecies. The extreme brevity, especially of the second part (vs. 11, 12), makes this very dubious, and the doubt is strengthened by the recurrence of the figure of a watchman in v. 11. The conclusion drawn from the use of the word מַשָּׂא rests upon the dubious assumption that it is to be regarded as a formal title or inscription. It is worthy of remark, that some of the same writers who reject these *titles* as no part of the text, appeal to their authority in settling the division and arrangement of the chapter. The truth is that this formula, in many cases, seems to indicate at most the subdivisions of an unbroken context. In the case before us, as in ch. 14 : 28, it is safer to assume the unity of the composition than rashly to dismember it. However difficult it may be, therefore, to determine the connexion of these parts, they may safely be regarded as composing one obscure but continuous prediction. This is the less improbable because they can all be brought into connexion, if not unity, by simply supposing that the tribes or races, to which vs. 11–17 relate, were sharers with the Jews in the Babylonian tyranny, and therefore interested in its downfall. This hypothesis, it is true, is not susceptible of demonstration; but it is strongly recommended by the very fact that it explains the juxtaposition of these prophecies, or rather entitles them to be considered one.

The first part of the prophecy opens with an emphatic intimation of its alarming character, vs. 1–4. We have then a graphic representation of the march of the Medes and Persians upon Babylon, vs. 5–9. This is followed by a hint of the effect which this event would have upon the people of Jehovah, v. 10.

The remainder of the chapter represents the neighbouring nations as involved in the same sufferings with the Jews, but without any consolatory promise of deliverance, vs. 11–17.

V. 1. *The burden of the desert of the sea. Like whirlwinds in the south, as to rushing* (or *driving*), *from the wilderness it comes, from a terrible land.* By the desert of the sea, Grotius understands the country of the Edomites, extending to the Red Sea as it did in the days of Solomon (1 Kings 9 : 26). Other interpreters are agreed that the phrase is an enigmatical description of Babylonia as a great plain (Gen. 11 : 1. Isai. 23 : 13), watered by a great river which, like the Nile (ch. 19 : 5), is sometimes called a sea (ch. 27 : 1). This designation was the more appropriate because the plain of Babylon, according to Herodotus, was often overflowed before Semiramis took measures to prevent it, and Abydenus says expressly that it then had the appearance of a sea. The threatened danger is compared to the approach of a tempest from the south, i. e. from the great Arabian desert, in

which quarter the most violent winds are elsewhere represented as prevailing. ל before חלוף denotes relation in general, and indicates the point of the comparison. בָּא is indefinite and may either be referred to the enemy or made to agree with *something* or the like understood. As מִמִּדְבָּר cannot be referred to the countries through which Cyrus passed, Knobel disregards the accents and connects it with what goes before. 'Like south-winds sweeping from the wilderness, one comes (or they come) from a terrible land.' This, however, is unnecessary, as the phrase מִמִּדְבָּר may be figurative and refer to the foregoing comparison, as if he had said, they come as storms come from the desert.

V. 2. *A hard vision—it is revealed to me—the deceiver deceiving and the spoiler spoiling—go up, oh Elam—besiege, oh Media—all sighing* (or *all its sighing*) *I have made to cease.* The first phrase of course means a vision of severe and awful judgments. The feminine form of the noun is connected with a masculine verb, as Henderson imagines, to intimate the dreadful nature of the judgment threatened. It is hard to see how this end is attained by an irregularity of syntax. Others regard it as a mere enallage, which is the less probable, however, as the noun precedes the verb. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that חָזוּת is indefinite and governs the preceding words, as if he had said, a revelation has been made to me (consisting of) a grievous vision. The older writers understand the next clause as a description of the Babylonian tyranny, and give בּוֹגֵד its usual meaning of a *treacherous dealer.* The late writers apply the clause to the conquerors of Babylon, and make בּוֹגֵד nearly synonymous with שׁוֹדֵד. But this sense of the word cannot be justified by usage. Nor is it necessary, even if the clause be applied to Cyrus, since one of the terms may describe the stratagems of war as the other does its violence. This is the more natural, as Babylon was actually taken by stratagem. *Go up,* i. e. against Babylon, either in reference to its lofty defences (ch. 26: 5), or according to a more general military usage of the phrase. (Vide supra, ch. 7: 1.) The Medes and Persians were united under Cyrus, but the latter are here named first, as Knobel thinks, because they were now in the ascendant. The final letter of אַנְחָתָהּ is commonly regarded as a suffix, though without mappik, *all its sighing*, sc. Babylon's, i. e. all the sighing it has caused by its oppression, or all the sighing of it, sc. the גָּלוּת, or captivity. Some however make the letter paragogic, and read *all sighing*, which amounts to the same thing, the limitation which is expressed in one case being understood in the other. Elam, a province of the Persian empire, is here put for the whole. Knobel sees a designed paronomasia in the similar forms עֲלִי עֵילָם.

V. 3. *Therefore my loins are filled with pain; pangs have seized me like the pangs of a travailing* (*woman*)*; I writhe* (or *am convulsed*) *from*

hearing; I am shocked (or *agitated*) *from seeing.* Some regard these as the words of a captive Jew, or of a Babylonian; but there is no objection to explaining them as expressive of the Prophet's own emotions, a very common method of enhancing the description even of deserved and righteous judgments. The reduplicated form חֲלָחָלָה is intensive. Lowth's translation *convulsed* is perhaps too strong, as the common version *bowed down* is too weak. The older writers give the מִן a causal meaning, *from*, i. e. by or on account of. The later writers make it privative, *away from hearing*, i. e. so as not to hear. Ewald obtains the same sense by making it comparative, *too much confounded to hear, too much frightened to see.*

V. 4. *My heart wanders* (reels, or is bewildered); *horror appals me; the twilight* (night or evening) *of my pleasure* (or desire) *he has put for* (or converted into) *fear* (or trembling) *for me.* Compare the combination תִּתֵּי לֵבָב Ps. 95 : 10. There are two interpretations of the last clause. One supposes it to mean that the night desired as a time of rest is changed into a time of terror; the other, that a night of festivity is changed into a night of terror. As this last brings the prophecy into remarkable coincidence with history, the modern Germans commonly prefer the former. That the court was revelling when Cyrus took the city, is stated in the general by Herodotus and Xenophon, and in full detail by Daniel. That the two first, however, did not derive their information from the prophet, may be inferred from their not mentioning the writing on the wall, which would have seemed incredible to neither of them.

V. 5. *Set the table, spread the cloth, eat, drink, arise ye chiefs, anoint the shield!* The Hebrew verbs are not imperatives but infinitives, here used in the first clause for the historical tense in order to give brevity, rapidity, and life to the description. For the same purpose the English imperative may be employed, as the simplest form of the verb and unencumbered with the personal pronouns. The sense, however, is, that while the table is set etc. the alarm is given. Luzzatto makes the whole verse antithetical: they set the table, they had better set a watch; they eat and drink, they had better arise and anoint the shield. צְפֵה הַצָּפִית is commonly explained to mean *watching the watch*, i. e. setting a guard to prevent surprise. But the context implies that they were surprised. Ewald refers it to the watching of the stars, which agrees well with the Babylonian usages, but like the first explanation seems misplaced between the setting of the table and the sitting at it. Hitzig and Knobel give צָפָה the usual sense of צָפָה to overspread or cover, and צָפִית (which occurs only here) that of the thing spread, whether it be the cloth or skin which serves the orientals for a table, or the carpet upon which they sit at meals. The anointing of the shield is supposed by some to be

a means of preserving it or of repelling missiles from its surface, by others simply a means of cleansing and perhaps adorning it. Both agree that it is here poetically used to express the idea of arming or preparing for battle. There are two interpretations of the last clause. One makes it an address by Jehovah or the Prophet to the Medes and Persians, as in the last clause of v. 2; the other a sudden alarm to the Babylonians at their feast. Both explanations, but especially the last, seem to present a further allusion to the surprise of the king and court by Cyrus. This coincidence with history can be explained away only by giving to the verse a vague and general meaning which is wholly at variance with the graphic vividness of its expressions.

V. 6. *For thus saith the Lord to me: Go set* (or *cause to stand*) *the watchman* (or *sentinel*); *that which he sees let him tell.* Instead of simply predicting or describing the approach of the enemy, the Prophet introduces an ideal watchman, as announcing what he actually sees. According to Knobel, he is himself the watchman (Hab. 1 : 8), which is hardly consistent with the language of this verse. The last clause may be also construed thus—*who may see* (*and*) *tell*; but the first construction seems more natural.

V. 7. *And should he see cavalry—a pair* (or *pairs of horsemen*)*—ass-riders—camel-riders—then shall he hearken with hearkening a great hearkening* (i. e. listen attentively). This is Ewald's construction of the sentence, which supposes the divine instructions to be still continued. All other writers understand the Prophet as resuming his own narrative: and he saw (or he sees) etc. Against this construction, and in favour of the first, is the form of the verbs, which are all in the preterite with *vav conversive*, because following the futures of the foregoing verse (Nordheimer § 219). Besides, if the usual construction be adopted, v. 9 is a mere repetition of v. 7, and v. 8 is obviously misplaced between them. But on the other supposition, this verse contains the order and the ninth its execution, while the eighth, as a preface to the latter, is exactly in its proper place. צֶמֶד is properly a *yoke* of oxen, then a *pair* in general. It is here collective and means *pairs* of horsemen, i. e. horsemen in pairs or marching two and two. The sense of steeds or riding-horses (as opposed to סוּסִים chariot-horses) given to פָּרָשִׁים by Gesenius, is extremely rare and doubtful, and ought not to be assumed without necessity. רֶכֶב in a very great majority of cases means a chariot. But as this would seem to make the Prophet speak of chariots drawn by asses and camels, most of the late writers either take the word in the sense of rows or troops, which seems entirely arbitrary, or in that of mounted troops or cavalry, which seems to be easily deducible from רָכַב, to ride, and may be justified by the analogy of 1 Sam.

8: 4. 10: 18, where the word must mean either riders or the beasts on which they rode, although the English translators, in order to retain the usual sense of *chariot*, supply *horses* in one place and *men* in the other. On the first of these hypotheses, the camels and asses would be mentioned only as beasts of burden; but we know from Herodotus and Xenophon that the Persians also used them in their armies for riding, partly or wholly for the purpose of frightening the horses of the enemy. It is a slight but obvious coincidence of prophecy and history that Xenophon represents the Persians advancing two by two (εἰς δύο).

V. 8. *And he cries—a lion—on the watch-tower, Lord, I am standing always by day, and on my ward* (or *place of observation*) *I am stationed all the nights* (i. e. *all night*, or *every night*, or both). That the setting of this watch is an ideal process, seems to be intimated by the word אֲדֹנָי one of the divine names (not אֲדֹנִי *my lord* or *sir*), and also by the unremitted vigilance to which he here lays claim. From the first of these particulars, Knobel infers that the Prophet is himself the watchman stationed by Jehovah. But see v. 7, and the comment on it. Another view of the passage may be suggested as possibly the true one, viz. that the Prophet, on receiving the order to set a watch, replies that he is himself engaged in the performance of that duty. According to the usual interpretation, these are the words of the delegated watchman, announcing that he is at his post and will remain there and announce whatever he may see. There are two explanations of וַיִּקְרָא אַרְיֵה. The first makes אַרְיֵה the beginning of the watchman's speech —*he cries, a lion!* i. e. I see a lion coming, meaning the invader. The objection to this is not, as Henderson alleges, that the usage of the language does not authorize such an application of the figure of a lion; but rather that this abrupt and general announcement of the enemy would hardly have been followed by a prefatory declaration of the watchman's diligence. This, it is clear, must come before not after the announcement of the enemy, and accordingly we find that announcement in the next verse, corresponding exactly to the terms of the instructions in the seventh. These considerations seem decisive in favour of the other hypothesis, now commonly adopted, viz. that אַרְיֵה forms no part of the sentinel's report, but is rather a description of the way in which he makes it. The true sense of the words is given in a paraphrase in Rev. 10: 3, *he cried with a loud voice as when a lion roareth.* As to the syntax, we may either supply כְּ before אַרְיֵה, of which ellipsis there are some examples, or still more simply read *the lion cries*, thus converting the simile into a metaphor. The first construction agrees best however with the masoretic accents. Luzzatto explains אַרְיֵה as the usual cry of shepherds when they saw wild beasts approaching.

V. 9. *And behold, this comes* (or this is what is coming), *mounted men, pairs of horsemen. And he answers* (i. e. speaks again) *and says, Fallen, fallen, is Babylon, and all the images of her gods he has broken* (or *crushed*) *to the earth.* The last verb is indefinitely construed, but obviously refers to the enemy as the instrument of Babylon's destruction, rather than to God as the efficient cause. The omission of the asses and camels in this verse is explained by Knobel on the ground that the enemy is now to be conceived as having reached the city, his beasts of burden being left behind him. But the true explanation seems to be that the description given in v. 7 is abbreviated here, because so much was to be added. Still the correspondence is sufficiently exact. רֶכֶב אִישׁ is supposed by some to mean chariots containing men; but according to the analogy of v. 7, it rather means *mounted men.* As the phrases *camel-riders, ass-riders,* there used, from the nature of the case can only mean riders upon camels and asses, so here *man-riders,* from the nature of the case, can only mean men who are riders themselves. The structure of the passage is highly dramatic. In the sixth verse, the prophet is commanded to set a watch. In the seventh, the sentinel is ordered to look out for an army of men, mounted on horses, camels, and asses. In the eighth, he reports himself as being at his post. In the ninth, he sees the very army which had been described approaching. *Answer* is used, both in Greek and Hebrew, for the resumption of discourse by the same speaker, especially after an interval. It is here equivalent to *spoke again.* During the interval implied, the city is supposed to have been taken, so that when the watchman speaks again, it is to say that Babylon is fallen. The omission of all the intermediate details, for the purpose of bringing the extremes together, is a masterly stroke of poetical description, which would never have occurred to an inferior writer. The allusion to idols in the last clause is not intended merely to remind us that the conquest was a triumph of the true God over false ones, but to bring into view the well known aversion of the Persians to all images. Herodotus says they not only thought it unlawful to use images, but imputed folly to those who did it. Here is another incidental but remarkable coincidence of prophecy even with profane history.

V. 10. *Oh my threshing and the son of my threshing-floor! What I have heard from Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, I have told you.* This part of the prophecy closes with an apostrophe, showing at once by whose power and for whose sake the downfall of Babylon was to be brought about. *Threshing* here means that which is threshed, and is synonymous with the following phrase, *son of the threshing-floor,* i. e. (according to the oriental idiom which uses *son* to signify almost any relation) *threshed grain.* The comparison of severe oppression or affliction to threshing is a common one,

and though the terms here used are scarcely intelligible when literally rendered into English, it is clear that they mean, *oh my oppressed and afflicted people*, and must therefore be addressed not to the Babylonians but the Jews, to whom the fall of Babylon would bring deliverance, and for whose consolation this prediction was originally uttered. The last clause assures them that their own God had sent this message to them.

V. 11. *The burden of Dumah. To me (one is) calling from Seir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?* It has been already stated that most interpreters regard this and the next verse as an independent prophecy; but that the use of the word מַשָּׂא is an insufficient reason, while the extreme brevity of the passage, and the recurrence of the figure of a sentinel or watchman, seem to indicate that it is a continuation of what goes before, although a new subject is here introduced. Of *Dumah* there are two interpretations. J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, understand it as the name of an Arabian tribe descended from Ishmael (Gen. 25: 14. 1 Chr. 1 : 30), or of a place belonging to that tribe, perhaps the same now called *Dumah Eljandil* on the confines of Arabia and Syria. In that case, Seir, which lay between Judah and the desert of Arabia, is mentioned merely to denote the quarter whence the sound proceeded. But as Seir was itself the residence of the Edomites or children of Esau, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, and Knobel, follow the Septuagint and Jarchi in explaining דּוּמָה as a variation of the name אֱדוֹם, intended at the same time to suggest the idea of *silence*, solitude, and desolation. This enigmatical name, as well as that in v. 1, is ascribed by Knobel to the copyist or compiler who added the inscriptions. In favour of the first interpretation is the mention of Arabia and of certain Arabian tribes in the following verses. But even Edom might be said to form a part of Arabia. Jerome also mentions Dumah as a district in the south of Edom. The greater importance of Edom and the frequency with which it is mentioned in the prophets, especially as an object of divine displeasure, also recommend this exegetical hypothesis. Knobel adds that the Edomites were subject to Judah till the year B. C. 743, and would therefore naturally take part in its sufferings from Babylonian tyranny. Clericus understands the question to be, what has happened since last night? The English Version seems to mean, what have you to say of the night? Interpreters are commonly agreed, however, that the מִן is partitive, and that the question is, what part of the night is it, equivalent to our question, what o'clock? This may have been a customary method of interrogating watchmen. קֹרֵא is indefinite, or may agree with קוֹל understood. (Vide infra, ch. 40 : 3.) Night is a common metaphor to represent calamity, as daybreak does relief from it. Some regard this as a taunting inquiry addressed to Judah by his heathen neighbours. It

is much more natural, however, to explain it as an expression of anxiety arising from a personal concern in the result.

V. 12. *The watchman says, Morning comes and also night; if ye will inquire, inquire; return, come.* Grotius understands this to mean that though the natural morning might return, the moral or spiritual night would still continue. Gesenius explains it as descriptive of vicissitude: morning comes, but night comes after it. Most writers understand it as relating to different subjects: morning comes (to one) and night (to another); which would seem to mean that while the Jewish night was about to be dispelled, that of Edom or Arabia should still continue. Those who regard these verses as genuine but deny the inspiration of the writer, are under the necessity of referring them to something which took place in the days of Isaiah. Knobel for example understands him here as threatening Edom with a visit from the Assyrians on their return from Egypt. But connected as the words are with the foregoing prophecy, it is far more natural to understand them as referring to the Babylonian conquest of Judea and the neighbouring countries. The last clause intimates that the event was still uncertain. Henderson and others give to שֻׁבוּ the spiritual sense of repentance and conversion; but there seems to be no need of departing from the literal import of the word. The true sense of the clause is that given by Luther. If you wish to know you must inquire again; you are come too soon; the time of your deliverance is not at hand; return or come again. On any hypothesis, however, these two verses still continue enigmatical and doubtful in their meaning.

V. 13. *The burden of Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, oh ye caravans of Dedanim.* The genuineness of this verse and of those which follow is questioned by Eichhorn, Paulus, Bauer, and Rosenmüller, but defended by Knobel on the ground that כָּבוֹד, שְׂאֵר, and שְׁנֵי שָׂכִיר are expressions belonging to Isaiah's dialect. Hitzig and Hendewerk, with the older writers, regard these verses and vs. 11, 12 as forming one prophecy. But Knobel maintains that vs. 11, 12 are of a later date, for the singular reason that they speak with uncertainty of that which is confidently foretold in the others. He also alleges that the title or inscription was taken from the word בָּעֲרָב in the next clause, even the preposition being retained. But ב is often interposed between words most closely connected, and this very combination occurs in Zech. 9: 1, where no such explanation can be given. The Prophet here passes from Edom to Arabia, or from one Arabian tribe or district to another. The answer in v. 12, that the dawn was approaching for the Jews but not for them, is here explained. The country was to be in such a state that the caravans which usually travelled undisturbed would be obliged to leave the public road and pass the night among the bushes or

thickets, which seems to be here (and perhaps originally) the meaning of יַעַר. Forests properly so called do not exist in the Arabian desert. Gesenius explains אֹרְחוֹת as the participle of אָרַח, used as a noun in the sense of travelling companies or caravans. The Dedanim are mentioned elsewhere in connexion with Edom and Teman (Jer. 49: 8. Ez. 25: 13), to whom they were probably contiguous. Their precise situation is the less important as they are not the subjects of the prophecy, but spoken of as strangers passing through, the interruption of whose journey is mentioned as a proof of the condition of the country. For בָּעֲרַב the ancient versions seem to read בָּעֲרָב, in which they are followed by Lowth, Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Knobel, the last of whom defends the emendation on the twofold ground, that עֵרֶב is a name found only in the later Hebrew writers, and that the addition of this name would be superfluous, as the caravans of Dedanim must pass of course through the desert of Arabia. The first of these arguments admits the easy answer that this place is itself a proof of earlier usage. To the second it may be replied, that *Arabia* is not half so superfluous as *evening* in connexion with תָּלִינוּ, which strictly means to spend the night. How easy it would be to retort upon such criticism by demanding whether they could pass the night in the day-time.

V. 14. *To meet the thirsty they bring water, the inhabitants of the land of Tema; with his bread they prevent* (i. e. meet or anticipate) *the fugitive.* The men of Tema, another Arabian tribe, also engaged in trade (Jer. 25: 23. Job 6: 19), are described as bringing food and drink, not to the Dedanim mentioned in v. 13, but to the people of the wasted country. *His bread* is rendered in the English Version as a collective (*their bread*) referring to the men of Tema; but the suffix relates rather to the fugitive himself, and the whole phrase means his portion of food, the food necessary for him, his *daily bread.* The ancient versions make the verbs imperative and understand the sentence as an exhortation to the people of Tema. This construction, which is adopted by Henderson, requires a change in the pointing of the text, for which there is no sufficient authority, much less a necessity. On the contrary, the context makes it far more natural to understand the Prophet as describing an act than as exhorting to it.

V. 15. *Because* (or *when*) *from the presence of swords they fled, from the presence of a drawn sword and from the presence of a bended bow, and from the presence of a weight of war.* This verse describes them as not only plundered but pursued by a blood-thirsty enemy. נְטוּשָׁה, according to usage, seems to mean not only *drawn* or *thrust forth*, but *given up*, abandoned to itself, and as it were allowed to do its worst. כֹּבֶד is properly

weight, pressure, burden, or oppression. The corresponding verb is connected with the same noun in 1 Sam. 31 : 3.

V. 16. *For thus saith the Lord to me, In yet a year* (or *in a year longer*) *like the years of a hireling* (i. e. strictly computed) *shall fail* (or *cease*) *all the glory of Kedar.* This verse seems to fix a time for the fulfilment of the foregoing prophecy. Here, as in chap. 17 : 3, glory comprehends all that constitutes the dignity or strength of a people. On the meaning of the phrase כְּשְׁנֵי שָׂכִיר, vide supra, ch. 16 : 14. Kedar was the second son of Ishmael (Gen. 25 : 13). The name is here put either for an Arab tribe or for Arabia in general (Isai. 42 : 11. 60 : 7. Ez. 27 : 21). The Rabbins call the Arabic the *language of Kedar.* The chronological specification in this verse makes it necessary either to assume a later writer than Isaiah, as some do in ch. 16 : 14 ; or a *terminus a quo* posterior to his time, as if he had said, within a year after something else before predicted ; or an abrupt recurrence from the days of Nebuchadnezzar or Cyrus to those of Hezekiah. The last would be wholly in accordance with the usage of the prophets ; but the best solution seems to be afforded by the second hypothesis. The sense will then be that the Arabians who suffered with the Jews, so far from sharing their deliverance, should within a year after that event be entirely destroyed. At the same time, due allowance should be made for diversity of judgment in a case so doubtful.

V. 17. *And the remnant of the number of bows* (or *archers*), *the mighty men* (or *heroes*) *of the children of Kedar, shall be few* (or *become few*), *for Jehovah God of Israel hath spoken it.* קשת is here collective and may either be in regimen or apposition with the words which follow. The latter construction is favoured by the accents. We read elsewhere of the archery of Ishmael (Gen. 21 : 20) and Kedar (Ps. 120 : 4). Another construction, which refers the first clause to the remnant left by the bows of the enemy, is possible, but should not be assumed without necessity. The last clause intimates that God, as the God of Israel, has a quarrel with Kedar, and at the same time that his power and omniscience will secure the fulfilment of the threatening. It is not impossible that future discoveries may yet throw light upon these brief and obscure prophecies.

CHAPTER XXII.

This chapter naturally falls into two parts. The first describes the conduct of the people of Jerusalem during a siege, vs. 1–14. The second

predicts the removal of Shebna from his post as treasurer or steward of the royal household, vs. 15–25. The modern critics are of course inclined to treat these parts as independent prophecies, although they admit that both are by Isaiah, and that both were written probably about the same time. Against this supposition, and in favour of regarding them as one connected composition, we may argue, first, from the want of any title to the second part. This, it is true, is not conclusive, but creates a presumption which can only be rebutted by strong direct evidence. Another reason is that the second part of this chapter is the only example in Isaiah of a prophecy against an individual. This again is not conclusive, since there might be one such prophecy if no more. But the presumption is against it, as analogy and usage give the preference to any exegetical hypothesis which would connect this personal prediction with one of a more general nature. A third reason is that in the second part the ground or occasion of the threatening is not expressed, and it is certainly less probable that the design was meant to be conjectured or inferred from the prophecy itself, than that it is explained in the passage which immediately precedes it. The result appears to be, that by considering the parts as independent prophecies we leave the second incomplete and *sui generis*, whereas by combining them, we make the one explain the other; and as no philological or critical objection has been urged against this supposition, it is probably the true one. The whole may then be described as a prophecy against the people of Jerusalem in general, and against Shebna in particular, considered as their leader and example.

It has been disputed whether the description in the first part of this chapter was intended to apply to the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, or by Esarhaddon in the reign of Manasseh, or by Nebuchadnezzar, or by Titus. An obvious objection to the last two is that they leave the prediction against Shebna unconnected with the one before it. Cocceius ingeniously suggests that Eliakim and his family were to retain their official rank and influence until the city was destroyed and the kingdom of Judah at an end; but this, though possible, will scarcely be preferred to any more natural and simple supposition. The objection to Sennacherib's invasion is that no such extremities were then experienced as the Prophet here describes. The objection to Nebuchadnezzar's is that vs. 9–11 contain an exact description of the measures taken by Hezekiah, as recorded in 2 Chron. 32: 3–5. Moved by this consideration, some have assumed a reference to both events, the siege by Sennacherib, and that by Nebuchadnezzar. According to Vitringa, the Prophet first describes the later event (vs. 1–5), and then recurs to one nearer at hand (vs. 6–14), this being placed last partly for the purpose of bringing it into juxtaposition with the threatening against Shebna. According to Calvin, vs. 1–5 predict the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, while

vs. 6–11 describe that by Sennacherib as already past. These suppositions, though admissible in case of necessity, can be justified by nothing short of it. As the measures described in vs. 9–11 were temporary ones which may have been frequently repeated, it is not absolutely necessary to apply that passage to the times of Hezekiah. If the whole must be applied to one specific point of time, it is probably the taking of Jerusalem by the king of Assyria in the days of Manasseh, when the latter was himself carried captive with his chief men, and Shebna possibly among the rest. The choice seems to lie between this hypothesis and that of a generic prediction, a prophetic picture of the conduct of the Jews in a certain conjuncture of affairs which happened more than once, particular strokes of the description being drawn from different memorable sieges, and especially from those of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

V. 1. *The burden of the Valley of Vision. What* (*is*) *to thee* (what hast thou? or what aileth thee?) *that thou art wholly* (literally *the whole of thee*) *gone up on the house-tops?* The first clause is not an inscription of later date, erroneously copied from v. 5 (Hitzig etc.), but the original commencement of the prophecy, or of this part of it. The modern Germans pronounce all the titles in this form spurious, and then make the use of the word מַשָּׂא in each particular case a proof of later date. It is just as easy and far more reasonable to assert that the use of this word in such connexions is a characteristic of Isaiah's manner. The enigmatical form is intentional. By the valley of vision we are not to understand Babylon, nor Judea (Calvin, Lightfoot), but Jerusalem, as being surrounded by hills with valleys between them. There is no allusion to the degradation which awaited Jerusalem (Kimchi), nor to the name Moriah (J. D. Michaelis), nor to the school of the prophets in the valley at its foot (Vitringa), nor to the spectacle which was soon to be there exhibited (J. H. Michaelis), but to Jerusalem as the seat of revelation, the abode of the prophets, and the place where God's presence was manifested. מַה־לָּךְ as usual expresses both surprise and disapprobation. (Vide supra, ch. 3: 15.) The oriental roofs are flat and used for various purposes. The ascent here mentioned has been variously explained, as being designed to gratify curiosity by gazing at the approaching enemy or the crowds of people seeking refuge in Jerusalem, or to assail the invaders or take measures for resisting them, or to indulge in grief, or to engage in idolatrous worship, or to celebrate a feast. The truth probably is, that the expression is here used as a lively description of an oriental city in commotion, without any intention to intimate as yet the cause or the occasion, just as we might say that the streets of our own cities were full of people, whether the concourse were occasioned by grief, joy, fear, or any other cause. Some suppose the Prophet to inquire as a stranger what

is the matter; but he seems rather to express disapprobation of the stir which he describes.

V. 2. *Full of stirs, a noisy town, a joyous city, thy slain are not slain with the sword nor dead in battle.* The first clause is commonly explained by the older writers as descriptive of the commotion and alarm occasioned by the enemy's approach. But this makes it necessary either to give עַלִּיזָה a sense not justified by usage, or to refer it to a past time, while the other epithets are applied to the present. Thus Junius makes the Prophet ask, how is it that the city is *now* full of confusion and alarm which was *once* so joyous? But this distinction of times is altogether arbitrary. The same remark applies, but in a less degree, to another construction which refers the whole clause to past time. The latest writers are agreed in making it descriptive of the present, not in reference however to alarm and agitation, but to the opposite condition of joyous excitement, frivolous gayety, and reckless indifference, described in v. 13. Kennicott and Tingstad make חלליך mean *thy warriors*, but it is now universally taken in its usual sense. The expression *thy slain are not slain with the sword* cannot mean that none were slain, but necessarily implies mortality of another kind. The allusion is supposed by some to be to pestilence, by others to famine, such as prevailed in the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and also by the Romans. As neither is specified, the words may be more generally understood as describing all kinds of mortality incident to sieges, excepting that of actual warfare.

V. 3. *All thy chiefs fled together—from the bow—they were bound—all that were found of thee were bound together—from afar they fled.* This verse describes the people, not as crowding from the country into Jerusalem, nor as fleeing from the public places in Jerusalem to hide themselves, but as flying from the enemy, and being nevertheless taken. קצין is neither a civil nor a military chief exclusively, but may be applied to either. נדד is not to *wander* but to *flee*. The masoretic accents connect מקשת with אסרו, according to which construction we may either read, *they are bound* (i. e. made prisoners) *by the bow* (i. e. the archers, as light-armed troops), or *without the bow* (i. e. not in battle, as the slain were not slain with the sword); or it may mean *without resistance*, without drawing a bow. Some understand it to mean, *they are restrained* (by fear) *from* (using) *the bow*. Ewald and some older writers disregard the accent and connect מקשת with נדדו, they fled from the bow, but are nevertheless taken prisoners together. *All that were found of thee* may be in antithesis to *thy chiefs*, as if he had said, not only thy chiefs but all the rest. Some understand this as describing the voluntary confinement of the people in Jerusalem during a siege;

others apply it to their vain endeavours to escape from its privations and dangers. It is best to give the verse its largest meaning as descriptive of the hardships and concomitant evils, not of one siege merely but of sieges in general.

V. 4. *Therefore I said* (or say), *Look away from me; let me be bitter in weeping* (or *weep bitterly*); *try not to comfort me for the desolation of the daughter of my people.* These are not the words of Jerusalem in answer to the question in v. 1 (Junius), but those of the Prophet expressing his sympathy with the sufferings which he foresees and foretells, as in ch. 16 : 11. 21 : 3. תָּאֵרְצוּ seems to include the idea of obtruding consolation upon one who is unwilling to receive it. *The daughter of my people* does not mean the towns dependent on Jerusalem (Junius), nor Jerusalem itself as built by the people (Clericus), nor the sons of the people expressed by a feminine collective (Gesenius), but the people itself, poetically represented as a woman, and affectionately spoken of as a daughter.

V. 5. *For there is a day of confusion and trampling and perplexity to the Lord Jehovah of Hosts in the valley of vision—breaking the wall and crying to the mountain.* לאדני does not mean *from* or *by the Lord*, as the efficient cause, but *to the Lord* as the possessor. It is equivalent to our phrase *the Lord has*, which cannot be otherwise expressed in Hebrew. *He has a day* i. e. he has it appointed, or has it in reserve. (Vide supra, ch. 2 : 12.) *Trampling* does not refer to the treading down of the fields and gardens, but of men in battle, or at least in a general commotion and confusion. מקרקר has been variously explained as a participle and a noun, and as expressing the ideas of breaking down, shouting, and placing chariots or wagons in array. שוע is not simply a cry but a cry for help. *To the mountain* are not the words of the cry, but its direction. The mountain is not Jerusalem or Zion as the residence of God, but the mountains round about Jerusalem. (Ps. 125 : 1.) The meaning is not that the people are heard crying on their way to the mountain, but rather that their cries are reverberated from it. The whole verse is a vivid poetical description of the confusion of a siege.

V. 6. *And Elam bare a quiver, with chariots, men* (i. e. *infantry*), *horsemen, and Kir uncovered the shield.* Elam was a province of Persia, often put for the whole country. Its people were celebrated archers. Some read *chariots of men* i. e. occupied by men, which would seem to be a superfluous description. Others read *cavalry* or *riding of men* i. e. mounted men as in ch. 21 : 5, but in that case פרשים would be superfluous. Others give רכב, here and in ch. 21, the sense of row, line, troop, or column, which is not sufficiently sustained by usage. Others give ב its usual sense of *in*, which cannot however be applied to *horsemen*. The sense of *horses*, doubt-

ful at best, is entirely unnecessary here. On the whole, the simplest and most natural construction seems to be that which supposes three kinds of troops to be here enumerated; cavalry, infantry, and men in chariots. Kir is now agreed to be identical with *Κύρος*, the name of a river rising in the Caucasus and emptying into the Caspian sea, from which Georgia (Girgistan) is supposed to derive its name. Kir was subject to Assyria in the time of Isaiah, as appears from the fact that it was one of the regions to which the exiles of the ten tribes were transported. It may here be put for Media, as Elam is for Persia. The uncovering of the shield has reference to the *involucra clypeorum* and the *tegimenta scutis detrahenda*, of which Cicero and Cesar speak, leathern cases used to protect the shield or keep it bright. The removal of these denotes preparation for battle. The ancient versions and some modern writers make קִיר an appellative and translate the clause, *the shield leaves the wall bare* by being taken down from the place where it hung, or the enemy *deprives the wall of its shield* i. e. its defenders. Some even suppose an allusion to the *testudo* or covered way of shields, under which the Roman soldiers used to advance to the walls of a besieged town. All the latest writers are agreed in making קִיר a proper name. The verbs are in the past tense, which proves nothing however as to the date of the events described.

V. 7. *And it came to pass* (that) *the choice of thy valleys* (thy choicest valleys) *were full of chariots, and the horsemen drew up* (or took up a position) *towards the gate.* The most obvious construction of the first clause, and the one indicated by the accents, is, *the choice of thy valleys was*, or *it was the choice of thy valleys;* but as this seems forbidden by the following words, most writers either omit וַיְהִי as a mere pleonasm, or give it the usual idiomatic meaning when it introduces or continues a narrative. It seems here to mark the progress of events. The Prophet sees something which he did not see before. He had seen the chariots and horsemen coming; but now he sees the valleys around full of them. The future form adopted by some versions is entirely unauthorized. Whatever be the real date of the events described, the Prophet evidently meant to speak of them as past or present, and we have neither right nor reason to depart from his chosen form of expression. The address is to Jerusalem. The valleys are mentioned as the only places where the cavalry or chariots could be useful or could act at all. As the only level approach to Jerusalem is on the north, that quarter may be specially intended, and *the gate* may be a gate on that side of the city. Otherwise it would be better to take שַׁעֲרָה indefinitely as denoting the direction of the movement. שׁת may either be explained as an emphatic infinitive, in which case the verb will be reflexive or govern something understood, or as a verbal noun equivalent in this connexion to our

post or *station*. Another admissible construction is to make הפרשים the object of the verb, and the verb itself indefinite: 'they station the horsemen opposite the gate.'

V. 8. *And he removed the covering of Judah, and thou didst look in that day to the armour of the house of the forest.* The first verb, which some connect with *the enemy* and others with *Jehovah* understood, is really indefinite and may be resolved into an English passive, *the covering was removed*. This expression has been variously explained to mean the disclosure of long hidden treasures—the taking of the fortified towns of Judah by Sennacherib—the disclosure of the weak points of the country to the enemy—the opening of the eyes of the Jews themselves to their own condition—the ignominious treatment of the people, represented by the oriental figure of an unveiled virgin. The analogous expression of taking away the veil from the heart (2 Cor. 3: 15, 16), and the immediate mention of the measures used for the defence of the city, are perhaps decisive in favour of explaining the words to mean that the Jews' own eyes were opened. As תַּבֵּט cannot well agree with יְהוּדָה, which as the name of the people must be masculine, it is best to understand it as the second person, and to suppose an abrupt apostrophe to Judah, a figure of perpetual occurrence in Isaiah. בית היער is not a proper name, but the designation of a house built by Solomon, and elsewhere called the house of the forest of Lebanon, because erected on that mountain, as some writers think, but according to the common opinion, because built of cedar-wood from Lebanon. This house is commonly supposed to have been either intended for an arsenal by Solomon himself, or converted into one by some of his successors, and to be spoken of in Neh. 3: 19 under the name of נשק. There is no need of supposing that the house contained only the golden shields of Solomon and Rehoboam. The fact that these were there deposited might naturally lead to a more extensive use of the building for the purpose mentioned. *Looking to* this arsenal implies dependence on its stores as the best means of defence against the enemy, unless we understand the words to signify *inspection*, which agrees well with what follows, but is not sufficiently sustained by the usage of the verb and preposition. *In that day* seems to mean *at length*, i. e. when made aware of their danger.

V. 9. *And the breaches of the city of David ye saw, that they were many, and ye gathered the waters of the lower pool.* The breaches meant are not those made by the enemy in the siege here described, but those caused by previous neglect and decay. The city of David may be either taken as a poetical name for Jerusalem at large, or in its strict sense as denoting the upper town upon Mount Zion, which was surrounded by a wall

of its own, and called the city of David because he took it from the Jebusites and afterwards resided there. *Ye saw* may either mean, ye saw them for the first time, at length became aware of them, or, ye looked at them, examined them, with a view to their repair. The last is more probably implied than expressed. בִּי may with equal propriety be rendered *for*, implying that they could no longer overlook or fail to see them, because they were so many. The last clause describes a measure of defence peculiarly important at Jerusalem where there are very few perennial springs. This precaution (as well as the one previously hinted at) was actually taken by Hezekiah in the prospect of Sennacherib's approach (2 Chr. 32 : 4), and has perhaps been repeated in every siege of any length which Jerusalem has since experienced. The *lower pool* is probably the tank or reservoir still in existence in the valley of Hinnom opposite the western side of Mount Zion. This name, which occurs only here, has reference to the *upper pool* higher up in the same valley near the Jaffa gate. (Vide supra, ch. 7 : 3. Compare Robinson's Palestine, I. 483–487.)

V. 10. *And the houses of Jerusalem ye numbered, and ye pulled down the houses to repair* (rebuild or fortify) *the wall.* The numbering of the houses probably has reference, not to the levying of men or of a tax, but to the measure mentioned in the last clause, for the purpose of determining what houses could be spared, and perhaps of estimating the expense. The houses are destroyed, not merely to make room for new erections, but to furnish materials. Ancient Jerusalem, like that of our day, was built of stone.

V. 11. *And a reservoir ye made between the two walls* (or *the double wall*) *for the waters of the old pool, and ye did not look to the maker of it, and the former of it ye did not see.* מִקְוָה according to its etymology is a place of gathering, and according to usage a place where waters are collected. As the Hebrew dual is not a mere periphrasis for *two* (vide supra ch. 6 : 2), חֹמֹתַיִם cannot simply mean *two walls*, but must denote a *double wall* in some situation where but one had been before, or might have been expected. The reference is probably to a wall built out from that of the city and returning to it, so as to enclose the tank or reservoir here mentioned. As this was a temporary measure, perhaps often repeated, there is no need of tracing it in other parts of history or in the present condition of Jerusalem. It is altogether probable, however, that the *old pool* here mentioned is the same with the *upper pool* of ch. 7 : 3. Some have identified it with the *lower pool* of the ninth verse, but this would hardly have been introduced so soon by another name. The last clause shows that the fault, with which the people of Jerusalem were chargeable, was not that of guarding themselves against attack, but that of relying upon human defences, without re-

gard to God. The verbs *look* and *see* are evidently used in allusion to the last clause of v. 8 and the first of v. 9. They looked to the arsenal but not to God. This seems to put the clause before us in antithesis to the whole foregoing context from v. 8. If so, the suffixes in עשיה and יצרה cannot refer merely to the pool or reservoir, but must have respect either to the city, or to the calamity now coming on it. In the latter case, the feminine pronoun may be indefinitely understood as a neuter in Greek or Latin, *it*, i. e. this crisis or catastrophe, or the whole series of events which led to it. *Maker* and *former* are not distinctive terms referring to God's purpose or decree on one hand, and the execution of it on the other, but poetical equivalents both denoting the efficient cause.

V. 12. *And the Lord Jehovah of Hosts called in that day to weeping and to mourning and to baldness and to girding sackcloth.* The meaning is not that he called or summoned grief to come, but that he called on men to mourn, not only by his providence, but by his word through the prophets. By *baldness* we may either understand the tearing of the hair, or the shaving of the head, or both, as customary signs of grief. The last phrase, rendered in the English Bible *girding with sackcloth*, does not mean girding up the other garments with a sackcloth girdle, but girding the body with a sackcloth dress, or girding on i. e. wearing sackcloth. The providential call to mourning here referred to must be the siege before described.

V. 13. *And behold mirth and jollity, slaying of oxen and killing of sheep, eating of flesh and drinking of wine ; eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* This verse presents the contrast of their actual behaviour with that to which God called them by his providence. The construction in the common version is ambiguous, as *slaying* etc. seem to be participles agreeing with joy and gladness, whereas the Hebrew verbs are all infinitives. Some suppose the words of the revellers to begin with הָרֹג (let us kill etc.), others with אָכֹל (let us eat flesh etc.) ; but the common division of the sentence is most natural, because there is then no repetition or tautology. In the one case, the people themselves say, *let us eat flesh and drink wine, let us eat and drink.* In the other it is said that they do eat flesh and drink wine, and they are then introduced as saying, *let us eat and drink.* On the same ground, the common interpretation is to be preferred to Hendewerk's idea, that the whole verse contains the words of the Prophet, and that those of the people are not introduced at all. 'Slaying of oxen, killing of sheep, eating of flesh, drinking of wine, eating, drinking, though to-morrow we die!' Another objection to this construction is, that it supposes the event to be still future even to the Prophet's view ; whereas the whole foregoing context represents it as already past, if not in fact, at least in his per-

ceptions. The common version, *let us eat and drink*, is perfectly correct as to sense, but needlessly departs from the peculiar and expressive form of the original. I have substituted *eat and drink*, not as imperatives, but as the simplest forms of the English verbs. (Vide supra, ch. 21 : 5.) *To eat and to drink* might be considered more exact, but would not exhibit the compression and breviloquence of the original. It has been disputed whether these last words are expressive of contemptuous incredulity or of a desperate determination to spend the residue of life in pleasure. It is by no means clear that these two feelings are exclusive of each other, since the same man might express his disbelief of the threatening, and his resolution, if it should prove true, to die in the enjoyment of his favourite indulgences. At all events, there can be no need of restricting the full import of the language, as adapted to express both states of mind, in different persons, if not in the same.

V. 14. *And Jehovah of Hosts revealed himself in my ears* (i. e. made a revelation to me, saying) *If this iniquity shall be forgiven you* (i. e. it certainly shall not be forgiven you) *until you die.* Some take נִגְלָה as a simple passive and supply a preposition before יְהוָה, it was revealed in my ears by Jehovah of Hosts. This is no doubt the true sense; but the construction of the verb as a reflexive with יְהוָה for its subject, is fully justified by the analogy of 1 Sam. 2 : 27. 3 : 21. It is wholly unnecessary, therefore, to read אָזְנֵי, 'in the ears of Jehovah of Hosts,' or to supply אָמַר, 'in my ears, saith Jehovah of Hosts.' (Vide supra, ch. 5 : 9.) The ו before נִגְלָה is not conversive, as it does not connect it with the future נָמוּת, which is merely a quotation, but with the infinitives in the first clause of v. 13, which represent historical or descriptive tenses. (Nordheimer § 219.) The conditional form of expression, so far from expressing doubt or contingency, adds to the following declaration the solemnity of an oath. What is said is also sworn, so that by two immutable things in which it is impossible for God to lie, the truth of the threatening may be confirmed. On the elliptical formula of swearing, vide supra, ch. 5 : 9. *This iniquity* of course means the presumptuous contempt of God's messages and providential warnings, with which the people had been charged in the preceding verse. This offence is here treated as the sin against the Holy Ghost is in the New Testament, and is indeed very much of the same nature. יְכֻפַּר strictly means *shall be atoned for* or expiated. *Until you die* is equivalent to *ever*, the impossibility of expiation afterwards being assumed. This use of *until* is common in all languages. Some of the Jewish writers understand the words to mean *at death but not before*, and draw the inference that death does or may atone for sin. But the Targum has *the second death* (מיתא תנינא), a phrase found also in the Greek of the New Testament (ὁ δεύτερος

θάνατος), and constantly employed in modern religious phraseology to signify eternal perdition. In this case, however, there is no ground for departing from the simple and ordinary meaning of the words. 'As long as you live you shall not be forgiven' is equivalent to saying 'you shall never be forgiven.'

V. 15. *Thus said the Lord Jehovah of Hosts, Go, go in to this treasurer* (or steward, or chamberlain), *to Shebna who* (*is*) *over the house.* From the people in general the threatening now passes to an individual, no doubt because he was particularly guilty of the crime alleged, and by his influence the means of leading others astray likewise. The word סֹכֵן has been variously derived and explained to mean a *Sochenite* (from *Sochen* in Egypt), a sojourner or dweller (i. q. שֹׁכֵן) in the sanctuary, a steward or provider, a treasurer, and an *amicus regis* or king's friend, i. e. his confidant and counsellor. Some understand the last words of the verse as simply explanatory of this title; while others argue that the Prophet would hardly have described the man by two titles meaning the same thing. A third class deny that סֹכֵן is here applied to Shebna at all, and understand the words to mean *this steward of Shebna's*, or *this* (*person*) *labouring for Shebna*, i. e. making his monument. But Shebna himself is undoubtedly the object of address in the remainder of the chapter. Whatever סֹכֵן may denote, it must be something compatible with the description in the last clause of the verse. Whatever Shebna may have been as סֹכֵן, he was certainly *over the house.* Some of the ancient versions give to *house* here the sense of *temple* or the house of God, and infer that Shebna, if not High Priest or a Priest at all, was at least the treasurer of the temple. But the phrase here used is nowhere else employed in reference to the temple, whereas it repeatedly occurs as the description of an officer of state or of the royal household, a major-domo, chamberlain, or steward. As the modern distinction between state and household officers is not an ancient or an oriental one, it is not unlikely that the functionary thus described, like the medieval *maires du palais*, was in fact prime-minister. This would account for the influence tacitly ascribed to Shebna in this chapter, as well as for his being made the subject of a prophecy. The phrase *this treasurer* may either be expressive of disapprobation or contempt, or simply designate the man as well known to the Prophet and his readers. These familiar allusions to things and persons now forgotten, while they add to the obscurity of the passage, furnish an incidental proof of its antiquity and genuineness. The double imperative לֵךְ־בֹּא admits of different explanations. The second may perhaps mean *go*, and the first be a particle of exhortation like the Latin *age.* It might then be rendered *come go*, although this would be really an inversion of the Hebrew phrase, which strictly means *go come.* On the whole, however, it is

better to give לֵךְ the sense of *go*, and בּא that of *enter* or *go in*, meaning into Shebna's house, or into the sepulchre which he was preparing, and in which some suppose him to have been accosted by the Prophet. The use of עַל for אֶל before שֶׁבְנָא is supposed by some[1] to imply the unfavourable nature of the message ; but the interchange of the particles is not so unusual as to make this explanation necessary. Some manuscripts and versions add *and say to him*, which any reader can supply for himself without an emendation of the text.

V. 16. *What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewn thee here a sepulchre? Hewing on high his sepulchre, graving in the rock a habitation for himself!* The negation implied in the interrogation is not that he had none to protect and aid him, or that none of his kindred should be buried there because they should be banished with him, but rather that he had none buried there before him ; it was not his birth-place or the home of his fathers. What interest, what part or lot, what personal or hereditary claim, hast thou in Judah? *Here* then refers not to the sepulchre, but to Jerusalem. The foreign form of the name *Shebna*, which occurs only in the history of Hezekiah, and for which no satisfactory Hebrew etymology has been proposed, seems to confirm this explanation of the first clause as representing him to be a foreigner, perhaps a heathen. Another confirmation is afforded by the otherwise unimportant circumstance, that the name of Shebna's father is nowhere added to his own, as in the case of Eliakim and Joah (v. 20. ch. 36 : 3). These seem to be sufficient reasons for concluding that the Prophet is directed to upbraid him, not with seeking to be buried in the royal sepulchres although of mean extraction, but with making provision for himself and his posterity in a land to which he was an alien, and from which he was so soon to be expelled. The third person in the last clause is not to be gratuitously changed into the second (*thy* sepulchre, a habitation for *thyself*), nor is the syntax to be solved by introducing a comparison (*as* he that heweth), but rather by supposing that the Prophet, after putting to him the prescribed question, was to express his own contemptuous surprise at what he saw, or as Maurer says, to let his eyes pass from the man to the sepulchre which he was hewing. It is not necessarily implied however in this explanation that the conversation was to take place at the sepulchre. מָרוֹם is properly a noun, and means *a high place*, but is here and elsewhere used adverbially. The labour and expense bestowed on ancient sepulchres (of far later date however than Isaiah's time) is still attested by the tombs remaining at Jerusalem, Petra, and Persepolis, where some are excavated near the tops of lofty rocks in order to be less accessible, to which practice there may be allusion in the מָרוֹם of the verse before us, as well as in the words of 2 Chr. 32 : 33, as explained by most

interpreters, viz. that Hezekiah was buried in the *highest* of the tombs of the sons of David. (See Robinson's Palestine, I. 516–539. II. 525.) The מִשְׁכָּן is supposed by some to have allusion to the oriental practice of making tombs in shape (and frequently in size) like houses, by others more poetically to the idea of the grave, as a *long home* (בֵּית עוֹלָם), the very name applied to it by Solomon (Ecc. 12: 5). In this case, as in many others, the ideal and material allusion may have both been present to the writer's mind. *What (is) to thee* and *who is to thee* are the usual unavoidable periphrases for *what and whom hast thou*, the verb to *have* being wholly wanting in this family of languages.

V. 17. *Behold, Jehovah is casting thee a cast, oh man! and covering thee a covering.* The addition of the infinitive or verbal noun as usual adds emphasis to the expression, while the participle denotes a present act or a proximate futurity. The idea is that he is *certainly* about to cast and cover thee, or to do it *completely* and with violence. מטלטל is by some rendered *casting out*, by others *casting down*. The latter agrees best with the etymology and with the rest of the description. Those who give the other sense are under the necessity of assuming, that the Prophet, after saying that the Lord would cast him off, goes back to the preliminary acts of seizing him and rolling him. The other explanation gives the natural order. First he is thrown upon the ground, then rolled into a ball, and then violently thrown away. Some of the latest writers give עטה the sense of seizing, grasping, founded on an Arabic analogy, and justified as they suppose by the usage of the Hebrew word in 1 Sam. 14: 32. 15: 19. 25: 14. But except in these few doubtful cases the word uniformly signifies to veil or cover. As this is the term used in the law which requires the leper to cover his upper lip (Lev. 13: 45), Grotius, with perverse ingenuity, infers that Shebna was to be smitten with leprosy, excluded from the city on that account, and afterwards restored, but not reinstated in his former office. Gesenius gives עטה the sense of wrapping up, and makes it thus synonymous with צנף. As both the terms have reference to the figure of a ball, the distinction seems to be that the first denotes the imposition of a covering or wrapper, and the second the formation of the whole into a regular and compact shape. There are several different ways of construing גבר with the words before it. Some suppose it to be governed by טלטלה—*with the cast of a man*, i. e. a manly, vigorous, or powerful cast. In this case we must either suppose טלטלה to be an absolute form put for the construct—or טלטלת to be understood after it—or גבר to be in apposition with it, or in agreement with it as an adjective — all which are gratuitous and forced assumptions. A better method of obtaining the same sense is by translating גבר—*like a man* i. e. a mighty man. (Compare Job 38: 3.) Ac-

cording to Hendewerk, טלטלה is a verbal noun construed as an infinitive and governing גבר as דמה does יהיה in ch. 11 : 9. The sense is then *with the casting of a man* i. e. as a man is cast or thrown. But the throwing of a man is the very thing here likened to the throwing of a ball. The simplest construction is the one given by Ewald and by many older writers, which takes גבר as a vocative. J. D. Michaelis reads גַּבַּר and translates it *oh robber!* But this is not the meaning even of that word. Others take גֶּבֶר in its proper sense of mighty man, others in the simple sense of man as distinguished from God, of which use there are several unequivocal examples. (Job 22 : 2. 10 : 5. Prov. 20 : 4.)

V. 18. *Rolling he will roll thee in a roll, like a ball (thrown) into a spacious ground—there shalt thou die—and there the chariots of thy glory—shame of thy master's house.* The ejection of Shebna from the country is compared to the rolling of a ball into an open space where there is nothing to obstruct its progress. The ideas suggested are those of violence, rapidity, and distance. Maurer supposes צנף to denote a rolling motion ; but most interpreters apply it to the act of *rolling up* into a ball, which agrees better both with usage and the context. The ellipsis of *thrown* or *cast* before אל is altogether natural and easily supplied. Instead of *spacious* the original has רחבת ידים *wide on both hands* or *sides*, i. e. extended and open in every direction. All the interpreters appear to apply this directly to Shebna, and are thence led to raise the question, what land is meant? Some say Assyria, some Mesopotamia, Ewald the wilderness, Grotius the open fields out of Jerusalem where lepers were obliged to dwell. It seems to me however that the phrase in question has relation not to Shebna as a man but to the ball with which he is compared, and that ארץ should be taken in the sense of *ground*. To the three derivatives of צנף in the first clause Henderson cites as illustrative parallels ch. 27 : 7. 10 : 16. 29 : 14. Mic. 2 : 4, and from the classics, the *πόνος πόνῳ πόνον φέρει* of Sophocles and the *δόμαν κακὰν κακῶν κακοῖς* of Æschylus. There are several different constructions of the last clause. The oldest versions make מרכבות the subject and קלון the predicate of the same proposition : 'the chariots of thy glory (shall be) the shame of thy lord's house.' This can only mean that the king would be disgraced by having honoured such a man, chariots being then put as an outward sign of dignity and wealth. Most writers make קלון and what follows a description of Shebna addressed to himself ('thou shame of thy master's house'), and construe מרכבות either with תמות ('and there shall thy splendid chariots perish') or with the verb of existence understood. ('there shall thy splendid chariots be.') As שמה properly means *thither*, it may be so taken here, the construction with תמות being then a pregnant one : *thither shalt thou die* (i. e. thither shalt thou go to die) *and thither*

shall thy splendid chariots (convey thee.) The allusion will then be simply to Shebna's return to his own country (whether Syria, Phenicia, Mesopotamia, or Assyria), and not to captivity in war or to suffering in exile, of which there is no intimation in the text. All that the prophet clearly threatens Shebna with, is the loss of rank and influence in Judah and a return to his own country. An analogous incident in modern history (so far as these circumstances are concerned) is Necker's retreat from France to Switzerland at the beginning of the French Revolution.

V. 19. *And it shall come to pass in that day that I will call for my servant, for Eliakim the son of Hilkiah*, i. e. will personally designate him. Eliakim appears again in ch. 36 : 3, and there as here in connexion with Shebna. There is probably no ground for the rabbinical tradition that Eliakim is identical with Azariah mentioned 2 Chr. 31 : 13 as the ruler of the house of God. The epithet *my servant* seems to be intended to describe him as a faithful follower of Jehovah, and as such to contrast him with Shebna who may have been a heathen. The employment of such a man by such a king as Hezekiah is explained by some upon the supposition that he had been promoted by Ahaz and then suffered to remain by his successor. It is just as easy to suppose however that he had raised himself by his abilities for public business.

V. 20. *And I will thrust thee from thy post, and from thy station shall he pull thee down.* The verb in the last clause is indefinite and really equivalent to a passive (thou shalt be pulled down). It should not therefore be translated in the first person as a mere enallage, nor made to agree with *Jehovah* understood, which would be a very harsh construction, and though not without example should be assumed only in case of necessity.

V. 21. *And I will clothe him with thy dress, and with thy girdle will I strengthen him, and thy power will I give into his hand, and he shall be for a father* (or *become a father*) *to the dweller in Jerusalem and to the house of Judah.* We may either suppose a reference to an official dress, or a metaphor analogous to that of filling another's shoes in colloquial English. The Piel of חזק may simply mean to bind fast, but the strict sense of strengthening agrees well with the oriental use of the girdle to confine the flowing garments and to fit the wearer for active exertion. *Father* is not a mere oriental synonyme of *ruler*, but an emphatic designation of a wise and benevolent ruler. It seems therefore to imply that Shebna's administration was of an opposite character. The inhabitants of Jerusalem and the family of Judah comprehend the whole nation.

V. 22. *And I will put the key of the house of David on his shoulder; he shall open and there shall be no one shutting, he shall shut and there*

shall be no one opening. In other words, he shall have unlimited control over the royal house and household, which according to oriental usages implies a high political authority. Some suppose a reference to the actual bearing of the key by the royal steward or chamberlain, and explain its being carried on the shoulder by the fact that large wooden locks and keys of corresponding size are still used in some countries, the latter being sometimes curved like a sickle so as to be hung around the neck. Against this explanation it may be objected, that the phrase *house of David* seems to imply a metaphorical rather than a literal palace, and that שכם does not mean the shoulder merely but includes the upper part of the back, as the place for bearing burdens. (Vide supra, ch. 9: 3. 10: 27.) There is still less to be said in favour of supposing an allusion to the figure of a key embroidered on the dress. The best interpreters appear to be agreed that the government or administration is here represented by the figure of a burden, not merely in the general as in ch. 9: 5, but the specific burden of a key, chosen in order to express the idea of control *over the royal house*, which was the title of the office in question. The application of the same terms to Peter (Matt. 16: 19) and to Christ himself (Rev. 3: 7) does not prove that they here refer to either, or that Eliakim was a type of Christ, but merely that the same words admit of different applications.

V. 23. *And I will fasten him a nail in a sure place, and he shall be for a throne of glory to his father's house.* The figure in the first clause naturally conveys the idea of security and permanence. The reference is not to the stakes or centre post of a tent, but to the large pegs, pins or nails often built into the walls of oriental houses for the purpose of suspending clothes or vessels. The last clause is obscure. Some suppose the figure of a pin or peg to be still continued, and that it is here represented as so large that men may sit upon it. Others suppose the nail to be here described as fastened in a throne: it shall be (attached) to the glorious throne of his father's house. This would seem to warrant Calvin's supposition that Eliakim was of the blood royal. But such a construction, if not wholly ungrammatical, is very forced, and כסא is the Hebrew name for any seat (answering to stool or chair), and denotes a throne or chair of state only as being a seat *par éminence.* The most natural interpretation of the words, and that most commonly adopted, is that the figure of a nail is here exchanged for that of a seat, this being common to the two, that they alike suggest the idea of support though in different ways. Those whom Eliakim was the means of promoting might be said, with a change of figure but without a change of meaning, both to sit and hang upon him. He was to be not only a seat but a *seat of honour*, which is nearer to the meaning of the Hebrew phrase than *throne of glory.*

V. 24. *And they shall hang upon him all the honour of his father's house—the offspring and the issue—all vessels of small quantity—from vessels of cups even to all vessels of flagons.* Here the figure of a nail is resumed. The dependents of Eliakim are represented as suspended on him as their sole support. צאצאים and צפעות are expressions borrowed from the vegetable world. Henderson imitates the form of the original by rendering them *offspring and offset.* It is commonly assumed by interpreters that the two words are in antithesis, denoting either different sexes (sons and daughters), or different generations (sons and grandsons), or different ranks, which last is the usual explanation, and derives some countenance from the etymology of צפעת and the analogy of Ezek. 4 : 15. The next phrase is designed to show that even the least are not to be excepted. In the last clause אגנות and נבלים may either be taken as equivalent expressions or as contrasting the gold and silver vessels of the altar (Ex. 24 : 6) with common earthen utensils (Jer. 48 : 12. Lam. 4 : 2). The old interpretation of נבלים as denoting musical instruments, though justified by usage, is forbidden by the context. The Targum explicitly applies the clause to the Priests who served the altar, and the Levites who conducted the music of the temple. This explanation is connected with that of בית in v. 1 as denoting the temple or the house of God.

V. 25. *In that day, saith Jehovah of Hosts, shall the nail fastened in a sure place be removed, and be cut down, and fall, and the burden which was on it shall be cut off, for Jehovah speaks.* The most natural and obvious application of these words is to Eliakim, who had just been represented as a nail in a sure place. But as this would predict his fall, without the slightest intimation of the reason, and in seeming contradiction to the previous context, most interpreters reject this exposition as untenable. Hitzig indeed maintains that this is the only meaning which the words will bear, but assumes that these two verses were added at a later date, shortly before or after Eliakim's own disgrace. Hendewerk adopts the same hypothesis but applies it to the last verse only. J. H. Michaelis alone gives a favourable meaning to the figures of v. 25, as signifying that Eliakim should die in peace, to the irreparable loss of Judah and of his own dependents in particular. Another exegetical expedient is to apply even v. 23 to Shebna, not as a promise of what God would do, but as a narrative of what he had done. The obvious objections are, that the verbs in that verse are as certainly future as those in the one before it ; and that both verses must be referred to the same subject, unless the supposition of a change be absolutely necessary. Such a necessity does seem to exist in v. 25, and is the more easily assumed because the grammatical objection is not applicable there. Most writers, therefore, seem to be agreed, that the twenty-fifth verse relates to Shebna, and that the

Prophet, after likening Eliakim to a nail fastened in a sure place, tacitly applies the same comparison to Shebna, and declares that the nail which now seems to be securely fastened shall soon yield to make way for the other. Those who refer the verse to Eliakim suppose his fall to have been occasioned by his nepotism or excessive patronage of his relations, a conjectural inference from v. 24. The partial fulfilment of this prophecy is commonly supposed to be recorded in ch. 36 : 3, where Eliakim actually fills the place here promised to him, and Shebna appears in the inferior character of a scribe or secretary. Some indeed suppose two persons of the name of Shebna, which is not only arbitrary in itself, but rendered more improbable by this consideration, that Shebna is probably a foreign name and certainly occurs only in these and the parallel places, whereas Hilkiah is of frequent occurrence, and yet is admitted upon all hands to denote the same person. It seems improbable no doubt that Shebna, after such a threatening, should be transferred to another office. But the threatening may not have been public, and the transfer may have been merely the beginning of his degradation. But even supposing that the Shebna of ch. 36 : 2 is a different person, and that the execution of this judgment is nowhere explicitly recorded, there is no need of concluding that it was revoked or that it was meant to be conditional, much less that it was falsified by the event. It is a common usage of the Scriptures, and of this book in particular, to record a divine command and not its execution, leaving the latter to be inferred from the former as a matter of course. Of this we have had repeated examples, such as ch. 7 : 4 and 8 : 1. Nay in this very case, we are merely told what Isaiah was commanded to say to Shebna, without being told that he obeyed the order. If the execution of this order may be taken for granted, so may the fulfilment of the prophecy. If it had failed, it would not have been recorded or preserved among the prophecies.

CHAPTER XXIII.

This prophecy consists of two parts. The first predicts the fall of Tyre, vs. 1–14. The second promises its restoration and conversion, vs. 15–18. The fall of Tyre is predicted, not directly, but in the form of apostrophes, addressed to her own people or her colonies, vs. 1–7. The destruction is referred to God as its author, and to the Chaldees as his instruments, vs. 8–14. The prediction in the latter part includes three events. Tyre shall be forsaken and forgotten for seventy years, v. 15. She shall then be

restored to her former activity and wealth, vs. 16, 17. Thenceforth her gains shall be devoted to the Lord, v. 18.

Tyre, one of the chief cities of Phenicia, was situated partly on a rocky island near the coast, and partly in a wide and fertile plain upon the coast itself. It was long a current opinion that the insular Tyre had no existence before the time of Nebuchadnezzar; but Hengstenberg has made it probable that from the beginning the chief part of the city was situated on the island, or rather a peninsula connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. (See his elaborate and masterly tract, *De Rebus Tyriorum*, Berlin, 1832.) The name *Palaetyrus* (Old Tyre), given by the ancient writers to the continental city, he supposes to have come into use after that part of Tyre was destroyed and while the other was still standing. Tyre is remarkable in history for two things; its maritime trade, and the many sieges it has undergone. The first of these on record was by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, who according to Menander, a historian now lost but quoted by Josephus, blockaded Tyre for five years, so as to cut off the supply of water from the mainland, but without being able to reduce the city. The next was by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who besieged it thirteen years; with what result, is not expressly mentioned either in profane or sacred history. A third siege was by Alexander the Great, who after seven months and with the utmost difficulty finally reduced it. It was afterwards besieged by the Syrian king Antigonus, and more than once during the Crusades, both by Franks and Saracens. After this period it entirely decayed, and has now disappeared, its site being marked by the insulated rock, by the causeway between it and the mainland still existing as a bar of sand, and by columns and other architectural remains mostly lying under water.

It has been much disputed which of these events is the subject of the prophecy before us. Grotius, as usual, sees the fulfilment in the days of Isaiah himself, and refers the prediction to the siege by Shalmaneser. Clericus gives it a wider scope, and seems to make the siege by Alexander its main subject. But the great body of the older writers refer it to an intermediate event, the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. The arguments in favour of this application are stated with great learning, force, and clearness, by Vitringa on the passage.

The German writers of the new school are divided on this question. Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and others, admit the reference to Nebuchadnezzar, but ascribe the prophecy of course to a contemporary writer. Gesenius, Maurer, Umbreit, and Knobel, admit its genuineness, but refer it to the siege by Shalmaneser. Hendewerk also admits the genuineness of the passage, but denies its having reference to any particular historical event. Ewald refers it to the siege by Shalmaneser, but infers from the inferiority of the style that it may be the production of a younger contemporary and

disciple of Isaiah. The discussion of the subject by these writers is in one respect interesting and instructive. In most other cases they occupy common ground against the truth. But here they are reduced to a dilemma, and by choosing different horns of it, are placed in opposition to each other, clearly betraying, in the conflict that ensues, the real value of their favourite style of criticism. Thus while Ewald thinks the style unlike that of Isaiah, and Eichhorn and Hitzig see the clearest indications of a later age, Gesenius and Hendewerk are struck with the tokens of antiquity and with the characteristics of Isaiah. So too with respect to the literary merit of the passage, Hitzig treats it almost with contempt, while Hendewerk extols it as a masterpiece of eloquence. There could not be a stronger illustration of the fact, already evident, that the boasted diagnosis of this school of critics is always dependent on a foregone conclusion. Had there been no siege of Tyre in the days of Isaiah, Gesenius would easily have found abundant proofs that the chapter was of later date. But this not being necessary for his purpose here, he treats as inconclusive even stronger proofs than those which he himself employs in other cases.

To the reference of this prophecy to Shalmaneser there are two main objections. The first is the express mention of the Chaldees in v. 13. Ewald easily disposes of this difficulty by reading כנענים instead of כשדים. Gesenius and the rest maintain that the Chaldees are mentioned only as tributaries or auxiliaries of Assyria. As this, though arbitrarily assumed, is not impossible, the first objection cannot be regarded as decisive. The second is that Shalmaneser's attempt upon Tyre was perfectly abortive. This argument of course has no effect upon Gesenius and others who deny the inspiration of the Prophet. Even such however must admit that if the descriptions of the prophecy were actually realized in another case, it is more likely to have been the one intended. They allege however that the very same objection lies against the supposition of a reference to Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that no historian, sacred or profane, records the fact of his having taken Tyre. To account for this omission, and to show by various incidental proofs that the event did nevertheless happen, is the main design of Hengstenberg's tract already mentioned, in which he has performed his task with a rare combination of minute learning, ingenuity, and good sense, although not to the satisfaction of contemporary German writers. His argument from the nature of the case turns in a great measure on minute details, and sometimes on intricate calculations in chronology. It will be sufficient therefore to record the result, which is that the actual conquest of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, even leaving out of view the prophecy before us, and the more explicit one in Ezek. ch. 26, is much more probable than the contrary hypothesis. But there is still another difficulty in the way of applying the prophecy to Nebuchadnezzar's siege and con-

quest. Isaiah intimates and Ezekiel explicitly foretells an entire desolation of Tyre, which did not take place till the middle ages. Hengstenberg's solution of this difficulty is, that the prophets constantly connect the immediate consequences of the events which they predict with their remoter and more gradual results. On the same general principle of interpretation, but with a difference of form, it may be said that the prophecy before us is generic not specific, a panoramic picture of the downfall of Tyre, from the beginning to the end of the destroying process, with particular allusion to particular sieges, as for instance to that of the Chaldees in v. 13, and perhaps to that of Alexander in v. 6. Antiquarian research and discovery may yet bring to light coincidences still more striking.

While the great majority of writers understand the passage as referring to the literal Tyre, a few prefer to take it in a mystical sense. Some of the older Jewish writers say that whenever the literal Tyre is meant, the name is fully written (צור), but that when it is defectively written, as it is here, (צר) it signifies *Rome*. Abarbenel refutes this dictum by showing that both forms occur in the same context, but himself makes Tyre here mean *Venice*. But these hypotheses are modest in comparison with that of Cocceius, who understands by Tyre the Church of Rome, by Egypt Germany, by Chittim Spain, by Tarshish France, by Assyria Turkey, by the land of the Chaldees Hungary, and by the whole passage a chapter from the history of the Reformation. Of such interpretations it may surely be said without undue severity: 'hariolationes hae sunt; sequamur certa; incerta aequo animo ignoremus; neque etiam hanc prophetiam cum quibusdam veterum allegorice interpretabimur nam si Scriptura non indicet debere nos in re una cernere imaginem alterius, etiamsi res diversae a Scriptura explicatae similitudinem et conformitatem aliquam habeant, non possumus tamen asserere hoc illius typum et figuram esse, nisi quatenus illa conformitas ex Scripturarum comparatione demonstratur.' These are the words of Cocceius himself, reproving Grotius for his groundless hypothesis of Shebna's leprosy in ch. 22, and declaring his own dissent from the old interpretations of that chapter.

V. 1. *The burden of Tyre. Howl, ships of Tarshish, for it is laid waste—no house, no entrance—from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them.* Here, as in ch. 13: 1. 15: 1. 17: 1. 19: 1. 21: 1, 11, 13. 22: 1, there is not the slightest reason for rejecting the first words as the addition of a copyist or compiler. The command or exhortation to howl implies that those to whom it is addressed have peculiar cause for grief. By ships of Tarshish we are not to understand merchant-ships in general, but strictly those which carried on the trade between Phenicia and its Spanish colony Tartessus. For the other meanings which have been attached to תַּרְשִׁישׁ, vide supra, ch. 2: 15. Rosenmüller condemns the generic explanation of

the phrase as unpoetical, but does not scruple to make ships mean sailors, which is wholly unnecessary. The masculine form שֻׁדַּד may either be referred to צֹר by a common license, or indefinitely taken to mean *desolation has been wrought*, or *something has been desolated*, without saying what. Ewald resolves it into an indefinite active verb (zerstört hat man) without a change of meaning. The preposition in מִבַּיִת and מִבֹּוא has a privative effect. The meaning strictly is, *away from house*, *away from entrance*. It may be less concisely rendered, *so that there is no house* etc. Some make the two expressions strictly parallel and correlative, *so that there is neither house nor entrance*, in which case the latter may have reference to the entering of ships into the harbour. Others make the second dependent on the first, *so that there is no house left to enter*. This may refer particularly to the mariners returning from their long voyage and finding their homes destroyed. *Chittim* is neither Macedonia (Clericus), Italy (Vitringa), Susiana (Bochart), Cilicia (Junius), nor a region in Arabia (Hensler), but the island of Cyprus (Josephus), in which there was a city *Citium*, which Cicero explicitly refers to as a Phenician settlement. The wider explanation of the name as denoting other islands or the Mediterranean coasts in general, though not without authority from usage, is uncertain and in this case needless. These words are connected with what goes before by Calvin (ut non sit commeatus e terra Cittim) and others; but most interpreters adhere to the masoretic interpunction. *It is revealed* (i. e. the event announced in the preceding clause) *to them* (the Tyrian mariners on their way home from Tarshish). The meaning seems to be, that the news of the fall of Tyre has reached the Phenician settlements in Cyprus, and through them the Tyrian mariners that touch there.

V. 2. *Be silent oh inhabitants of the isle* (or *coast*), *the merchants of Sidon crossing the sea filled thee*. This may either be addressed to the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean which had long been frequented by the Phenician traders, or to Phenicia itself, which foreign commerce had enriched. The last explanation is commonly preferred; but the first is recommended by the fact that it assigns a reason for the mention of the foreign trade of Sidon, as accounting for the interest which other nations are supposed to feel in the fall of Tyre. On either supposition, Sidon, the other great city of Phenicia, is put for the whole country. The plural verb in the last clause agrees with סֹחֵר as a collective.

V. 3. *And in great waters* (*was*) *the seed of the Nile; the harvest of the river* (*was*) *her revenue; and she was a mart of nations.* שִׁחֹר and יְאֹר are the Hebrew and Egyptian names of the Nile. The first, according to its etymology, means *black*, and corresponds to *Μέλας* and *Melo*, Greek and

Latin names of the same river, all derived from the colour of the water or the mud which it deposits. The use of the word שִׁחוֹר is one of the proofs, adduced by Eichhorn and Rosenmüller, that the chapter is of later date. It is true the name occurs in Josh. 13: 13; but that is also classed among the later books. Gesenius observes however that an inference can hardly be drawn from one or two examples. Of the whole verse there are three interpretations. The first supposes an allusion to the fact that the grain of Egypt was exported in Phenician vessels *on the great waters* i. e. over the sea. The objection that Phenicia is described by Ezekiel as trading not with Egypt but with Palestine in grain, though entitled to some weight, is not conclusive. A stronger objection may be drawn from the apparent incongruity of naming this one branch of commerce as a proof that Tyre was *a mart of nations*. A second interpretation understands what is said of Egypt figuratively, or as a comparison; as if he had said that the wealth which Egypt derived from the Nile, Phenicia derived from the great waters i. e. by her maritime trade. The third differs from this only by supposing a distinct allusion to the insular situation of Tyre, which, though planted on a rock and girt by mighty waters, reaped as rich a harvest as the fertile land of Egypt. This last interpretation, which is that of J. D. Michaelis and Hengstenberg, is much more poetical than either of the others, and at least in that respect entitled to the preference.

V. 4. *Be ashamed* (or *confounded*) *Zidon, for the sea saith, the strength of the sea, saying, I have not travailed, and I have not borne, and I have not reared young men* (*or*) *brought up virgins.* One of the great cities of Phenicia is here called upon to be confounded at the desolation of the other; or Zidon may be put for the whole country, as in the preceding verse. The Targum gives to יָם its geographical sense of *west* (מַעַרְבָּא). Some writers understand the sea itself as the ideal speaker, and explain מָעוֹז as an allusion to the turret-like appearance of the waves when in commotion. The correct view of the case seems to be this. The Prophet hears a voice from the sea, which he then describes more exactly as coming from the stronghold or fortress of the sea, i. e. insular Tyre as viewed from the mainland. The rest of the verse is intended to express the idea that the city thus personified was childless, was as if she had never borne children. Here, as in chap. 1: 2, Hendewerk takes רוֹמַמְתִּי in the sense of *exalting*, making great, which is at once a violation of usage and of the Prophet's metaphor. Interpreters are commonly agreed that the negative force of the last לֹא extends to both the following verbs. Cocceius alone seems to make the last clause affirmative (*non educavi juvenes; extuli virgines*) as if she were complaining that she had not borne sons but daughters. But the whole metaphor is clearly intended to express the idea of depopulation.

V. 5. *When the report* (*comes*) *to Egypt, they are pained at the report of Tyre.* There are three distinct interpretations of this verse. The first refers חִילוּ to the Sidonians or Phenicians generally, and understands the verse to mean that they would be as much grieved to hear of the fall of Tyre as if they should hear of that of Egypt. The second makes the verb indefinite, or understands it of the nations generally, who are then said to be as much astounded at the fall of Tyre as they once were at the judgments of Jehovah upon Egypt. The third, which is the one now commonly adopted, makes Egypt itself or the Egyptians the subject of the verb, and explains כ and כאשר as particles of time, not of comparison. The first of these senses is expressed by Vitringa (*ut fama de Egypto* commoveret animos, *sic dolebunt ad famam Tyri*), the second by Luther (*gleichwie man erschrak da man von Egypten hörete, also wird man erschrecken wenn man von Tyrus hören wird*), the third by the Vulgate (*cum auditum fuerit in Egypto dolebunt cum audient de Tyro*). This last supposes the Egyptians to lament for the loss of their great mart and commercial ally. The idea expressed by the second construction is a much more elevated one, and it seems more agreeable to usage to take כ before a noun as a particle of comparison. (Vide supra, ch. 18: 4.) כאשר equally admits of either explanation. Either of these interpretations appears preferable to the first, which yields an unnatural and inappropriate sense.

V. 6. *Pass over to Tarshish ; howl, ye inhabitants of the isle* (*or coast*). The mother country is exhorted to take refuge in her distant colonies. J. D. Michaelis compares the resolution of the Dutch merchants in 1672 to remove to Batavia if the mother country could not be delivered. According to Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin, the Tyrians, when besieged by Alexander, sent their old men, women and children, to Carthage. Aben Ezra gratuitously makes אי a collective, and supposes the address to be to all the islands where the Tyrians traded.

V. 7. *Is this your joyous city* (literally, *is this to you a joyous one*) *? from the days of old is her antiquity ; her feet shall carry her afar off to sojourn.* Some adopt a relative construction, and continue the interrogation through the verse ; *whose feet* etc. Of those who read the sentence thus, some understand the last clause as descriptive of the colonial and commercial activity of Tyre. But this requires יְבִילָהּ to be arbitrarily explained as a preterite. Most writers understand the clause as applying, either to the flight of the Tyrians to their colonies, or to their being carried into exile. To the first, Gesenius objects that they could not cross the sea on foot. Umbreit replies that they must have feet to go on board the ships. Knobel rejoins that in that case it would not be their feet that carried them far

off. It does not seem to have occurred to either, that a city can no more cross the sea in ships than dry-shod; that the verse contains a bold personification; and that having once converted Tyre into a woman, the writer may naturally represent her as going any where on foot, without respect to the actual method of conveyance used by individual emigrants. Grotius avoids the difficulty mentioned by Gesenius, by making *feet* mean sails and oars. The epithet עַלִּיזָה has reference to the bustle of commerical enterprise and also to the luxury and pride of Tyre. Hendewerk refers to the use of this word in ch. 22: 2, as an incidental proof that Isaiah wrote both chapters. The resemblance between קַדְמָה and קֶדֶם is imitated by Gesenius in his version (*Ursprung* and *Urzeit*). These expressions may be referred either to the real antiquity of Tyre, or to the exaggerated boastings of the Tyrians, of which we have examples in Herodotus and other profane writers.

V. 8. *Who hath purposed this against Tyre the crowning (city), whose merchants (are) princes, her traffickers the honoured of the earth?* The Vulgate gives מְעַטִּירָה a passive sense (quondam coronatam), which Sanctius applies to the pinnacles and turrets of the city. Hitzig makes it mean the *crown-wearer*. Most writers seem to be agreed that it denotes the *crowner* or *crown-giver*, in allusion to the fact that crowned heads were among the tributaries of Phenicia, according to the testimony of the Greek historians. Gesenius refers to the oriental crowns dispensed by the East India Company, and to the crown of Corsica once subject to the Genoese Republic. He also illustrates the use of the name *Canaan* to denote a trader, by the analogous usage of *Chaldean* for astrologer, and that of *Swiss*, *Savoyard*, *Jew*, in modern parlance, to denote certain callings or professions. The question in this verse implies that no ordinary power could have done it. The sense of *rich* which Gesenius gives to נִכְבְּדֵי in this place is entirely arbitrary. That of *land*, which some writers put instead of *earth*, though it does not change the sense of the expression, weakens it.

V. 9. *Jehovah of Hosts hath purposed it, to profane the elevation of all beauty, to degrade all the honoured of the earth.* This is the answer to the question in v. 8. The suffix in יִעֲצָהּ refers to זֹאת. The supposition of a chorus, or of choruses responding to each other, is gratuitous and artificial, and better suited to a Greek play than a Hebrew prophecy. Not only in poetry, but in animated prose, the writers of all languages ask questions to be answered by themselves. צבי includes all that was splendid and beautiful in Tyre. The exclusive reference of the word to the people can be justified by nothing but the parallelism, and even that will admit of an antithesis between an abstract and a concrete term. חלל means strictly to profane or desecrate that which is reckoned holy, but is here used to express the making

common of that which was distinguished by magnificence or beauty. The force of the antithesis between הקל and נכבדים cannot be fully expressed in a translation, as the roots respectively mean *light* and *heavy*. They are also contrasted, but in a different application and connexion, in ch. 8 : 23.

V. 10. *Pass through thy land like the river (Nile) ; Daughter of Tarshish, there is no girdle (any) longer.* Some read, pass over to thy land, and make the verse an exhortation to the strangers from Tartessus to go home. Others understand כיאר to mean *as (one would cross) the Nile* or any other stream, i. e. naked, or without a girdle, as in the other clause. It is commonly agreed, however, that the phrase means, *as the Nile passes*, i. e. quickly or without restraint. Some suppose the figure to be still continued in the last clause, and take מזח in the sense of a dam, mound, or embankment. Others, giving it its proper sense of *girdle*, apply it to the fortifications of Tyre which were now dismantled. The *daughter of Tarshish* is not Tyre, or Phenicia now considered as dependent on her colonies ; nor the population of Tarshish ; but Tarshish itself. *There is no more girdle* may be taken in opposite senses, as denoting the failure of strength and general dissolution, or the absence of restraint and freedom from oppression. The former is preferred by Hengstenberg ; but it does not seem appropriate to Tarshish, though it might be so if addressed to the mother country.

V. 11. *His hand he stretched out over the sea ; he made kingdoms tremble ; Jehovah commanded respecting Canaan to destroy her strongholds.* The subject of the verbs in the first clause is the same as in the last. The stretching out of God's hand, followed by the trembling of the earth or its inhabitants, is urged by Hendewerk as a favourite expression of Isaiah (see particularly ch. 5 : 25). Eichhorn and Rosenmüller, on the other hand, make מעוזיה a Chaldaism and a proof of later origin. Gesenius denies that there is any thing analogous in Chaldee or Syriac usage, and regards it as either an anomalous case of epenthesis or an orthographical error. The feminine suffix at the end refers to Canaan as the name of a country.

V. 12. *And he said, Thou shalt not add longer (or continue) to triumph, oppressed (or violated) virgin daughter of Zidon ; to Chittim arise, pass over ; there also there shall be no rest to thee.* The address is not to Chittim (or the Macedonians) ; nor to Tyre as a daughter of the older city ; but to Zidon itself. The fact that בְּתוּלַת is in apposition with בַּת (as to sense) makes it altogether probable that בַּת sustains the same relation to צִידוֹן. The reading בת צרון, though found in sixteen manuscripts and several ancient versions, is probably a mere mistake, arising from the frequent occurrence of the combination elsewhere. Zidon is here put for Phenicia in general.

נָוָה is impersonal. This exhortation corresponds exactly to the one in v. 6, Tarshish and Chittim being both Phenician colonies. The last clause implies, either that the colonists would not receive them, or that the enemy would still pursue them, probably the latter. The figure of a violated virgin, for a conquered city or country, is alleged by Eichhorn as a proof of later origin; but it is used by the contemporary prophet Nahum (3 : 5), and as Knobel observes, occurs nowhere else in Isaiah because he nowhere has occasion to employ it.

V. 13. *Behold the land of the Chaldees; this people was not; Assyria founded it for dwellers in the wilderness; they have set up his towers; they have roused up her palaces; he has put it for* (or *rendered it*) *a ruin.* This difficult verse has been very variously understood. Some apply it exclusively to the destruction of Tyre by the Assyrians; but this can only be effected by an arbitrary change of text. Thus J. Olshausen (in his emendations of the text of the Old Testament) omits the words from ארץ to אשור as a gloss, changes צרים into עירם, and explains the rest to mean that Assyria converted Tyre into a heap of ruins. The origin of the gloss he supposes to be this, that some one wrote upon the margin by way of correction, ארץ כשדים, meaning that it was not Assyria but Babylonia that destroyed Tyre, and then added more explicitly, זה העם לא היה, all which afterwards found its way into the text. This piece of criticism is too extravagant even for the Germans, who accordingly reject it with contempt. Ewald, however, also tampers with the text by reading כנענים for כשדים. His version of the whole is: 'behold the land of the Canaanites (i. e. Phenicia); this nation is no more; Assyria has converted it into a wilderness; they (the Phenicians) set up their towers (and) built their palaces; he (the Assyrian) has turned it to a ruin.' Besides the arbitrary change of text, this explanation gives to צרים and עוררו senses which cannot be sustained by usage. The great majority, both of the older and the later writers, leave the text unaltered, and suppose that the Prophet here brings the Chaldees into view as the instruments of Tyre's destruction. The words from זה to לציים will then be a parenthesis, containing an allusion to a historical fact not expressly mentioned elsewhere, but agreeing well with other facts of history, viz. that the Chaldees were not the aboriginal inhabitants of Babylonia, but were brought thither from the mountains of Armenia or Kurdistan by the Assyrians in the days of their supremacy. This accounts for the fact, that Xenophon speaks of the Chaldees as northern mountaineers, while in the sacred history we find them in possession of the great plain of Shinar. The former statement has respect, no doubt, to that portion of the people who were left behind in their original territory. This incidental statement, it may also be observed, is in strict accordance with the Assyrian policy of peopling their own pro-

vinces with conquered nations. The construction commonly adopted, by interpreters who thus explain the sentence, is as follows. 'Behold the land of the Chaldees; this people (the people now inhabiting it) was not (i. e. had no existence until lately); Assyria founded (or established) it (the country) for dwellers in the wilderness (i. e. for the Chaldees who before had led a wild nomadic life).' To this construction Knobel, though he acquiesces in the exposition as a whole, makes two objections; first, that while it explains ארץ as denoting the *people*, it refers the suffix in יסדה to the *country*; secondly, that ציים is really descriptive of the Chaldees, not before but after their transportation to the plains of Babylonia. Knobel himself refers both ארץ and the suffix to the people considered as possessors of the land, and takes יסד ל in the sense of appointing, constituting, as in Hab. 1 : 12. 'Behold the nation of the Chaldees; this people was not (i. e. was unknown) till Assyria changed them into inhabitants of the wilderness (or plain).'—But why should this fact in the history of the Chaldees be referred to here? The answer usually given to this question is, because the recent origin and present insignificance of the chosen instruments made the conquest more humiliating to the Tyrians. A kindred feeling would have been excited in the ancient Romans by a prediction of their subjugation and destruction by the Goths. If the reason assigned for the incidental mention of the Chaldee migration be the true one, it has evidently far more force upon the supposition that the prophecy relates to the Babylonian conquest under Nebuchadnezzar, than upon the supposition that it relates to the attack of Shalmaneser. Indeed the whole assumption, that the Chaldees are here mentioned as auxiliaries only, is so perfectly arbitrary, that it would never have occurred to any writer, who had not determined upon other grounds, that the event predicted took place under the Assyrian domination. Even Umbreit, who assents to this hypothesis, admits that it is only probable, not certain, and that this verse taken by itself would rather prove the contrary, by mentioning the Chaldees as the principal assailants, and Assyria only in a parenthesis containing a historical allusion. According to the usual interpretation which has now been given, the *towers* mentioned are those used in ancient sieges; the masculine suffix refers to עָם; the feminine suffix to Tyre; and עוֹרֵר may be taken either in the sense of *raising* (from עָרַר), or in that of *rousing* (from עוּר), that is, filling with confusion and alarm. Besides the interpretations which have now been given, there is another that deserves at least to be recorded. Schleyer, a recent German writer on this prophecy and that against Babylon in ch. XIII, XIV, gives the same sense to the words from זה to אשור that is put upon them by Olshausen, but instead of rejecting them as a marginal correction, retains them as a necessary part of the text. 'Behold, the nation of the Chaldees; this people (it was not Assyria) has assigned it (i. e. Tyre) to the dwellers in the wilderness (i. e. made it desolate). Um-

breit, without dwelling on the violation of the masoretic accents, objects to this interpretation, that it fails to account for the use of the word אֶרֶץ before כִּתִּיִּם, but especially that no reason can be given for the negative assertion that it was not Assyria that desolated Tyre. If the interpretation, however, were otherwise tenable, this, so far from being an objection, would in fact recommend it. When Isaiah wrote, Assyria was the ruling power of the world; whatever changes were expected, were expected from that quarter. But here the conquest of Phenicia is ascribed to a people then but little known, if known at all. It was perfectly natural therefore to say negatively, that it was no to be effected by Assyria, as well as positively, that it was to be effected by Chaldea. In like manner, if the fall of the Roman state had been foretold during the period of the Punic wars, how naturally would the prophet have said that it should fall, *not before the Carthaginians*, but before the Goths. The sense therefore yielded by Schleyer's construction is a good sense in itself and appropriate to the context. It cannot however be affirmed that there is any sufficient reason for departing from the masoretic tradition as to the interpunction of the sentence. But let it be observed, that on either of these suppositions, the reference of the verse to the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar is far more natural than any other.

V. 14. *Howl, ships of Tarshish, for destroyed is your stronghold.* The first part of the prophecy here closes very much as it began. The description of Tyre is the same as in v. 4, except that it was there called the fortress of the sea, and here the fortress of the Tyrian ships.

V. 15. *And it shall come to pass in that day that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, as the days of one king; from the end of seventy years shall be* (or *happen*) *to Tyre like the harlot's song.* The remainder of the chapter predicts the restoration of Tyre, not to its former dignity, but to its wealth and commercial activity, the fruits of which should thenceforth be consecrated to Jehovah. There is no difference of opinion with respect to the meaning of the words or the grammatical construction of the sentence; but the utmost diversity of judgment in relation to the general sense and application of the whole, and especially of the words, *seventy years as the days of one king.* Vitringa and others take the seventy years strictly. Gesenius and the later German writers make it a round number, as in Gen. 50: 3. Ex. 15: 27. 24: 1. The following words are rejected by Umbreit as a gloss. J. D. Michaelis and Paulus read אַחֵר (another) for אֶחָד (one). Grotius reads *seven* for *seventy*, forgetting that the following noun must then be in the plural, and assuming that Shalmaneser reigned seven years, or was seven years at Tyre. Jarchi understands by the *one king* David, who died at the age of threescore and ten, though he cannot explain why it should be here referred

to. Kimchi suggests that it may be in allusion to the treaty between David and Hiram, the breach of which was the occasion of this judgment. Kimchi prefers however to explain the words as a description of the ordinary length of human life, in which he is followed by Gesenius and Maurer, who account for the mention of *one king* rather than *one man*, upon the ground that kings and kingdoms are the subject of the prophecy. The same interpretation is suggested by the double version of the Septuagint (*ὡς χρόνος βασιλέως, ὡς χρόνος ἀνθρώπου*), which is found in all the manuscripts, though some modern critics reckon only part of it as genuine, Gesenius considering the first phrase as an emendation of the second, Rosenmüller the second as a later explanation of the first. Hitzig pretends that this form of expression was borrowed from Jeremiah's expectation that Zedekiah was to be restored at the end of seventy years. Movers supposes that the things compared are not two periods of time, but two cases of oblivion, and understands the clause as meaning that Tyre should be forgotten as completely as Jehoahaz and his three months' reign. Henderson, more generally, makes the sense to be that Tyre should be forgotten as completely as a king when he is dead, in illustration of which general fact he strangely cites the case of Napoleon. Knobel understands the verse to mean that the oblivion of Tyre for a time should be as fixed and unalterable as the decrees of an oriental monarch during his own reign. Eichhorn and Ewald understand the phrase as opposite in meaning to the one employed in ch. 16 : 14. 21 : 16. As the years of a hireling mean years computed strictly, so the days of a king may mean days computed freely. Hengstenberg, without attempting to explain the phrase (quomodocunque illa explicentur), understands it to imply that *seventy years* is here to be indefinitely understood, and carefully distinguished from the seventy years of Jeremiah and from the other specifications of time contained in the writings of Isaiah himself. Those, on the other hand, who give the words their strict sense, for the most part follow Aben Ezra and Vitringa in supposing that the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors are here computed *as one*. It is no sufficient answer to say that מֶלֶךְ never means a *dynasty*. That idea may of course be implied even if it is not expressed. The chronological hypothesis of this interpretation has however been denied by J. D. Michaelis, who puts the end of the prescribed term thirty-three or four years later than the fall of Babylon. That Tyre was a flourishing city in the time of Alexander the Great, is matter of history. When it again became so, is not. But since the fact is certain and the prophecy explicit, the most rational conclusion is that they chronologically coincide, or in other words, that Tyre did begin to recover from the effects of the Babylonian conquest about seventy years after the catastrophe itself. This of course supposes that the words are to be definitely understood. If, on the other hand, they are indefinite, there can be

still less difficulty in supposing their fulfilment. In either case, the words כימי מלך אחד remain so enigmatical, and all the explanations of them so unsatisfactory, that some may be tempted to refer them to the future, and to look for their development hereafter. Hengstenberg's view of the connexion between this prediction of Isaiah and the parallel prophecies of Ezekiel (ch. 26 and 27) and Zechariah (ch. 9) is this, that the last should be regarded as a supplement or sequel to the other two. When Zechariah wrote, the Babylonian conquest predicted by Isaiah and Ezekiel had already taken place. The change for the better, predicted by Isaiah alone, was then already visible. The prophecies of both respecting the total destruction of the city are renewed by Zechariah and referred to a period still future, with particular reference, as Hengstenberg supposes, to the time of Alexander, but it may be with a scope still more extensive.—The last clause foretells the restoration of Tyre in a very peculiar and significant form. Instead of a queen reinstated on the throne, she now appears as a forgotten harlot, suing once more for admiration and reward. Although this metaphor, as we shall see below, does not necessarily imply moral turpitude, it does necessarily impart a contemptuous tone to the prediction. The best explanation of this change of tone is not, as Eichhorn imagined, that these verses are a later addition, but that the restoration here predicted was to be a restoration to commercial prosperity and wealth, but not to regal dignity or national importance. The *song of a harlot* (or *the harlot*) is now commonly agreed to mean a particular song well known to the contemporaries of the Prophet. *It shall be to her like this song* can only mean that what the song presents as an ideal situation should be realized in the experience of Tyre. The Hebrew words will scarcely bear the meaning put upon them in the text of the English Version.

V. 16. *Take a harp, go about the city, oh forgotten harlot, play well, sing much, that thou mayest be remembered.* These are now commonly explained as the words of the song itself, describing the only way in which the harlot could recover her lost place in the memory of men, viz. by soliciting their notice and their favour. The application of the song to Tyre implies not only that she had lost her former position in the sight of the nations, but that exertion would be needed to recover it. The literal meaning of the words translated *play well, sing much*, is *make good playing, multiply song.* See Gesenius § 139, 1.

V. 17. *And it shall be* (or *come to pass*), *from* (or *at*) *the end of seventy years, Jehovah will visit Tyre, and she shall return to her hire* (or *gain*), *and shall play the harlot with all the kingdoms of the earth upon the face of the ground.* As God is said to *visit* men both in wrath and mercy,

and as the figure here employed is at first sight a revolting one, some of the older writers understand this verse as describing the continued wickedness of Tyre requiring further judgments. But this makes it necessary to explain the next verse as referring to a still remoter future, which is done by inserting *tandem* or the like at the beginning. It is evident, however, from the repetition of the word אתנה in the next verse, that the prediction there has reference to the very course of conduct here described. From this again the inference is plain, that notwithstanding the apparent import of the figure, the conduct is not in itself unlawful. The figure indeed is now commonly agreed to denote nothing more than commercial intercourse without necessarily implying guilt. In ancient times, when international commerce was a strange thing and nearly monopolized by a single nation, and especially among the Jews, whose law discouraged it for wise but temporary purposes, there were probably ideas attached to such promiscuous intercourse entirely different from our own. Certain it is that the Scriptures more than once compare the mutual solicitations of commercial enterprise to illicit love. That the comparison does not necessarily involve the idea of unlawful or dishonest trade, is sufficiently apparent from the following verse.

V. 18. *And her gain and her hire shall be holiness* (or *holy* i. e. consecrated) *to Jehovah ; it shall not be stored and it shall not be hoarded ; for her gain shall be for those who sit* (or *dwell*) *before Jehovah, to eat to satiety, and for substantial clothing.* By those who dwell before Jehovah we are probably to understand his worshippers in general and his official servants in particular. Henderson's objection, that the priests were not allowed to sit in the temple, is applicable only to the primary meaning of the verb. There may be an allusion to the chambers around the temple which were occupied by priests and Levites when in actual service. עתיק, according to the Arabic analogy, means *ancient* as an epithet of praise, and is accordingly resolved by the modern writers into *fine* or *splendid*. The older interpreters deduced perhaps from the same original idea that of durable, substantial, wearing long and well. The latter agrees better with the application of the words to private dress, the former to official robes, in which magnificence was more important than solidity, and which might be transferred from one incumbent to the next, and so be represented even in the stricter sense as old or ancient. The general sense of the prediction evidently is, that the commercial gains of Tyre should redound to the advantage of the servants of Jehovah.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Here begins a series of prophecies (ch. xxiv–xxxv), having reference chiefly to Judah. It is not divided into parts by any titles or express intimations of a change of subject. The style is also homogeneous and uniform. The attempts which have been made to subdivide this portion of the book are for the most part arbitrary. The conventional division into chapters may be retained as a matter of convenience. The first four chapters (xxiv—xxvii) are now universally regarded as forming one continuous composition. What is said of ch. xxiv is therefore in some degree applicable to the whole. This chapter contains a description of a country filled with confusion and distress by a visitation from Jehovah in consequence of its iniquities, vs. 1–12. It then speaks of a remnant scattered among the nations and glorifying God in distant lands, vs. 13–16. The Prophet then resumes his description of the judgments coming on the same land or another, winding up with a prophecy of Jehovah's exaltation in Jerusalem, vs. 16–23. Eusebius and Jerome explained this chapter as a prediction of the end of the world, in which they have been followed by Oecolampadius and some later writers. Cyril referred it to the same event, but understood it in its primary meaning as a summary of the foregoing prophecies against foreign nations. The older Jews (as we learn from Jarchi and Aben Ezra) applied the first part of the chapter to the Assyrian invasions of the Holy Land, and the last to the wars of Gog and Magog in the days of the Messiah. But Moses Haccohen referred the whole to the former period, Kimchi and Abarbenel the whole to the latter. Luther applied it to the desolation of Judea by the Romans. Calvin agreed with Cyril in regarding it as a summary of the preceding prophecies both against Israel and foreign nations, but denied any reference to the day of judgment. Grotius adhered to Moses Haccohen, in applying the whole to the Assyrian invasions. He referred the first part to the wasting of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, and the second to Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. Cocceius is as usual in the opposite extreme, applying the chapter to the German and Bohemian war, Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, the taking of Ratisbon, the battle of Norlingen, and the conflicts between Charles I. of England and the Parliament. Clericus understood the chapter as a prophecy of the Babylonian conquest of Judea, the captivity, and the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth. Vitringa explained it as relating, in its primary sense, to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors, and their deliverance by the Maccabees, but in its mystical or secondary sense to certain changes which await the Christian church in future times. Lowth

differed little in reality from Calvin, except that he confined the prediction more exclusively to Judah and its sufferings at the hands of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Romans. None of the writers who have now been mentioned entertained the least doubt as to the genuineness of the prophecy. The turning point between the old and new school of criticism is occupied by J. D. Michaelis, who without suggesting any doubt as to the age or author, pronounces the passage the most difficult in the book, and is altogether doubtful whether it has ever been fulfilled. Koppe divides the chapter into two independent prophecies. Eichhorn approves of this division, and infers from the style and phraseology, that the chapter was written after the destruction of Babylon. Bertholdt determines in the same way that it was composed immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Rosenmüller, in the first edition of his Scholia, agrees with Eichhorn. In the second, he maintains that Isaiah was the author, and that he here expresses a general anticipation of approaching changes. Gesenius pronounces the style far inferior to that of Isaiah, and ascribes the passage to a writer in the Babylonian exile just before the fall of Babylon. Hitzig on the other hand ascribes it to an Ephraimite captive in Assyria, and supposes the destruction of Nineveh to be foretold. Ewald thinks the prophecy was written in Palestine after the restoration of the Jews, and in anticipation of Cambyses' attack on Egypt. Umbreit agrees substantially with Gesenius, and Knobel with Bertholdt. We have here another illustration of the value of the boasted modern criticism. Gesenius is confident that the prophecy was written in Babylon ; Ewald and Knobel are equally confident that it was written in the Holy Land. Gesenius disparages the style as cold and artificial ; Hitzig speaks of it with contempt as awkward, feeble, and inelegant ; Ewald treats it with respect as poetical and skilful, although not original ; while Umbreit lauds it as a noble specimen of Hebrew poetry. In this case, as in others, each writer first determines upon general grounds the age of the production, and then confirms it by internal proofs. The points of resemblance to the undisputed writings of Isaiah are set down as plagiarisms or imitations. Ewald even goes so far as to mark certain passages as borrowed from older writers no longer extant. The paronomasias and other verbal peculiarities of the passage, instead of proving it the work of Isaiah, in whose acknowledged writings they are also found, prove the contrary because they are so numerous. In this way all proof of the genuineness of a disputed passage is rendered impossible. If it has not the usual characteristics of the author, it is therefore spurious ; if it has, it is evidently an imitation. It is true, distinctions are made as to the number, good taste, and connexion ; but they are always made at will, and so as to confirm the previous conclusion. Setting aside this empirical criticism as unworthy of attention, we may observe that the endless diversity of judgment, both among the older and later writers, shows

that the prediction is generic. Henderson observes indeed on Lowth's suggestion that the prophecy refers to more than one invasion of the Holy Land, that "this hypothesis, though supplying an easy mode of interpreting all its parts, is to be rejected, having been obviously framed for the purpose of getting rid of the difficulties;" as if hypotheses were ever framed for any other purpose, and as if there could be a stronger proof that a hypothesis is true, than the fact of its getting rid of the difficulties and supplying an easy mode of interpreting all the parts. In this case, as in many others, the exclusive restriction of the prophecy to one event is wholly arbitrary. What the Prophet has left indefinite we have no right to make specific. Particular allusions there may be; but this, as we have seen in other cases, does not limit the application of the whole.

V. 1. *Behold Jehovah (is) pouring out the land and emptying it, and he will turn down its face, and he will scatter its inhabitants.* The figure is that of a bottle or other vessel drained of its contents by being turned upside down. The face is not the soil or ground (Hendewerk), but the upper part or mouth of the vessel. The last clause resolves the figure into literal expressions. הֲפִיץ is not to cause to flow, as in Arabic, but to scatter, according to the uniform Hebrew usage. The allusion may be both to flight and deportation. Gesenius admits that הִנֵּה with the participle commonly indicates present or future time; but nevertheless applies this verse to the Babylonian conquest of Judea, which was long past at the time when he supposes the chapter to have been written. Ewald and Hitzig, who refer it to events still future at the date of the prediction, insist upon the future form. The simple truth is that Isaiah here speaks of the Babylonian conquest as still distant, but at the same time as infallibly certain. To avoid this conclusion, Gesenius denies that Isaiah was the author, and violates the usage of the language by translating this whole passage in the past tense.

V. 2. *And it shall be, as the people so the priest, as the servant so his master, as the buyer so the seller, as the borrower so the lender, as the debtor so the creditor.* That is, all ranks and classes shall fare alike. The double כ to express the idea *as–so* is like the use of *et–et* in Latin where we say *both–and*, or *aut–aut* where we say *either–or*. Kimchi says that each term includes a double comparison, (the people) *like the priest*, (and the priest) *like the people*, (the servant) *like the master*, (and the master) *like the servant*. On the form נְשֵׂא see Gesenius § 74. 20. The mention of the priest is no more a proof of later date in this case than in Hos. 4 : 9. Saadias makes כֹּהֵן mean a prince or ruler, which is also given in the margin of the English Bible.

V. 3. *The land shall be utterly emptied and utterly spoiled, for Jehovah speaks* (or *hath spoken*) *this word.* Gesenius arbitrarily translates the verbs as preterites, in which he is followed by Hendewerk. Ewald explains them as descriptive presents. DeWette as usual disregards the reduplication of the Hebrew verbs. It is no doubt emphatic, however, and may be expressed by a simple repetition, *emptied emptied* (Ewald), or by combining a verb and adjective, *empty and emptied* (Hitzig), or by introducing an intensive adverb, *utterly*, *wholly*, as in the English Version and most others. According to Knobel, תִּבּוֹק is put for the more usual form תָּבֵק in order to assimilate it to the infinitive. The full orthography with ו is mentioned by Gesenius as a sign of later date, although he does not deny that it also occurs in the older books. The *land* here mentioned is supposed by Hitzig to be Assyria; by all other interpreters Palestine. In order to justify his reference of this part of the chapter to past time, Gesenius explains the last clause as relating to the divine purpose or decree (for so Jehovah had commanded), whereas it elsewhere denotes the certainty of the event because predicted by Jehovah. The necessity of this departure from the usage of the phrase is a strong objection to his interpretation of the chapter as written during the Babylonian exile by a captive Jew.

V. 4. *The earth mourneth, fadeth; the world languisheth, fadeth; the highest of the people of the earth languish.* הארץ is not *the land* (Gesenius,) as appears from the parallel expression תבל. *Earth* and *world* however are not to be taken in their widest sense (Rosenmüller), but as poetical descriptions of a country (Ewald); not Assyria (Hitzig), but Palestine. Jerome refers the whole description to the end of the world. For מְרוֹם Koppe reads מֵרוֹם *from the height* (i. e. cast down from it), for which there is neither authority nor necessity. J. D. Michaelis inserts *and* after מרום (the high ones *and* the people of the land) which is also unnecessary. The Septuagint and Peshito omit עם, but it is found in all manuscripts. מרום is an abstract used for a concrete, *height* for *highest part* or *high ones*. Henderson supposes an allusion to the two thousand nobles carried away by Nebuchadnezzar. The figures are borrowed from the vegetable world. Several of the German writers amuse themselves with trying to copy the paronomasia in the first clause. Gesenius has *ächzet und lechzet*, Ewald *es welkt es verwelkt*, Knobel *welkt und fällt die Welt*. It is curious to observe the pains laid out upon these useless and unsuccessful imitations by writers who often disregard the idiomatic form of the construction.

V. 5. *And the land has been profaned under its inhabitants, because they have transgressed the laws, violated the statute, broken the everlasting covenant.* Knobel reads, *and so the land*, as if the verse contained the punishment and not the sin of the chosen people. In accordance with this

hypothesis, he explains the profaning of the land to be its invasion and subjection by the Babylonians. *Under its inhabitants* will then mean nothing more than the land with those upon it. All other writers seem to apply the passage to the Jews, and to understand it as referring their calamities to their transgressions. The land is said to be profaned as being a holy land or consecrated to Jehovah. Most interpreters suppose a special reference to pollution by blood or the guilt of murder in accordance with Symmachus's version ἐφονοκτονήθη. The ancient versions give תַּחַת the sense of *for*, on *account of;* but the proper meaning *under* is far more appropriate and expressive. The ancient versions also make חק a plural, and this reading is found in one manuscript and one edition. Aben Ezra explains the unusual plural חוּרת as denoting not the law of Moses, but the laws common to all nations. Vitringa in like manner makes it synonymous with the *jus gentium* of the Roman writers. Hitzig understands by it the Noachic precepts, on account of the allusion to the flood in v. 8. There seems to be no sufficient reason for departing from the ordinary meaning of the Hebrew words as denoting the divine law generally. The three terms used are substantially synonymous, *law*, *statute*, *covenant*, being continually interchanged. Henderson needlessly refers the last to the covenant at Sinai, and Hendewerk distinguishes between the moral and ceremonial parts of the Mosaic law. The simple meaning of the verse is that they disobeyed the will of God. In the phrase, *they changed the ordinance*, Gill finds a reference not only to the popish corruptions of the eucharist, but to the substitution of infant sprinkling for adult immersion.

V. 6. *Therefore a curse devoured the earth, and those dwelling in it were reckoned guilty* (and so treated). *Therefore the inhabitants of the earth burned, and there are few men left.* אָלָה does not here mean false swearing, as explained in the Targum and by Jarchi and Kimchi, but the curse of God, attending the violation of his law. The mention of this penalty is absurdly represented by Gesenius and Knobel as a proof of the late date of the prophecy. אשם is taken by some of the early writers in the sense of being *desolate*. Its true sense is that of being recognized as guilty and treated accordingly. It therefore suggests the ideas both of guilt and punishment. Twenty-eight manuscripts and three editions with the Peshito read אבלה instead of אבלה, a variation probably derived from v. 4, or from Jer. 43 : 10. The Septuagint makes חרו mean *they shall be poor;* Symmachus *they shall be exhausted;* J. D. Michaelis *they shall be diminished.* The Targum gives the word the general sense of being consumed or destroyed; but the latest writers all prefer the more specific sense of burning or being burnt, either by internal heat like that of fever, or by the fire of outward persecutions. Houbigant and Lowth without the least authority read חרבו for חרו. Gesenius supposes the imagery to be copied from Joel 1 : 8–20

V. 7. *The new wine mourneth; the vine languisheth; all the merry-hearted do sigh.* Gesenius, Hitzig, and Henderson understand תירוש as denoting the juice of the grape while on the vine; Knobel by synecdoche the grape itself. But as the whole description is figurative, there is no need of departing from the usual sense of *sweet* or new wine. Rosenmüller and Barnes think the wine is here described as mourning because none drink it; Hendewerk because it is drunk by foreigners and not by natives. This is changing a natural and beautiful figure into a frigid conceit. Gesenius informs us that this verse was also copied from Joel (ch. 1: 10–12) where he says it stands in a much more natural connexion.

V. 8. *Still is the mirth of drums; ceased is the noise of revellers; still is the mirth of the harp.* Music is here mentioned as a common token and accompaniment of mirth. Three manuscripts instead of שׂאן read גאן.

V. 9. *With the song they shall not drink wine; bitter shall strong drink be to them that drink it.* Hitzig understands this to mean that they shall not drink wine at all; Knobel, that it shall not be accompanied with music. שכר is neither beer (J. D. Michaelis) nor palm-wine (Lowth) specifically, but intoxicating drinks in general. The last clause means of course that they should lose the appetite for such enjoyments.

V. 10. *Broken down is the city of confusion* (emptiness or desolation), *shut up is every house from entering* (i. e. so that it is not or cannot be entered). The city meant is neither Nineveh (Hitzig) nor cities in general (Rosenmüller), but Jerusalem. Hitzig and Knobel prefer the construction, *it is broken down into* (i. e. so as to be) *a city of desolation*, but the common construction is more natural which makes קרית תהו the subject of the verb. The last clause might be understood to refer to the closing of the houses by the inhabitants against the enemy, or to their being left unoccupied; but the first clause seems to show that it rather relates to the obstruction of the entrance by the ruins. Rosenmüller's explanation of קרית תהו as denoting *city of idols* or idolatrous city, is very unnatural. Hitzig and others make the בן before בית simply equivalent to *without*. Compare the similar expression in ch. 23: 1.

V. 11. *A cry for wine in the streets—darkened is all joy—departed is the gladness of the earth.* To the critical acumen of Gesenius this verse stands confessed as a plagiarism from Joel 1: 15. To the exquisite taste of Hitzig it is not only an *unda redundans*, but completely lame and flat (*vollends lahm und matt*). One ground of objection to it is that a calling for wine, though perfectly appropriate in Joel, is entirely out of place in this

description of a conquered and dismantled town. The later writers have had taste enough to see that the cry meant is not that of drunkards for more liquor, but of the perishing inhabitants for necessary refreshment (Hendewerk), perhaps with special reference to the sick and wounded (Henderson) or to children (Hitzig). Knobel gives the words the still more general sense of lamentation for the blasted vintage. Hendewerk points out that wine alone is mentioned here, as bread is in Lam. 4 : 4, while in Lam. 2 : 12 both are combined. There is no need of taking צִיחָה in the sense of a call to the wine-sellers from their customers (Kimchi), much less of supplying a negative, so as to make it mean that there is *no call* for wine in the streets (Clericus). Houbigant and Lowth for עָרְבָה read עָבְרָה (has passed away). Rosenmüller gives the same or nearly the same sense to the common text. But all the latest writers acquiesce in Buxtorf's definition of the word as meaning to grow dark, with special reference to the setting of the sun or the coming on of twilight. This beautiful figure is itself an answer to the aesthetical sneers of certain critics. נִגְלָה may either have the general sense of *gone, departed* (Henderson), or the more specific one of banished (Gesenius), expatriated (J. D. Michaelis), carried captive (Umbreit). The first clause is rendered more expressive in the versions of De Wette, Umbreit, and Hendewerk, by the omission of the verb. The last mentioned writer understands by the joy of the land the population of Jerusalem. Nine manuscripts have כל before הארץ, and the Septuagint supplies it before משוש.

V. 12. What is *left in the city is desolation, and into ruins is the gate beaten down.* The first clause is in apposition to the last of v. 11. Joy is gone and desolation is left behind. All the modern writers take שׁאיה as an adverbial accusative qualifying יכּה by describing the effect or result of the action. The gate is here named as the most important part of the city ; but it does not directly mean the city itself. On the form יֻכַּת see Gesenius § 66. Rem. 8.

V. 13. *For so shall it be in the midst of the earth among the nations, like the beating of an olive-tree, like gleanings when the gathering is done.* There is no need of rendering כִּי *but* (Rosenmüller) or *yet* (Henderson), as the Prophet is stating more distinctly the extent of the desolation which he had before described. The fact that some survive is indeed referred to, but only indirectly and by implication, so that the verse is not properly an antithesis to that before it. Instead of saying that Isaiah here repeats his beautiful comparison in ch. 17 : 5, 6, Gesenius and his followers set this down as the plagiarism of a later writer. The Prophet is thus reduced to a dilemma ; if he does not repeat his own expressions, he is a stranger to himself and his own writings ; if he does, he is an imitator of a later age. Rosen-

müller supposes an allusion not only to paucity but to inferiority of quality. *In the midst of the nations* is explained by Hitzig as contrasting the condition of the country with that of its neighbours. Others understand it of actual dispersion among foreign nations.

V. 14. *They shall raise their voice, they shall sing* (or *shout*), *for the majesty of Jehovah they cry aloud from the sea.* The pronoun at the beginning is emphatic. *They*, not the nations (Schelling) or the Jews left in the land (Barnes), but the few dispersed survivors of these judgments. The ב before גאון is not a particle of time (Rosenmüller), but points out the subject (Maurer) or the occasion of the praise (Gesenius). Ewald supposes the words of the song itself to be begun in the last clause of this verse and continued through the next. But this compels him to change the pointing of צהלו and make it an imperative. The Septuagint and Theodotion have the *waters of the sea*, as if instead of מָיָּם they read מַיִם or מַיִם. Dathe gives the מִן its comparative sense: more (i. e. louder) than the sea. Jarchi had before given the same construction but a different sense: *more than* (*at*) *the sea*, i. e. more than they rejoiced at the deliverance from Egypt. Many render the phrase *from the west*, which is rather implied than expressed. Hitzig denies that there is here a transition to another subject, as admitted by almost all interpreters.

V. 15. *Therefore in the fires glorify Jehovah, in the islands of the sea the name of Jehovah God of Israel.* Ewald supposes the words of the song or shout to be continued. Hendewerk and Barnes understand the Prophet as here turning from the remnant of Israel in Palestine to the scattered exiles. But it seems to be really an address to the persons who had already been described as praising God, exhorting them to do so still. אוֹרִים has been variously explained as meaning valleys, caverns, doctrines, fires of affliction, exile, Urim (and Thumim), Ur (of the Chaldees), etc. Clericus makes באורים the passive participle of בער. It is now commonly agreed to be a local designation. Doederlein deduces from an Arabic analogy the meaning *in the north.* Barnes suggests that אורים may denote the northern lights or aurora borealis. Henderson thinks the Prophet means the region of volcanic fires, viz. the Mediterranean coasts and islands. But the weight of exegetical authority preponderates in favour of the meaning *in the east* (as the region of sunrise or of dawning light) in opposition to the sea or west. Various attempts have been made to mend the text by reading באיים (Lowth), באמים or בעמים (Houbigant), בהרים or ביערים (Calmet). Hensler reads בְּאוֹרִים as a contraction for בְּיַאוֹרִים, like בְּאוֹרִים Amos 8: 8.

V. 16. *From the wing* (*skirt* or *edge*) *of the earth we have heard songs, praise to the righteous, and I said, woe to me, woe to me, alas*

for me! The deceivers deceive, with deceit the deceivers deceive. We hear promises and praise to the righteous, but our actual experience is that of misery. צדיק is not an epithet of God (Henderson) or Cyrus (Hendewerk), but of righteous men in general. Gesenius infers from the second clause that the writer was involved in the miseries of Babylon; but the same use might be made of every ideal situation which the book presents. Several of the ancient versions and of the rabbinical interpreters take רזי in the sense of *secret:* my secret is to me, and I must keep it, i. e. I cannot utter what I know. Aben Ezra and Kimchi, followed by Vitringa, give it the specific sense of *leanness.* But the latest writers understand it as denoting ruin, misery, or woe, and the whole exclamation as substantially equivalent to that which follows. Here, as in ch. 21 : 2, the latest writers make בגד express not fraud but violence, which is contrary to usage and entirely unnecessary. Ewald takes בֶּגֶד in its usual sense of garment, and explains the clause to mean, that robbers strip off the very clothes. צבי לצדיק is commonly regarded as the very language of the song referred to; but it may as well be a description of it, (a song of) *praise* or *honour to the righteous.*

V. 17. *Fear and pit and snare upon thee, oh inhabitant of the land!* This may be either a warning (*are upon thee*) or the expression of a wish (*be upon thee*). It is a probable though not a necessary supposition, that the terms here used are borrowed from the ancient art of hunting. פחד would then denote some device by which wild beasts were frightened into snares and pitfalls. It is at least a remarkable coincidence that the Romans gave the name *formido* to an apparatus used for this purpose. Henderson explains the Hebrew word to mean a *scarecrow.* The paronomasia is copied by Gesenius, Ewald, Umbreit, and Hitzig, in as many different forms. It is of course regarded as a proof of recent origin, though no one undertakes to say at what precise period the paronomasia became a favourite with the Hebrew writers.

V. 18. *And it shall be (that) the (one) flying from the voice of the fear shall fall into the pit, and the (one) coming up from the midst of the pit shall be taken in the snare; for windows from on high are opened, and the foundations of the earth are shaken.* The first clause carries out the figures of the foregoing verse; the second introduces those of a deluge and an earthquake. One manuscript instead of מקול reads מפני, and some interpreters regard קול as a mere idiomatic pleonasm. But it much more probably denotes the voice of the hunter or the noise made by the instrument called פחד. The allusion to the flood is acknowledged by all writers except Knobel, who objects that the Hebrews did not believe that there could be a

second deluge; as if this belief could prevent their understanding or employing such a figure of speech. There are thousands now who have the same belief, but who do not for that reason feel debarred from representing overwhelming evils as a deluge of misfortune or of wrath. Akin to this is the assertion of the same writer, and of Gesenius before him, that the early Hebrews actually thought that there were windows in the solid vault of heaven. In the same way it might be proved that Milton held the stars and planets to be burning lamps, and that Gesenius himself when he speaks of a *column* of smoke means a solid piece of masonry. It seems to be a canon with some critics, that all the prosaic language of the Bible is to be interpreted as poetry, and all its poetry as prose, especially when any colour is afforded for the charge of ignorant credulity. Kimchi imagines that windows are here mentioned as the apertures through which God looks upon the earth; Knobel as those through which he sends down thunderbolts and lightning. But the allusion to the flood is rendered certain by the resemblance of the language to that used in Gen. 7: 11.

V. 19. *Broken, broken is the earth; shattered, shattered is the earth; shaken, shaken is the earth.* This striking verse is pronounced by Gesenius and Hitzig, in accordance with some mystical canon of criticism, very inelegant and in bad taste. They both assign the reason that the word *earth* is repeated. Hitzig adds that the verse contains an anticlimax, which is not the case, as no natural phenomenon can be more impressive than an earthquake. The reduplication of the Hebrew verbs is as variously expressed by the different translators as in v. 3.

V. 20. *The earth reels, reels like a drunken man, and is shaken like a hammock. And heavy upon her is her guilt, and she shall fall and rise no more.* The ideas *earth* and *land*, both which are expressed by the Hebrew ארץ, run into one another and are interchanged in a manner not to be expressed in a translation. The old translation of the second clause (*removed like a cottage*) is now commonly abandoned. מלונה is properly a temporary lodging-place. In ch. 1: 8 it was applied to a watch-shed in a melon-field. Here it seems to signify something more movable and something suspended in the air. The latest writers are accordingly agreed in retaining the interpretation put upon the word by the Targum, the Peshito, and Saadias, which makes it mean a cloth or mat suspended between trees or boughs of trees for the use of nocturnal watchers. Such are described by Niebuhr as common in Arabia, and are known throughout the east by a name essentially identical with those used in the versions above cited. The readers of this verse would never have discovered, without Hitzig's aid, that its figures are extravagant and overstrained.

V. 21. *And it shall be in that day (that) Jehovah shall visit* (for the purpose of inflicting punishment) *upon the host of the high place in the high place and upon the kings of the earth upon the earth.* Interpreters have commonly assumed that the *host of the high place* is the same with the *host of heaven,* and must therefore mean either stars (Jerome) or angels (Aben Ezra) or both (Gesenius). Grotius understands by it the images of the heavenly bodies worshipped in Assyria. Gesenius finds here an allusion to the punishment of fallen angels, and then makes this a proof of recent origin, because the Jewish demonology was later than the time of Isaiah. It may be doubted whether there is any reference to the host of heaven at all. מרום is a relative expression, and although applied to heaven in v. 18, is applied to earth or to human society in v. 4. The former sense may seem to be here required by the antithesis of אדמה; but it is not clear that any antithesis was intended, which is the less probable because אדמה is not the customary opposite of heaven. The sense may simply be that God will judge the high or lofty host viz. the kings of the land upon the land. But even if there be an antithesis, and even if the host of heaven in the usual sense of the expression be alluded to, the analogy of this whole context would seem to indicate that this is merely a strong figure for different ranks or degrees of dignity on earth. It is not indeed probable that the Jewish hierarchy is specifically meant, as Barnes supposes; but it is altogether natural to understand the words more generally as denoting kings and potentates. And even on the supposition that the contrast here intended is between the hosts of heaven and earth, the obvious meaning is that God will judge the principalities and powers of both worlds, in order to accomplish his declared designs. To pronounce the passage spurious because it seems to speak of evil spirits and their doom, is to assume that nothing is ever mentioned for the first time, but that all allusions to a doctrine must be simultaneous. Even in the later books of Scripture, how few and incidental and obscure are the allusions to this subject! In the same taste and spirit and of equal value are Gesenius's attempts to connect this verse with the doctrines of Zoroaster. It is not unworthy of remark that Hitzig, who delights in all such demonstrations of a later date and lower standard of opinion in the sacred books, foregoes that pleasure here and flatly denies that there is any reference to demons in the text, because he had assumed the ground that it was written in Assyria before the fall of Nineveh.

V. 22. *And they shall be gathered with a gathering as prisoners in a pit, and shall be shut up in a dungeon, and after many days they shall be visited.* Whether אֲסֻפַּה be construed with אֲסִיר (*the gathering of a prisoner*) or explained as an emphatic reduplication, the sense of the first clause evidently is that they shall be imprisoned. The persons meant are of course

the principalities and powers of the verse preceding. The affinity between סגרו and מסגר cannot well be expressed in English, as it is in the German version of Gesenius (verschlossen ins Verschloss). There are two interpretations of the verb יפקדו. According to one it means *they shall be punished*, or at least brought forth to judgment. This is the sense put upon it by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Maurer, Umbreit, and Hendewerk. The other is, *they shall be visited in mercy*. This explanation is as old as Rabbi Joseph Kimchi, if not as the Peshito. Calvin seems to favour it, and it is adopted by Hitzig, Henderson, and Ewald. Barnes, who refers these verses to the Jewish priests, gives the verb the specific meaning, *shall be mustered*, with a view to their return from exile.

V. 23. *And the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed, for Jehovah of Hosts is king in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his elders there is glory.* Before the splendour of Jehovah's reign all lesser principalities and powers shall fade away. There is no need of supposing an allusion to the worship of the sun and moon. Some give to כִּי the sense of *when*, which is admissible but needless and indeed inadequate. It was not merely *when* Jehovah reigned, but *because* he reigned, that all inferior luminaries were to be eclipsed. The *elders* are the rulers of Israel as the church. Henderson sees a distinct allusion to the form of government by elders, as that which shall prevail in the last and best days of the church. The simple meaning of the verse appears to be that Jehovah's reign over his people shall be more august than that of any created sovereign. This is true of the church in various periods of history, but more especially in those when the presence and power of God are peculiarly manifested. The affinity between this verse and the last of the preceding chapter seems to show that their juxtaposition is by no means fortuitous. The Septuagint renders the first clause thus, *the brick shall moulder and the wall shall fall.* They evidently read לְבֵנָה and חֹמָה, although Grotius imagines that the deviation from the true sense was intentional, in order to avoid offending the Platonists of Egypt by disparaging the sun and moon. If such a motive could have influenced the authors of the version, its effects would not have been confined to one or a few comparatively unimportant passages.

CHAPTER XXV.

This chapter consists of three distinguishable parts. The first is a thanksgiving to God for the destruction of Babylon and the deliverance of

the Jews, vs. 1–5. The second is a promise of favour to the gentiles and the people of God, when united on Mount Zion, vs. 6–9. The third is a threatening of disgraceful ruin to Moab, vs. 10–12.

It may be mentioned as a specimen of Ewald's bold and arbitrary criticism, that he connects vs. 6–11 directly with ch. 24, puts the first four verses together as a *strophe*, and the fifth, twelfth, and first four verses of the next chapter, as another strophe.

It is worthy of remark that, though the modern German writers all regard this chapter as the work of the same period, and indeed of the same author as the one before it, they find here none of those strong proofs of deteriorated taste and diction which are so abundant in the other case. To be consistent, they should either ascribe the passages to different authors, or admit that the twenty-fourth was written at a time and by a man not incapable of pure and lofty composition. It ought to be observed however that the admirable figure in v. 10 strikes the delicate taste of Gesenius as low (*unedel*) and of Ewald as dirty (*schmutzig*).

Cocceius, in his exposition of this chapter, still enjoys his old hallucination that it is a chapter of church-history, referring the first part to the great rebellion in England, and the last to the destruction of the Turks, etc.

V. 1. *Jehovah my God (art) thou; I will exalt thee; I will praise thy name; for thou hast done a wonder, counsels from afar off, truth, certainty.* The song of praise opens in the usual lyric style. (See Ex. 15: 2, 11. Ps. 118: 28. 145: 1.) Cocceius, Vitringa, and some others, read *oh thou my God*, without supplying the substantive verb; but the latter construction is more agreeable to usage. אוֹדֶה strictly means *I will acknowledge* or confess. The whole phrase may either mean, I will acknowledge thy goodness towards me, or I will confess thee to be what thy name imports, I will acknowledge thy acts to be consistent with the previous revelations of thine attributes. Some render פֶּלֶא simply as a plural. Rosenmüller explains it as a collective implying that many particular wonders were included. Vitringa more naturally makes it an indefinite expression, *something wonderful* (mirabile quid). What wonder is especially referred to, the next verse explains. The last clause admits of several different constructions. Ewald, with many of the older writers, makes it an independent proposition, of which עצות is the subject and אמונה the predicate. Thus the English Version: *thy counsels of old are faithfulness and truth.* Barnes supplies another verb: *thou hast shown to be faithful and true.* Gesenius makes עצות as well as פלא the object of the verb עשית, and supplies a preposition before אמונה or regards it as an adverbial accusative: *thou hast executed ancient plans (with) faithfulness and truth.* Hitzig simplifies the same construction still more by making all the nouns in the last clause ob-

jects of the verb in the first: thou hast brought to pass a wonder, ancient counsels, faithfulness, truth. *From afar off* seems to imply, not only that the plans were formed of old, but that they were long ago revealed. Even long before the event they are certain. Hitzig, who applies the whole prophecy to Nineveh, is disposed to understand this clause as referring to the earlier prophecies of its destruction by Na ·d Zephaniah. The Septuagint, followed by J. D. Michaelis, reads אָמֵן *Amen* (*γένοιτο*) which would here be out of place. אמן and אמונה are cognate forms, both denoting truth or certainty, and here combined, according to a very common Hebrew idiom, for emphasis.

V. 2. *For thou hast turned* (*it*) *from a city to a heap, a fortified town to a ruin, a palace of strangers from* (*being*) *a city; forever it shall not be built.* According to Rosenmüller, *city* is here put for cities in general, and the verse contains a promise or prophetic description of the golden age when fortifications should no longer be needed, as Virgil says of the same ideal period, that there shall then no more be *oppida muris cincta*. Most interpreters however are agreed that it refers to a particular city; Grotius says Samaria; Capellus, Jerusalem; Hitzig, Nineveh; the others, Babylon. Cocceius applies the first clause to the overthrow of episcopacy in England, and especially to the exclusion of the bishops from the house of lords. (*Sensus hic est: ex ecclesia episcopali fecisti acervum, hoc eam est totam diruisti.*) The other clause he applies to the subsequent change of the republic into a tyranny (from a city to a palace of strangers). שַׂמְתָּ means strictly *thou hast placed*, but is often used with ל to denote the conversion of a thing into something else. Here it is separated from לַגָּל by מֵעִיר, an unusual collocation, which led Houbigant to read עִיר or הָעִיר, in which he is followed by Lowth, Döderlein, Dathe, Gesenius, and Knobel. J. D. Michaelis reads עִיר שַׂמְתָּם, which instead of easing the construction makes it still more harsh. The difficulty is entirely removed, without a change of text, by supposing the object of the verb to be עִיר or קִרְיָה understood. *Thou hast changed* (a city) *from a city to a heap.* So Vitringa, Rosenmüller, and others. Gesenius doubts whether such an ellipsis is admissible; but it is surely more so than an arbitrary change of text. Another solution of the syntax is proposed by Hitzig, 'thou hast turned from a city to a heap a fortified town to a ruin,' in which case לְמַפֵּלָה is an unmeaning repetition of לַגָּל, without even parallelism or rhythm to sanction it. The same construction had substantially been given long before by De Dieu. Hendewerk goes still further and connects למפלה with ארמין זרים: 'thou changest the fortified town from a city to a heap, the palaces of strangers from a city to ruins.' Gesenius gives בְּצוּרָה here its primary and proper sense of *inaccessible*. Most of the modern writers understand by *a palace of strangers* the royal city mention-

ed in the first clause, called a *palace* on account of its splendour, or as being a collection of *palaces*, or because the palace was the most important part of it. מֵעִיר must then be taken in a privative sense (*so as not to be a city*). But as the same phrase in the first clause means *from being a city*, some give it that sense here and understand the clause to mean that God had changed it from a c[illegible] palace (or royal residence) of strangers. But if it ceased to be a city, how could it become a palace? There is in fact no inconsistency between the senses put upon מֵעִיר by the usual interpretation. Even in the first clause it means strictly *from* or *away from a city*, which can be clearly expressed in our idiom only by using a negative expression. For זרים Houbigant proposes to read זדים, wholly without reason or authority. זרים has the same sense as in ch. 1 : 7. For the use of *stranger* in the sense of *enemy*, Gesenius cites the authority of Ossian. Grotius explains it to mean *strange gods* or their worshippers, and applies the whole phrase to the idolatrous temple of Samaria. The Targum in like manner makes it mean an idol-temple in Jerusalem itself.

V. 3. *Therefore a powerful people shall honour thee, a city of terrible nations shall fear thee.* The destruction of Babylon, and the fulfilment of prophecy thereby, shall lead even the boldest and wildest of the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah as the true God. It is usual to apply the terms of this verse specifically to the Medes and Persians as the conquerors of Babylon. Hitzig refers them to the Medes and Babylonians as the conquerors of Nineveh. To this it may be objected that the epithets, according to usage, imply censure rather than praise, and that עָרִיצִים is applied in the next verse to the conquered Babylonians themselves as having once been tyrants or oppressors. There seems to be no need of applying the verse to a cordial voluntary recognition of Jehovah. It may just as well denote a compulsory extorted homage, *fear* being taken in its proper sense. The verse will then be an apt description of the effect produced by Jehovah's overthrow of Babylon on the Babylonians themselves. There is still another explanation, namely, that which understands the verse more indefinitely as descriptive of an effect produced upon the nations generally. This however does not agree so well with the use of the terms *people* and *city* in the singular number, for although they may be taken as collectives, such a construction should not be assumed without necessity. But even on the other supposition, there is something unusual in the expression *city of nations*. It must either be explained as implying a plurality of subject nations, or גּוֹיִם must be taken in its secondary sense of *gentiles, heathen*, as applied to individuals or to one community.

V. 4. *For thou hast been a strength* (or *stronghold*) *to the weak, a strength* (or *stronghold*) *to the poor, in his distress, a refuge from the*

storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible (or *of the tyrants*) was *like a storm against a wall.* The nations shall reverence Jehovah, not merely as the destroyer of Babylon, but as the deliverer of his people, for whose sake that catastrophe was brought about. מָעוֹז is not merely *strength* in the abstract, but a *strong place* or fortress. דַּל and אֶבְיוֹן are epithets often applied to Israel considered as a sufferer. The two figures of extreme heat and a storm of rain are combined to express the idea of persecution or affliction. כִּי may also be taken in its usual sense of *for*, as pointing out the reason why protection was required. רוּחַ does not directly denote *wrath*, but *breath*, and here a violent breathing as indicative of anger. It is thus explained by Gesenius (Zornhauch), while Ewald gratuitously lowers the tone of the description by translating the word snorting (Schnauben). Jarchi explains זרם קיר (wall-storm) as denoting a storm which overthrows or destroys a wall. The same idea is expressed in the Targum, Peshito, and Vulgate, and approved by most of the recent writers. Knobel objects that the phrase does not naturally suggest the idea of subversion or destruction, and on that account adopts the reading קוֹר proposed by Cappellus, and approved by Vitringa, Lowth, and Dathe. The phrase would then mean a *cold* or *winter storm.* There is no need, however, of a change in the text, although Knobel's objection to the common explanation is well founded. The Hebrew phrase naturally signifies precisely what the English Version has expressed, to wit, *a storm against a wall*, denoting the direction and the object of the violence, but not its issue. As a storm of rain beats upon a wall, so the Babylonian persecution beat upon the captive Jews. The simple but striking and impressive imagery of this verse is very far from indicating an inferior writer or a recent date of composition. It is not strange, however, that this fine passage should be deemed unworthy of Isaiah or his times by those who look upon Macpherson's Ossian as a relic of antiquity.

V. 5. *As heat in a drought* (or *in a dry place*), *the noise of strangers wilt thou bring down; (as) heat by the shadow of a cloud, (so) shall the song of the tyrants be brought low.* The sufferings of Israel under oppression shall be mitigated and relieved as easily and quietly as the intense heat of the sun by an intervening cloud. The *noise* mentioned in the first clause is probably the tumult of battle and conquest, and the *song* in the last clause the triumphal song of the victorious enemy. The meaning *branch* is more agreeable to usage, but not so appropriate in this connexion. De Dieu's translation of the last words, *the pruning* (or excision) *of the tyrants shall bear witness*, is extremely forced. Still worse is that of Junius and Tremellius: *it* (the heat) *answered* (or favoured) *the branch of the oppressors.* The same idea is expressed in both the clauses, though the first is elliptical.

and the idea of a shadowy cloud must be supplied from the second. Gesenius makes רענה intransitive; the later Germans take it as a Hiphil form (*he shall bring low*) corresponding to תכניע in the other clause. Barnes removes the enallage by rendering רענה in the second person. Koppe and Bauer most gratuitously read it as a passive, וְעֻנָּה. As צִיּוֹן is properly an abstract, it may be applied either to time or place, a dry season or a desert, without affecting the sense. The Seventy appear to have read צִיּוֹן *Zion*, which would change the sense entirely.

V. 6. *And Jehovah of Hosts will make, for all nations, in this mountain, a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.* Jerusalem, hitherto despised and oppressed, shall yet be a source of attraction, nourishment, and exhilaration, to mankind. This verse resumes the thread of the discourse, which was interrupted at the end of the last chapter, for the purpose of inserting the triumphal song (vs. 1–5). Having there said that Jehovah and his elders should appear in glory on Mount Zion, he now shows what is there to be bestowed upon the nations. שמנים properly means *fatnesses*, here put for rich and dainty food. Clericus strangely supplies *sheep*, as if שמנים were an adjective. שמרים means the lees of wine, as being the *keepers* (from שמר to keep) or preservers of the colour and flavour. It is here put for wine kept long upon the lees, and therefore old and of superior quality. מזקקים probably means strained or filtered. מְמֻחָים from מָחָה is put for the more usual form מְמֻחִים, in order to assimilate it to the other word. This verse contains a general statement of the relation which Jerusalem or Zion should sustain to the whole world, as a source of moral influence. There is nothing to indicate the time when the promise should be fulfilled, nor indeed to restrict it to one time exclusively. As the ancient seat of the true religion, and as the cradle of the church which has since overspread the nations, it has always more or less fulfilled the office here ascribed to it.

V. 7. *And he will swallow up* (i. e. destroy) *in this mountain the face of the veil, the veil upon all peoples, and the web, the* (one) *woven over all the nations.* The influence to go forth from this centre shall dispel the darkness, both of ignorance and sorrow, which now broods over the world. The subject of the verb is of course Jehovah. By the *face of the veil* some understand the veil itself. Others suppose a metathesis for the *veil of the face*. Lowth adopts the reading in one manuscript, which sets פני before כל הצמים. Gesenius, with more probability, infers from the analogous expression in Job 41 : 5, that the veil or covering is here described as being the *surface* or upper side of the object covered. Most interpreters suppose an allusion to the practice of veiling the face as a sign of mourning,

which agrees well with the next verse and is no doubt included, but the words seem also to express the idea of a veil upon the understanding. (Vide supra, ch. 22 : 8.) Some have explained the words as relating to the covering of the faces of condemned criminals; but this is neither justified by usage nor appropriate in this connexion. Gesenius makes the second לוּט an active participle of unusual form, chosen in order to assimilate it to the foregoing noun (*the cover covering*). But as the language contains traces of the usual form לָט, and as the forms here used are not only similar but identical, it seems more natural to suppose an emphatic repetition of the noun itself, especially as such repetitions are so frequent in the foregoing chapter. Some of the ancient versions, deriving מַסֵּכָה from a verbal root meaning to *anoint*, explain the clause as threatening the fall of a tyrannical power. Thus the Targum has 'the face of the chief who rules over all peoples and the face of the king who rules over all kingdoms.' Henderson deduces from the Arabic analogy the specific and appropriate sense of *web* or *weaving*.

V. 8. *He has swallowed up death forever, and the Lord Jehovah wipes away tears from off all faces, and the reproach of his people he will take away from off all the earth, for Jehovah hath spoken (it)*. The people of God, who seemed to be extinct, shall be restored to life, their grief exchanged for joy, and their disgrace for honour in the presence of the world, a result for which he pledges both his power and foreknowledge. The preterite form בִּלַּע may either be explained as a descriptive present, or as indicating something previous in point of time to what is mentioned afterwards. Henderson objects to the rendering of the Piel by the English *swallow up*; but the sense of *destroying*, which he prefers, is evidently secondary and derivative. Barnes, on the other hand, supposes a specific allusion to a *maelstrom*, which is erring in the opposite extreme. Rosenmüller understands the first clause as a promise, that in the golden age which Isaiah anticipated, wars and mutual violence should cease; Gesenius, as a promise of immortality like that which man enjoyed before the fall. Hendewerk applies it to the death and immortality of Israel as a nation. The true sense seems to be that all misery and suffering, comprehended under the generic name of *death*, should be completely done away. It is then a description of the ultimate effects of the influence before described as flowing from Mount Zion or the church of God. In its highest sense this may never be realized by any individual till after death. Paul says accordingly (1 Cor. 15 : 54), that when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, *κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος*. As this is not an explanation of the text before us, nor even a citation of it in the way of argument, but merely a sublime description, all that it was necessary to express was the

final, perpetual, triumphant abolition of death. The phrase εἰς νῖκος therefore (which is also found in Theodotion's version), although not a strict translation of לָנֶצַח, is no departure from its essential meaning. In its primary import, the clause is a promise to God's people, corresponding to the foregoing promise to the nations. While on the one hand he would lift the veil from the latter, and admit them to a feast upon Zion, on the other he would abolish death and wipe tears from the faces of his people. The restriction of these last expressions to the pains of death, or to the sorrow of bereavement, detracts from the exquisite beauty of the passage, which the poet Burns (as Barnes informs us) could not read without weeping, a sufficient proof that he was not aware of the German discovery, that this prediction is an extremely lame and flat composition, quite unworthy of the Prophet to whom it has from time immemorial been erroneously ascribed.

V. 9. *And one shall say* (or *they shall say*) *in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us; this is Jehovah; we have waited for him; let us rejoice and be glad in his salvation.* When these gracious promises shall be fulfilled, those who have trusted in them shall no longer be ashamed of their strong confidence, because it will be justified by the event, and they will have nothing left but to rejoice in the fulfilment of their hopes. *This is our God, this is Jehovah;* as if they had said, this is the God of whom we have spoken, and for trusting in whom we have so often been derided. We have waited long, but he is come at last, to vindicate his truth and our reliance on him. The augmented futures at the close may either denote fixed determination (*we will rejoice, we will be glad*) or a proposition (*let us then rejoice*) for which the language has no other distinct form.

V. 10. *For the hand of Jehovah shall rest upon this mountain, and Moab shall be trodden down under him* (or *in his place*) *as straw is trodden in the water of the dunghill.* While Israel shall thus enjoy the permanent protection of Jehovah, his inveterate enemies shall experience ignominious destruction. God's hand is the symbol of his power. Its resting on an object is the continued exercise of that power, whether for good or evil. This is determined by the nature of the object, as *this mountain* cannot well mean any thing but what is meant in vs. 6, 7, to wit, Mount Zion or the church of God, and the promise of the foregoing context must of course be continued here. Moab and Edom were the two hereditary and inveterate enemies of Israel, their hatred being rendered more annoying and conspicuous by their affinity and neighbouring situation. Hence they are repeatedly mentioned, separately or together, as the representatives of obstinate and malignant enemies in general. Henderson insists upon the word's being

taken in its literal import; but this is not excluded in the usual interpretation. As the name *British*, in our own revolutionary war, became equivalent to *hostile*, without losing its specific sense, so might the Prophets threaten Moab with God's vengeance, without meaning to exclude from the denunciation other likeminded enemies. This wide interpretation, both of Moab and Edom, is confirmed by the fact that one of them is often mentioned where both would seem to be equally included. The figure in the last clause is strongly expressive both of degradation and destruction. Moab is likened not only to straw, but to straw left to rot for the dunghill. The idea of subjection and ruin is expressed by the figure of treading down or trampling under foot. דּוּשׁ is commonly translated *thresh*; but as the oriental threshing was performed for the most part by the feet of cattle, this sense and that of *treading down* are really coincident. In reference to the same usage, the Septuagint, Peshito, and Vulgate introduce the word *wagons*, meaning the heavy carts or threshing machines of the east. Lowth conjectures that they read מֵרִכְבָה for מַדְמֵנָה; but the former word denotes a chariot, especially a chariot of war, and the versions in question do not necessarily imply a difference of text. According to some writers, מַדְמֵנָה is the name of a city *Madmenah*, which may at one time have belonged to Moab, and be mentioned here on account of some local peculiarity. Henderson thinks there can be no allusion to this place; but it is perfectly accordant with the usage of the sacred writers to suppose, that the word was here intended to convey a contemptuous allusion to the primary meaning of the name in question. As an appellative, it is a noun of place derived from דֶּשֶׁן and denoting either a manured field or a dunghill. The *keri*, or masoretic reading in the margin, has בִּמְי, a poetical equivalent of בְּ, the preposition *in*. The *kethib* or textual reading, which is probably more ancient, is בְּמַי, *in the water*. This, with the next word, may denote a pool in which the straw was left to putrefy. In Job 9: 30 we have an opposite correction, בְּמַי in the text and בְּמֵי in the margin. *Under him* may either mean *under Jehovah* or *under himself*, that is, in his own place, in the country of Moab, or wherever he is found.

V. 11. *And he shall spread forth his hands in the midst of it, as the swimmer spreadeth forth his hands to swim: and he shall humble his pride, together with the spoils* (or *devices*) *of his hands.* From this ignominious doom Moab shall in vain try to save himself: his pride shall be humbled, and his struggles only serve to precipitate his ruin. Having compared the fall of Moab to the treading down of straw in a filthy pool, the Prophet carries out his figure here, but with a change so slight and at the same time so natural, as almost to escape observation, while it greatly adds to the life of the description. The downtrodden straw now becomes a living person,

and struggles in the filthy pool to save himself from drowning, but in vain. The older writers for the most part make *Jehovah* the subject of the verb at the beginning of the sentence. But the image then becomes incongruous, not only as applied to God, but as failing to express any appropriate action upon his part. It is indeed explained to mean that God will strike him here and there, or in every part, as a swimmer strikes the waves in all directions; but this idea might have been expressed more clearly by a hundred other images. So too בקרבו is explained to mean that God would strike, not merely on the surface or extremities of Moab, but in the very midst of him, or to his very centre, which is still more forced and arbitrary. The only idea naturally suggested by the images employed is that of a drowning man struggling in the water. The latest writers therefore follow Grotius in referring פרש to נואב, and the suffix in בקרבו to the pool or dunghill. ארבות has been variously explained as meaning *strength*, *spoils*, *arms*, *armpits*, *joints*, etc. The sense *by the strength of his hands* (i. e. God's) is precluded by the preposition עם, which does not indicate the instrument or means, but signifies *together with*. Rosenmüller and Ewald prefer the meaning *joints*, founded on an Arabic analogy. Gesenius adheres to Hebrew usage and explains the word to mean devices, plots (*insidiis*, which Robinson translates *ambuscades*, a word of less extensive import than the Latin one). The mention of the hands is explained by Gesenius from the fact that ארב primarily means to knit, spin, or weave. It is hard, however, to resist the impression, that these last words have respect to the image in the first clause, and describe the movements of the swimmer's hands in endeavouring to save himself. Eichhorn, Umbreit and Knobel carry the figure through the verse, explaining גאותו to mean *his back* or *his rising*, and the last words either *his arms* or the motions of his hands. But most interpreters suppose the figure to be dropped in this clause and the humbling of Moab to be here foretold in literal terms. Lowth's proposition to read שֹׁחֶה for שֹׁחֶה (*he that sinks* for *he that swims*) is not only needless, but injurious to the force of the expression, puts an unusual sense upon the word supposed, and does away with an example of a very common Hebrew idiom, that of combining verbs with their participles and derivative nouns.

V. 12. *And the fortress of the high fort of thy walls he hath cast down, humbled, brought to the ground, to the very dust* (or *even to the dust*). Many interpreters suppose that the Prophet here reverts from Moab to the city mentioned in the second verse. Others more naturally understand this as the close of the prediction against Moab; first, because abrupt transitions should not be assumed without necessity; and secondly, because the verse appears to be an amplification of the phrase השפיל גאותו in that before it. מבצר and משגב are equivalent in usage though distinct in etymology. Both

are local nouns and mean a place of safety, but the prominent idea in the first is that of fortification, in the second that of loftiness. Some manuscripts read חֹמָתֵךְ in the feminine, in which case the city or country is the object of address, in the other the nation, or Moab represented as a man. The specific fulfilment of this prophecy cannot be distinctly traced in history. It was certainly verified, however, in the downfall of the Moabitish nation, whenever it took place.

CHAPTER XXVI.

This chapter contains a song of praise and thanksgiving to be sung by Israel after his deliverance, vs. 1–19. To this is added a postscript, intimating that the time for such rejoicing was not yet at hand, vs. 20, 21.

The song opens with an acknowledgment of God's protection and an exhortation to confide therein, vs. 1–4. This is founded on the exhibition of his righteousness and power in the destruction of his foes and the oppressors of his people, vs. 5–11. The church abjures the service of all other sovereigns, and vows perpetual devotion to him by whom it has been delivered and restored, vs. 12–15. Her utter incapacity to save herself is then contrasted with God's power to restore his people to new life, with a joyful anticipation of which the song concludes, vs. 16–19. The additional sentences contain a beautiful and tender intimation of the trials, which must be endured before these glorious events take place, with a solemn assurance that Jehovah is about to visit both his people and their enemies with chastisement, vs. 20, 21.

V. 1. *In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah: We have a strong city; salvation will he place (as) walls and breastwork.* The condition and feelings of the people after their return from exile are expressed by putting an ideal song into their mouths. Though the first clause does not necessarily mean that this should actually be sung, but merely that it might be sung, that it would be appropriate to the times and to the feelings of the people, it is not at all improbable that it was actually used for this purpose, which could more readily be done as it is written in the form and manner of the Psalms, with which it exhibits many points of resemblance. The day meant is the day of deliverance which had just been promised. Lowth connects *in the land of Judah* with what follows, in violation of the accents and without the least necessity. Nor can it be supposed that the song

itself would have begun with such a formula, unless the singers are assumed to be the Jews still in exile, which is hardly consistent with the following verse. Knobel on the other hand asserts, that the singers are *no doubt* the Jews left by the Babylonians in the land of Judah. This is necessarily involved in his hypothesis, that ch. xxiv–xxvii were written immediately after Nebuchadnezzar's conquest. (See the introduction to chap. xxiv.) Another inference from this supposition is, that the verse before us describes Jerusalem in its dismantled state, as still protected by the divine favour, whereas it is rather a description of the divine help and favour, as the city's best defence, or as that without which all others would be useless. Ewald, however, makes it mean that walls and bulwarks give salvation (*Heil geben Mauern und Graben*), which, besides the harsh construction, yields a sense directly opposite to that intended. The obvious and natural construction of יִשַׁע is with יְהוָה understood. The future form implies that the description is prospective. חֵל is the outer and lower wall protecting the trench or moat of a fortification. The whole phrase is rendered by the Septuagint *τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος*. Junius adds to his translation of this verse the word *dicendo*, so as to make the next the words of God himself.

V. 2. *Open ye the gates, and let the righteous nation enter, keeping truth* (or *faith*). The supposition of responsive choruses gives a needless complexity to the structure of the passage. The speakers are the same as in the first verse, and the words are addressed to those who kept the doors. Knobel understands this as the language of the remaining Jews, exhorting themselves or one another to receive the returning exiles. These are described as *righteous* and as *keeping faith*, probably in reference to the cessation of idolatry among the Jews during the exile. Lowth connects שֹׁמֵר אֱמוּנִים with the first clause of the next verse. J. D. Michaelis makes it an independent proposition (*he preserves the faithful*). Knobel says that the use of גּוֹי in application to the Jews is a later usage, which assertion is undoubtedly true if every place where it occurs is assumed to be of recent date.

V. 3. *The mind stayed* (*on thee*) *thou wilt preserve in peace* (*in*) *peace* (i. e. in perfect peace), *because in thee* (*it is*) *confident* (literally *confided*). This is a general truth deduced from the experience of those who are supposed to be the speakers. Lowth adds the last words of the foregoing verse *constant in the truth, stayed in mind*, by which nothing is gained and the masoretic interpunction needlessly violated. Calvin makes the first two words an independent clause (*cogitatio fixa*), and Ewald seems to adopt the same construction (*die Einbildung steht fest*) probably meaning that what follows is a just thought or a certain truth. Luther seems to refer it to God's promise (nach gewisser Zusage). But the best construction is the common

one, which connects יצר סמוך with the following words. יצר is the *invention* (or perhaps the *constitution*) of the mind, put for the mind itself. The elliptical construction in the English Bible (*him whose mind is stayed on thee*) is not very natural; still less so that of Knobel, who refers סמוך to the person understood, and makes יצר a qualifying noun (*stayed* as to *mind*) citing as examples of a similar inversion ch. 22: 2. Nah. 3: 1. Barnes omits יֵצֶר altogether in his version (*him that is stayed on thee*). Henderson gives the true construction, making תִּצֹּר govern יֵצֶר directly, though he renders סָמוּךְ *firm*, which is hardly an adequate translation, as the word necessarily includes the idea of *reliance* i. e. upon God. Ewald derives תִּצֹּר from יָצַר instead of נָצַר, and translates it *thou wilt form* (or *create*) *peace*. For this no reason can be given, except that it evolves a new paronomasia, both in sense and sound, between the noun and verb. The mere assonance exists of course, however the words may be explained; and though Gesenius was so unhappy as to overlook it, Knobel has copied it by the combination *Festigen festigest*. The idiomatic iteration, *peace peace*, to express a superlative, is perfectly in keeping with the frequent reduplications of the twenty-fourth chapter, and may serve to show, that the accumulation of such idioms there arises from a difference of subject or of sentiments to be expressed, and not from want of genius or corruption of taste. There is no need of explaining בָּטוּחַ as a passive substituted for an active participle. The word corresponds both in form and meaning to *assured* in English.

V. 4. *Trust ye in Jehovah forever* (literally, *even to eternity*), *for in Jah Jehovah is a rock of ages* (or *an everlasting rock*). To the general truth stated in v. 3, a general exhortation is now added, not addressed by one chorus to another, but by the same ideal speakers to all who hear them or are willing to receive the admonition. This is one of the few places in which the name *Jehovah* is retained by the common English Version. On the origin and usage of the name יה vide supra, ch. 12: 2. The occurrence of the combination here confirms its genuineness there. In this place it is at least as old as Aquila, who has ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ κύριος. Knobel however chooses to reject יְהוָה, as a mere explanation or correction of יה, added by a later hand. Coccеius, in accordance with his own etymology of יה translates it *in decentia Jehovae*, which is very much like nonsense. Vitringa makes these names the subject of the proposition (*Jah Jehovah est rupes saeculorum*), according to DeDieu's observation, that the preposition ב is often pleonastic. The same construction is adopted by Gesenius, on the ground that ב is frequently a *beth essentiae*, corresponding to the French *en* in the phrase *en roi*, i. e. in (the character or person of) a king. The existence of this idiom in Hebrew is denied, both by Winer in his Lexicon and Ewald in his Grammar, but maintained against them by Gesenius in his

Thesaurus. It is evident however that in all the cases where it is assumed, that conclusion can only be defended on the ground of exegetical necessity, and that such analogies cannot require or even authorize the preference of this obscure and harsh construction where the obvious and simple one is perfectly admissible. In the case before us, Gesenius is obliged to create a necessity for his construction, by gratuitously making יָהּ the subject and יְהוָה the predicate of the proposition. This he chooses to translate, *Jehovah is God*, but it ought to have been *Jah is Jehovah*, and as one of these names is explained by himself to be a mere abbreviation of the other, the clause becomes an identical proposition, meaning nothing more than that *Jehovah is himself*. All that is gained by the supposition of a *beth essentiae* may be secured, without departing from the ordinary meaning of the preposition, by supplying an active verb, as in Augusti's version, *in him* (*ye have*) *an everlasting rock*. But the simplest and most accurate of all constructions is the common one, retained by Ewald, who omits neither *Jah* nor the particle before it, but translates the clause, *for in Jah Jahve, is an everlasting rock*. This figurative name, as applied to God, includes the two ideas of a *hiding place* and a *foundation*, or the one complex idea of a *permanent asylum*. Barnes translates the whole phrase, *everlasting refuge*. Lowth's *never-failing protection* is correct in sense, but in form a diluted paraphrase.

V. 5. *For he hath brought down the inhabitants of the high place, the exalted city; he will lay it low, he will lay it low, to the very ground; he will bring it to the very dust.* He has proved himself able to protect his people, and consequently worthy to be trusted by them, in his signal overthrow of that great power by which they were oppressed. נשגבה means *lofty* in the sense of being inaccessible, and is especially applied to fortresses, as we have seen with respect to the derivative noun משגב, ch. 25 : 12. Hitzig explains ישבי to mean *those enthroned*; but its connexion with מרום requires it to be taken in the sense of inhabitants. The alternation of the tenses here is somewhat remarkable. Henderson translates them all as preterites; Barnes uses first the present, then the preterite; both which constructions are entirely arbitrary. The English Version more correctly treats them all as presents, which is often allowable where the forms are intermingled and is also adopted by the latest German writers. But in this case, a reason can be given for the use of the two tenses, even if strictly understood. The Prophet looks at the events from two distinct points of observation, his own and that of the ideal speakers. With respect to the latter, the fall of Babylon was past; with respect to the former it was still future. He might therefore naturally say, even in the same sentence, *he has brought it low* and *he shall bring it to the dust*. Cocceius as usual reproduces the precise form of the Hebrew sentence. Nothing can well be more unlike than the

looseness of this writer's exegesis and the critical precision of his mere translation. Henderson thinks the masoretic interpunction wrong, and throws רשפי־לוֹ into the first clause, to which arrangement there are three objections: first, that it is arbitrary and against the textual tradition; second, that it makes the suffix in the verb superfluous, the object having been expressed before; and third, that it renders less effective, if it does not quite destroy, the idiomatic iteration of the verb, which is characteristic of this whole prediction. עד strictly means *as far as*, and may be expressed in English, either by the phrase *even to*, or by the use of the intensive *very*. as above in the translation.

V. 6. *The foot shall trample on it, the feet of the afflicted, the steps of the weak.* The ruins of the fallen city shall be trodden under foot, not only by its conquerors, but by those whom it oppressed. Neither עני nor דל strictly signifies *poor*. The prominent idea in the first is that of *suffering*, in the second that of *weakness*. They are here used, like דל and אביון in ch. 25 : 4. as epithets of Israel while subjected to the Babylonian tyranny. פעמי. which Luther translates *heels* (Ferse) and Junius *footsteps* (vestigia), is here a poetical equivalent to *feet*. Henderson here translates the verbs in the present, Barnes more exactly in the future.

V. 7. *The way for the righteous is straight* (or *level*); *thou most upright wilt level* (or *rectify*) *the path of the righteous.* A man's way is a common scriptural figure for his course of life. A straight or level way is a prosperous life. It is here declared that the course of the righteous is a prosperous one, because God makes it so. מישרים strictly denotes *straightness*, the plural being used as an abstract. The moral sense of *uprightness* does not suit the connexion. ישר may either be construed as a vocative, or with the name of God understood (*as a righteous God*). Knobel makes it an adverbial accusative, thou dost rectify the path of the righteous straight, i. e. so as to make it straight. The primary idea of פלס is to render even; it is therefore applied both to balances and paths; but the two applications are not to be confounded; paths may be made even, but they cannot be weighed.

V. 8. *Also in the way of thy judgments, oh Jehovah, we have waited for thee; to thy name and thy remembrance* (*was our*) *soul's desire.* For this manifestation of thy righteousness and goodness we have long been waiting *in the way of thy judgments*, i. e. to see thee come forth as a judge, for the vindication of thy people and the destruction of their enemies. *Name* and *remembrance* or *memorial* denote the manifestation of God's attributes in his works. Ewald translates the second fame or glory (Ruhm).

J. D. Michaelis connects the first words with the seventh verse, 'thou dost regulate the path of the righteous, but also the way of thy judgments.' Lowth takes משפטיך in the sense of *laws* and קוינו in that of *trusting*. It is more probable however that the same idea is expressed here as in ch. 25 : 9.

V. 9. (*With*) *my soul have I desired thee in the night ; yea* (*with*) *my spirit within me will I seek thee early : for when thy judgments* (*come*) *to the earth, the inhabitants of the world learn righteousness.* The desire here expressed is not a general desire for the knowledge and favour of God, but a special desire that he would manifest his righteousness by appearing as a judge. This explanation is required by the connexion with what goes before and with what follows in this very verse. Gesenius takes *my soul* as a periphrasis for *I*. Maurer supposes it to be in apposition with the pronoun. Ewald and Knobel retain the old construction, which supplies a preposition before נפשי, or regards it as an adverbial accusative or qualifying noun, corresponding to the ablative of instrument or cause in Latin. The night is mentioned, not as a figure for calamity or ignorance, nor as a time peculiarly appropriate to meditation, but for the purpose of expressing the idea, that he feels this wish at all times, by night and by day. This shows that the recent lexicographers are wrong in excluding from the Piel of שחר the sense of seeking *in the morning*, seeking *early*, to which exclusion it may also be objected, that the soundest principles of lexicography tend to the union and not to the multiplication of roots. The question whether these are the words of the Prophet, or of each of the people, or of a choir or chorus representing them, proceeds upon the supposition of an artificial structure and a strict adherence to rhetorical propriety, which have no real existence in the writings of the Prophet. The sentiments, which it was his purpose and his duty to express, are sometimes uttered in his own person, sometimes in that of another, and these different forms of speech are interchanged, without regard to the figments of an artificial rhetoric. Some give to כאשר its strict sense as a particle of comparison, and understand the clause to mean that men learn how to practise righteousness by imitating God's example. By *judgments*, here as in the foregoing context, we can only understand judicial providences. The doctrine of the verse is, that a view of God's severity is necessary to convince men of his justice. The Septuagint has *μάθετε* in the imperative, which gives a good sense, but is forbidden by the obvious address to God himself throughout the verse.

V. 10. *Let the wicked be favoured, he does not learn righteousness ; in the land of right he will do wrong, and will not see the exaltation of Jehovah.* The reasoning of the preceding verse is here continued. As it

was there said that God's judgments were necessary to teach men righteousness, so it is here said that continued prosperity is insufficient for that purpose. The wicked man will go on to do wickedly, even in the very place where right conduct is peculiarly incumbent. Though the verse is in the form of a general proposition, and as such admits of various applications, there is obvious reference to the Babylonians, who were not only emboldened by impunity to do wrong in the general, but to do it even in the *land of right* or rectitude, the holy land, Jehovah's land, where such transgressions were peculiarly offensive. There are two other explanations of אֶרֶץ נְכֹחוֹת which deserve attention. The first understands the phrase to mean, in the midst of a righteous population, surrounded by examples of good conduct. The other supposes an allusion not to moral but to physical rectitude or straightness, as a figure for prosperity. This last would make the clause a repetition of the sentiment expressed before it, viz. that favour and indulgence do not teach men righteousness. But neither of these latter explanations agrees so well with the last words of the verse as the one first given, according to which they represent the wrong-doer as not knowing or believing or considering that the land, in which he practices his wickedness, belongs to the most High God. J. D. Michaelis explains the closing words to mean that God is too exalted to be seen by them (*den zu erhabenen Gott*).

V. 11. *Jehovah, thy hand is high, they will not see;* (yes) *they will see* (*and be ashamed*) *thy zeal for thy people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.* The tenses in this verse have been very variously and arbitrarily explained. Some make them all past, others all future, and a few all present. Even the double future (יחזיון and יחזו) is referred to different tenses, past and future, past and present, present and future. They have not seen, but they shall see; they do not see, but they shall see; they did not see, but they do see. Some make יחזו an optative: *but may they see!* All these constructions are grammatical, but the very fact that so many are possible, makes it advisable to adhere somewhat rigorously to the proper meaning of the forms. As to רמה, it matters little whether it be rendered as a preterite or present, as the one implies the other; but as to יחזיון and יחזו, the safest course is to translate them both alike as simple futures. The seeming contradiction instantly explains itself, as being a kind of after-thought. *They will not see*, (but yes) *they will see*. There are two ways of connecting קנאת עם with what precedes. The obvious construction found in most of the old versions, makes it the object of the verb immediately before it: 'they shall be ashamed of their zeal against (or envy of) the people.' This of course supposes קנאת עם to denote the envy of the heathen against Israel, or, which is much less probable, the jealousy of Israel with respect to the

accession of the Gentiles. But as usage is decidedly in favour of interpreting the phrase to mean the jealousy or zeal of God himself in behalf of his own people, Gesenius and several later writers construe it with יחזו and throw ויבשו into a parenthesis, 'they shall see (and be ashamed) the zeal etc.' which is equivalent to saying, 'they shall see with shame, etc.' Another construction, given independently by Henderson and Knobel, construes the phrase in question, not as the object of a verb preceding, but as the subject of the verb that follows, 'zeal for thy people, yea fire against thine enemies, shall devour them (or may it devour them).' In favour of this construction is the strict agreement of the sense which it affords with many other passages, in which the same divine acts are described as acts of mercy to the righteous and of wrath to the wicked. (See for example ch. 1 : 27 and the commentary on it.) It is also recommended by the strong emphatic meaning which it gives to אף. Knobel moreover makes צריך the object of the verb תאכל and regards the suffix to the latter as an idiomatic pleonasm, which is not only arbitrary and extremely harsh (and therefore not required by a few examples where no other solution of the syntax is admissible), but destructive of a beautiful antithesis between God's *zeal for his people* and *fire for his enemies*. Of the two constructions, therefore, Henderson's is much to be preferred. *Fire* does not simply denote war (Gesenius) or sudden death (J. D. Michaelis), but the wrath of God, as a sudden, rapid, irresistible, and utterly destroying agent.

V. 12. *Jehovah, thou wilt give us peace, for even all our works thou hast wrought for us.* This is an expression of strong confidence and hope, founded on what has already been experienced. God certainly would favour them in future, for he had done so already. The translation of the first verb as a preterite or present, though admissible if necessary, cannot be justified in such a case as this, where the strict translation gives a perfectly good sense. תשפת לנו literally means *thou wilt place to us*, which some understand to mean *appoint* or *ordain for us ;* but Gesenius more correctly explains it as the converse of the idiomatic usage of נתן to *give* in the sense of *placing*. Peace is, as often elsewhere, to be taken in the wide sense of prosperity or welfare. גם, though omitted in translation by Gesenius and others, is emphatic, and should be connected, not with the pronoun or the verb, as in the English Version, but as in Hebrew with the phrase *all our works*, as if he had said, *even all our works* i. e. all without exception. It is commonly agreed among interpreters, that *our works* here means not *the works done by us* but *the works done for us*, i. e. what we have experienced, or as Calvin expresses it in French, *nos affaires*. The version of the last clause in the text of the English Bible (thou hast wrought all our works *in us*) is connected with an old interpretation of the verse, as directly teaching the doctrine of human

dependence and efficacious grace. This translation, however, is equally at variance with the usage of the Hebrew preposition (לִבְנֵי) and with the connexion here. The context, both before and after, has respect, not to spiritual exercises, but to providential dispensations. It is not a little curious that while Cocceius, in his Calvinistic zeal, uses this verse as an argument against the Arminian doctrine of free-will, Calvin himself had long before declared that the words cannot be so applied. Qui hoc testimonio usi sunt ad evertendum liberum arbitrium, Prophetæ mentem assecuti non sunt. Verum quidem est Deum solum bene agere in nobis, et quicquid recte instituunt homines esse ex illius Spiritu ; sed hic simpliciter docet Propheta omnia bona quibus fruimur ex Dei manu adeptos esse : unde colligit nullum fore beneficentiæ finem donec plena felicit asaccedat. This brief extract is at once an illustration of the great reformer's sound and independent judgment, and of the skill with which he can present the exact and full sense of a passage in a few words.

V. 13. *Jehovah, our God, (other) lords beside thee have ruled us ; (but henceforth) thee, thy name, only will we celebrate.* In this verse again there is great diversity as to the explanation of the tenses. Clericus renders both the verbs as preterites, and understands the verse as saying, that even when the Jews were under foreign oppression, they maintained their allegiance to Jehovah. Ewald gives the same sense, but in reference to the present fidelity of Israel under present oppression. Gesenius, more correctly, distinguishes between the verbs as preterite and present. There is no good ground, however, for departing from the strict sense of the forms as preterite and future, which are faithfully expressed in all the English versions. The usual construction of the last clause understands בְּךָ as meaning *through thee* i. e. through thy favour, by thy help, we are enabled now to praise thy name. But Ewald, Barnes, and Henderson regard the pronoun as in apposition with *thy name*, and the whole clause as describing only the object of their worship, not the means by which they were enabled to render it. The construction of בְּךָ is in that case somewhat singular, but may have been the only one by which the double object of the verb could be distinctly expressed without the repetition of the verb itself. As to the *lords* who are mentioned in the first clause, there are two opinions. One is, that they are the Chaldees or Babylonians, under whom the Jews had been in bondage. This is now the current explanation. The other is, that they are the false gods or idols, whom the Jews had served before the exile. Against the former and in favour of the latter supposition it may be suggested, first, that the Babylonian bondage did not hinder the Jews from mentioning Jehovah's name or praising him ; secondly, that the whole verse looks like a confession of their own fault and a promise of amendment, rather than a reminiscence

of their sufferings; and thirdly, that there seems to be an obvious comparison between the worship of Jehovah as *our God*, with some other worship and some other deity. At the same time let it be observed, that the ideas of religious and political allegiance and apostasy or of heathen rulers and of idol gods, were not so carefully distinguished by the ancient Jews as by ourselves, and it is therefore not impossible that both the kinds of servitude referred to may be here included, yet in such a manner that the spiritual one must be considered as the prominent idea, and the only one, if either must be fixed upon to the exclusion of the other. An additional argument, in favour of the reference of this verse to spiritual rulers, is its exact correspondence with the singular fact in Jewish history, that since the Babylonish exile they have never even been suspected of idolatry. That such a circumstance should be adverted to in this commemorative poem, is so natural that its omission would be almost unaccountable.

V. 14. *Dead, they shall not live: ghosts, they shall not rise: therefore thou hast visited and destroyed them, and made all memory to perish with respect to them.* Those whom we lately served are now no more; thou hast destroyed them and consigned them to oblivion, for the very purpose of securing our freedom and devotion to thy service. Most of the recent writers follow Clericus in referring this verse to the Babylonians exclusively. Hitzig, Ewald, and Umbreit apply it to the forefathers of the supposed speakers, who had perished on account of their idolatry. It seems best however to refer it to the strange lords of the foregoing verse, i. e. the idols themselves, but with some allusion, as in that case, to the idolatrous oppressors of the Jews. The reason for preferring this interpretation to that of Hitzig is, that the latter introduces a new subject which had not been previously mentioned. The first clause may indeed be rendered as a general proposition, *the dead live not*, etc.; but this still leaves the transition an abrupt one, and the allusion to the departed Israelites obscure. The disjunctive accents which accompany מתים and רפאים also show that, according to the masoretic tradition, these words are not the direct subject of the verb but in apposition with it. The sense is correctly given in the English Version: *they are dead, they shall not live; they are deceased, they shall not rise.* An attempt, however, has been made above to imitate more closely the concise and compact form of the original. For the meaning of רפאים, vide supra, ch. 14: 9. It is here a poetical equivalent to מתים, and may be variously rendered, shades, shadows, spirits, or the like. The common version (*deceased*) leaves too entirely out of view the figurative character of the expression. *Giants*, on the contrary, is too strong, and could only be employed in this connexion in the sense of gigantic shades or shadows. The Targum strangely makes these terms denote the *worshippers* of dead

men and of giants, i. e. probably of heroes. The Septuagint gives a curious turn to the sentence by reading רֹפְאִים *physicians* (*ἰατροὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστήσουσι*). Gesenius needlessly attaches to לָכֵן the rare and dubious sense *because*, which Ewald regards as a fictitious one, deduced from a superficial view of certain passages, in which the meaning *therefore* seems at first sight inappropriate. The other sense is certainly not to be assumed without necessity. In this case the apparent necessity is done away by simply observing, that *therefore* may be used to introduce, not only the cause, but the design of an action. Though the words cannot mean, thou hast destroyed them *because* they are dead and powerless, they may naturally mean, thou hast destroyed them *that they might be* dead and powerless. The same two meanings are attached to the English phrase *for this reason*, which may either denote cause or purpose. The meaning of the verse, as connected with the one before it, is that the strange lords who had ruled them should not only cease to do so, but, so far as they were concerned, should cease to exist or be remembered.

V. 15. *Thou hast added to the nation, oh Jehovah, thou hast added to the nation; thou hast glorified thyself; thou hast put far off all the ends of the land.* By this deliverance of thy people from the service both of idols and idolaters, thou hast added a great number to the remnant who were left in the Holy Land, so that larger territories will be needed for their occupation; and in doing all this, thou hast made an exhibition of thy power, justice, truth, and goodness. Thus understood, the whole verse is a grateful acknowledgment of what God had done for his suffering people. Some, on the contrary, have understood it as relating wholly to his previous judgments. Thus DeDieu, with his usual ingenuity and love of paradox, confounds the idea of *adding to the nation* with that of *gathering* a person *to his people* or his fathers, a common idiomatic periphrasis for death. This is founded on the etymological affinity of יסף and אסף. To match this in the other clause, he makes קצוי ארץ mean the *extremities* of the land, i. e. its *highest extremities* or chief men, whom Nebuchadnezzar carried into exile. A more common explanation of the verse is that which supposes the last clause to describe the exile and the first the restoration. To remove the *ὕστερον πρότερον* which thus arises, it becomes necessary to make רחקת a pluperfect, as in the English version, which moreover supplies a pronoun as the object of the verb, and a preposition before *ends*. A much simpler construction of the last clause is the one now commonly adopted, which supposes no ellipsis, makes קצוי ארץ itself the object of the verb, and identical in meaning with the latin *fines terrae* in the sense of boundaries, the removing of which further off denotes of course territorial enlargement. Junius supplies *life* after *added* in the first clause; J. D. Michaelis and

others supply *gifts* or *favours;* but the obvious meaning seems to be that God had added to the number of the people, not by an aggregate increase of the whole nation, but by the reunion of its separated parts, in the restoration of the exiles from Babylon. The word גוי, as Knobel well observes, may here denote the remnant left in Judah, to which the analogous term עם is repeatedly applied by Jeremiah. The enlargement of the boundaries may either be explained as a poetical description of the actual increase and expected growth of the nation (ch. 49 : 19), or literally understood as referring to the fact, that after the return from exile the Jews were no longer restricted to their own proper territory, but extended themselves more or less over the whole country. Knobel gives נִכְבַּדְתָּ the specific meaning, thou hast made thyself great, i. e. the king of a great nation; but the wider and more usual sense is much to be preferred. The translation of the verb as a reflexive, rather than a simple passive, greatly adds to the strength of the expression.

V. 16. *Jehovah, in distress they visited thee; they uttered a whisper; thy chastisement was on them.* It was not merely after their deliverance that they turned from idols unto God. Their deliverance itself was owing to their humble prayers. *Visit* is here used in the unusual but natural sense of seeking God in supplication. Hitzig and Hendewerk prefer the secondary sense of לחש, *incantation* (Beschwörung); but the primary meaning is not only admissible but beautifully expressive of submissive humble prayer, like that of Hannah when *she spake in her heart and only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard*, although, as she said herself, *she poured out her soul before God*, which is the exact sense of צקון in this place. A like expression is applied to prayer in the title of Psalm 102. Barnes explains לחש here to mean *a sighing, a calling for help*, as if the two things were identical, whereas the idea of a call or cry is at variance with the figurative import of the language. This is one of the few cases in which the plural of the preterite takes a paragogic nun. Whether it was meant to be intensive, as Henderson supposes, or to affect the sense in any way, may be doubted. Knobel supplies a preposition before מוסרך, and says that the Prophet would have written מוסרם, but for the necessity of adding the suffix of the second person, which required that of the third to be separately written with a preposition. It is simpler, however, to supply the substantive verb and take the words as a short independent clause. It is implied, though not expressed, that their prayer was humble and submissive *because* they felt that what they suffered was a chastisement from God. Ewald, who usually makes an advance upon his predecessors, in the way of simple and exact translation, is here misled by his fondness for critical emendation, and proposes to read לָחַשׁ as a verb, and צָקוֹן as a noun derived from צוק to press. (*In*) *distress it was lisped* (*or whispered*) *by them* (למו

Thy chastisement! The construction thus obtained is as harsh and infelicitous as the correction of the text is arbitrary.

V. 17. *As when a pregnant (woman) draws near to the birth, she writhes, she cries out in her pangs, so have we been, from thy presence, oh Jehovah!* Before we thus cast ourselves upon thy mercy in submissive prayer, we tried to deliver ourselves, but only to the aggravation of our sufferings. The comparison here used is not intended simply to denote extreme pain as in many other cases, but as the next verse clearly shows, the pain arising from ineffectual efforts to relieve themselves. כְּמוֹ, like the corresponding English *as*, is properly a particle of comparison, but constantly applied to time, as a synonyme of *when*. The full force of the term may be best expressed in this case by combining the two English words. The future is here used to denote a general fact which not only does, but will occur. Hendewerk translates the last verb as a present; but it seems clear that the prophet is reverting to the state of things before the deliverance which had just been acknowledged. Knobel, in accordance with his general hypothesis as to the date and subject of the prophecy, applies this verse to the condition of the Jews who were left behind in Palestine, but the great majority of writers, much more probably, to that of the exiles. There are three explanations of the phrase מִפָּנֶיךָ. Clericus and Hitzig take it in its strictest sense as meaning *from thy presence*, i. e. cast out or removed far from it. Knobel, on the contrary, excludes the proper local sense of the expression and translates it *on account of thee*, i. e. because of thine anger. Gesenius and Ewald give the intermediate sense *before thee, in thy presence.* Even in the cases cited by Knobel, the evils experienced are described as coming from the presence of Jehovah. Some of the older writers even give פָּנִים itself the sense of *anger*, which is wholly unnecessary and unauthorized. The only way in which the question can be settled is by the application of the general principle, that where a choice of meaning is presented, that is entitled to the preference which adheres most closely to the strict sense of the terms. On this ground the translation *from thy presence* is to be preferred; but whether with the accessory idea of removal, alienation, or with that of infliction, is a question not determined by the phrase itself, but either left uncertain or to be decided by the context.

V. 18. *We were in travail, we were in pain, as it were we brought forth wind. Deliverances we could not make the land, nor would the inhabitants of the world fall.* The figure introduced in the preceding verse is here carried out and applied. Ewald makes כְּמוֹ mean *as if*, but neither this nor *as it were* is fully justified by usage. Gesenius renders it *when* as in v. 17, but this requires a verb to be supplied, *when we brought forth* (it

was) *wind*. The general sense is evident. The next clause admits of several different constructions. The simplest supplies a preposition before אֶרֶץ, *in* or *for the land*. The one now commonly adopted is, *we could not make the land safety*, i. e. could not make it safe or save it. The same writers generally make נַעֲשֹׂה the passive participle, in which case it must agree, either with אֶרֶץ which is usually feminine, or with יְשׁוּעוֹת which is both feminine and plural. The possibility of such constructions does not warrant them, much less require them, when as here the obvious one is perfectly appropriate and in strict agreement with the parallel יִפְּלוּ. The objection urged to making נַעֲשֶׂה a future is that the people could not save the country, which is the very thing the future was intended to assert. The future form of the verb has respect to the period described. As the people then might have said, *we shall not save the land*, so the same expression is here put into their mouths retrospectively. The best equivalent in English is the potential or subjunctive form, *we could not*. Gesenius and the other recent German writers understand this as a description of the Holy Land after the return from exile. We cannot save the country, and the inhabitants of the land will not be born (יִפְּלוּ) i. e. it is still very thinly peopled. This is far from being an obvious or natural interpretation. The foregoing context, as we have seen, relates to the period of captivity itself. The meaning given to נָפַל, though sustained by analogies in other languages, derives no countenance from Hebrew usage. Nor is it probable that the figure of parturition would be here resumed, after it had been dropped in the preceding member of the sentence. The way in which the metaphors of this verse have been treated by some commentators furnishes an instance of the perversion and abuse of archaeological illustration. J. D. Michaelis imagined that he had discovered an allusion to a certain medical phenomenon of very rare occurrence. This suggestion is eagerly adopted by Gesenius, who, not content with naming it in his text, pursues the subject with great zest in a note, and appears to have called in the assistance of his colleague, the celebrated medical professor Sprengel. From one or the other of these sources the details are copied by several later writers, one of whom, lest the reader's curiosity should not be sated, says that the whole may be seen fully described in the books on obstetrics. It is a curious fact that some, who are often reluctant to recognise New Testament doctrines in the prophecies, can find there allusions to the most extraordinary medical phenomena. The best comment upon this obstetrical elucidation is contained in Hitzig's caustic observation, that by parity of reasoning the allusion in ch. 33 : 11 is to an actual bringing forth of straw (eine wirkliche Strohgeburt). Knobel has also pointed out, what any reader might discover for himself, that *wind* is here used, as in ch. 41 : 29, Hos. 12 : 2, as a common metaphor for failure, disappointment. חֲבַל is variously explained

according to the sense put upon the whole verse. Those who refer it to the period after the return from exile regard תֵּבֵל as equivalent to אֶרֶץ. Those who suppose the exile itself to be the time in question, understand by תֵּבֵל the Babylonian empire as in ch. 13 : 11.

V. 19. *Thy dead shall live, my corpses shall arise ; (awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust !) for the dew of herbs is thy dew, and (on) the earth, (on) the dead, thou wilt cause it to fall.* This verse is in the strongest contrast with the one before it. To the ineffectual efforts of the people to save themselves, he now opposes their actual deliverance by God. They shall rise because they are *thy dead*, i. e. thy dead people. The construction of נִבְלָתִי with יְקוּמוּן is not a mere grammatical anomaly. The noun and suffix are singular, because the words are those of Israel as a body. The verb is plural, because the corpse of Israel included in reality a multitude of corpses. The explanation of the suffix as a parogogic syllable is contrary to usage, which restricts paragoge to the construct form. Kimchi supplies a preposition (*with my dead body*) which construction is adopted in the English version and in several others, but is now commonly abandoned as incongruous and wholly arbitrary. Neither the Prophet, nor the house of Israel, in whose name he is speaking, could refer to their own body as distinct from the bodies of Jehovah's dead ones. *Awake* etc. is a joyful apostrophe to the dead, after which the address to Jehovah is resumed. There are two interpretations of אֹרֹת, both ancient and supported by high modern authorities. The first gives the word the usual sense of אוֹר *light ;* the other that of *plants*, which it has in 2 Kings 4 : 39. The first is found in the Targum, Vulgate, and Peshito, and is approved by Grotius, Ewald, Umbreit, and Gesenius in his Commentary. The other is given by Kimchi, Clericus, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig, and Gesenius in his Lexicon. To the former it may be objected, that it leaves the plural form unexplained, that it arbitrarily makes *light* mean *life*, and that it departs from the acknowledged meaning of אוֹרֹת in the only other place where it occurs. The second interpretation, on the other hand, assumes but one sense of the word, allows the plural form its proper force, and supposes an obvious and natural allusion to the influence of dew upon the growth of plants. In either case the reference to the dew is intended to illustrate the vivifying power of God. Gesenius and Ewald both explain the verbs as optatives and the verse as expressive of a wish that God would raise the dead and thus repeople the now empty country. This construction, though admissible in case of necessity, has nothing to entitle it to preference, when the strict interpretation yields a perfectly good sense. The obvious meaning of the words is an expression of strong confidence and hope, or rather of prophetic foresight, that God *will* raise the dead, that his life-giving

influence will be exerted. The use of תַּפִּיל here is certainly obscure. Gesenius, Ewald, and the other late interpreters, suppose it to denote the act of *bearing, bringing forth*, as the Kal in v. 18 means, according to the same writers, *to be born*. But if it there seems unnatural to suppose a resumption of that figure, it is much more so here, where another figure, that of vegetation, goes before. The mere rhetorical objection to mixed metaphors, as we have seen in other cases, ought to weigh but little where the sense is clear; but in determining a doubtful sense, we are rather to presume that a figure once begun is continued, than that it is suddenly exchanged for another. An additional objection to this exposition is the incongruity of making the earth *bring forth the dead*, and thus putting the two extremes of life into juxtaposition. To avoid this incongruity, Gesenius and Ewald are obliged to give נפל, both here and in v. 18, not only the precarious sense of *bearing* and of *being born*, but the arbitrary and specific one of *bearing again* and being *born again*. Some of the older writers make תַּפִּיל the second person (which agrees well with the previous address to God) and understand the words to mean *thou wilt cause the giants to fall to the earth*. But the combination of רְפָאִים with מֵתִים in v. 14, and the repetition of the latter here, decides the meaning of the former, as denoting the deceased, the dead. Retaining the construction of תפיל as a second person, and supposing the allusion to the influence of dew upon the growth of plants to be continued, we may render the words thus: (*upon*) *the earth*, (*upon*) *the dead thou wilt cause it to fall*. As if he had said, thou hast a life-giving influence and thou wilt exert it; as thy dew makes plants to grow, so shall it make these dead to live. That the ellipsis of the preposition before אֶרֶץ and רְפָאִים, although not without analogy, is somewhat harsh, must be admitted, and the only view with which this construction is proposed is, that its difficulties and advantages may be compared with those of the translation given by Gesenius and Ewald, *the earth brings forth the dead*. All these interpretations coincide in applying the verse to a resurrection of the dead, and the question now arises, what resurrection is referred to? All the answers to this question may be readily reduced to three. The first is, that the prophet means the general resurrection of the dead, or according to an old rabbinical tradition, the exclusive resurrection of the righteous, at the last day. The second is, that he refers to a resurrection of the Jews already dead, not as an actual or possible event, but as a passionate expression of desire that the depopulated land might be replenished with inhabitants. The third is, that he represents the restoration of the exiles and of the theocracy under the figure of a resurrection, as Paul says the restoration of Israel to God's favour will be *life from the dead*. The obvious objection to the first of these opinions is, that a prediction of the final resurrection is as much out of place in this connexion as the same

expectation seemed to Martha as a source of comfort for the loss of Lazarus. But as our Saviour, when he said to her, *thy brother shall rise again*, designed to console her by the promise of an earlier and a special resurrection, so in this case what was needed for the comfort of God's people was something more than the prospect of rising at the day of judgment. The choice therefore lies between the other two hypotheses, that of a mere wish that the dead might literally rise at once, and that of a prediction that they should rise soon but *in a figure* (ἐν παραβολῇ) as Paul says of Isaac's resurrection from the dead (Heb. 11 : 19). The objection to the first of these interpretations is, that the optative construction of the verbs, as we have seen already, is not the obvious and natural construction, and ought not to be assumed unless it yields a better sense and one more appropriate in this connexion. But so far is this from being the case, that the mere expression of a wish which could not be fulfilled would be a most unnatural conclusion of this national address to God, whereas it could not be more suitably wound up, or in a manner more in keeping with the usage of the prophecies, than by a strong expression of belief, that God would raise his people from the dust of degradation and oppression, where they had long seemed dead though only sleeping. On these grounds the figurative exposition seems decidedly entitled to the preference. Upon this allusion to a resurrection Gesenius fastens as a proof that the prophecy could not have been written until after the doctrine of the resurrection had been borrowed by the Jews from Zoroaster. To this it may be answered, first, that the alleged derivation of the doctrine is a figment, which no authoritative writer on the history of opinion would now venture to maintain ; secondly, that the mention of a figurative resurrection, or the expression of a wish that a literal one would take place, has no more to do with the doctrinal belief of the writer, than any other lively figure or expression of strong feeling ; thirdly, that if a knowledge and belief of the doctrine of a general resurrection is implied in these expressions, the text, instead of being *klassisch* as a proof of later Jewish opinions, is *klassisch* as a proof that the doctrine was known to Isaiah, if not to his contemporaries. If Gesenius, believing this prediction to belong to the period of the exile, is entitled to adduce it as a proof of what opinions were then current, those who believe it to be genuine are equally entitled to adduce it as a proof of what was current in the days of Isaiah. It is easy to affirm that the prophecy is known on other grounds to be of later date ; but it is just as easy to affirm that the alleged grounds are sophistical and inconclusive. Holding this to be the truth, we may safely conclude that the text either proves nothing as to a general resurrection of the dead, or that it proves the belief of such a resurrection to be at least as old as the prophet Isaiah.

V. 20. *Go, my people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors after thee, hide thyself for a little moment, till the wrath be past.* Having wound up the expectations of the people to a full belief of future restoration from their state of civil and religious death, the Prophet by an exquisite transition intimates, that this event is not yet immediately at hand, that this relief from the effects of God's displeasure with his people must be preceded by the experience of the displeasure itself, that it is still a time of indignation, and that till this is elapsed the promise cannot be fulfilled. This painful postponement of the promised resurrection could not be more tenderly or beautifully intimated than in this fine apostrophe. The inferences drawn by certain German writers, as to the date of the composition, can have no effect on those who believe that Isaiah was a *prophet*, not in the sense of a quid-nunc or a ballad-singer, but in that of an inspired revealer of futurity. The similar conclusion drawn by Knobel from the form חבי is equally frivolous, it being commonly agreed at present that what are called Aramean forms may just as well be archaisms as neologisms, since they may have arisen, not from later intercourse with neighbouring nations, but from an original identity of language. Gesenius and others understand this verse as an exhortation to the Jews in Babylon to keep out of harm's way during the storming of the city. A more prosaic close of a poetical context could not be imagined. Those who refer v. 19 to the general resurrection understand the verse before us as an intimation that they must first rest in the grave until the time is come. Such an allusion is of course admissible on the supposition of a figurative resurrection. It is more natural, however, to suppose that the people of God are here addressed as such, and warned to hide themselves until God's indignation *against them* is past. On this specific usage of the word זעם, vide supra ch. 10 : 5. On the idiomatic usage of the verbs לָךְ and בּוֹא, vide supra, ch. 22: 15. The textual variation דלתיך and דלתך is of no exegetical importance. בעדך strictly means *without thee* or *outside of thee*, implying that the person is *shut in*. It first occurs in Gen. 7 : 16, where it is said that God shut Noah in the ark. Knobel explains כמעט רגע as meaning *like the smallness of a moment*. The כ is a particle of time, equivalent, or nearly so, to our *about*. The English Version (*as it were*) is therefore incorrect. The period of suffering is described as very small in comparison with what had gone before and what should follow it, as Paul says (Rom. 8: 18), that *the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.*

V. 21. *For behold, Jehovah (is) coming out of his place, to visit the iniquity of the inhabitant of the earth upon him, and the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.* This is a reason both for expecting ultimate deliverance and for patiently awaiting it. The reason is that

God has a work of chastisement to finish, first upon his own people, and then upon their enemies. During the former process, let the faithful hide themselves until the wrath be past. When the other begins, let them lift up their heads, for their redemption draweth nigh. This large interpretation of the verse is altogether natural and more satisfactory than those which restrict it either to the judgments upon Israel or to those upon Babylon. On the latter the eye of the Prophet of course chiefly rests, especially at last, so that the closing words may be applied almost exclusively to the retribution which awaited the Chaldean for the slaughter of God's people. On the idiomatic usage of the plural דמים where the reference is to murder, vide supra, ch. 1 : 15. Rosenmüller and Hitzig understand the last clause as a prediction that the dead should actually come out of the graves, Knobel as a poetical anticipation of the same event. But it seems far more natural to understand the clause, with Gesenius and Umbreit, as a simple variation of the one before it. The blood, which the earth had long since drunk in, should as it were be vomited up, and the bodies of the murdered, which had long been buried, should be now disclosed to view. It agrees best with the wider meaning put upon this verse, and is at the same time more poetical, to give ארץ in both clauses its generic sense of *earth*, rather than the specific one of *land*. Instead of the simple version *slain*, Gesenius employs with good effect the strong expression *murdered* (die Gemordeten), as one of the French versions had done long before (ses massacrés). Without laying undue stress on the mere rhetorical aspect of the sacred writings, it may safely be affirmed that at the bar of the most elevated criticism, the concluding verses of the chapter now before us would at once be adjudged to possess intrinsic qualities of beauty and sublimity (apart from the accident of rhythm and parallelism, in which some writers find the essence of all poetry) sufficient to brand with the stigma of absurdity the judgment that can set the passage down as the work of a deteriorated age or an inferior writer.

CHAPTER XXVII.

This chapter is an amplification of the last verse of the one preceding, and contains a fuller statement both of Israel's chastisements and of Jehovah's judgments on his enemies. The destruction of the latter is foretold as the slaughter of a huge sea-monster, and contrasted with God's care of his own people even when afflicting them, vs. 1–5. Hereafter Israel shall flourish, and even in the mean time his sufferings are far less than those of

his oppressors, vs. 6, 7. The former is visited in moderation, for a time, and with the happiest effect, vs. 8, 9. The latter is finally and totally destroyed, vs. 10, 11. This shall be followed by the restoration of the scattered Jews, vs. 12, 13.

V. 1. *In that day shall Jehovah visit, with his sword, the hard, the great, the strong* (*sword*), *upon Leviathan the swift* (or *flying*) *serpent, and upon Leviathan the coiled* (or *crooked*) *serpent, and shall slay the dragon which* (*is*) *in the sea.* It is universally agreed that this is a prediction of the downfall of some great oppressive power, but whether that of a single nation or of several, has been much disputed. Clericus supposes two, Vitringa and many others three, to be distinctly mentioned. In favour of supposing a plurality of subjects may be urged the distinct enumeration and description of the monsters to be slain. But the same form of expression occurs in many other places where there can be no doubt that a single subject is intended. To the hypothesis of three distinct powers it may be objected, that two of them would scarcely have been called Leviathan. To the general hypothesis of more than one, it may be objected that by parity of reasoning three swords are meant, viz. a hard one, a great one, and a strong one. But even if three powers be intended, it is wholly impossible to identify them, as may be inferred from the endless variety of combinations which have been suggested; Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia; Egypt, Babylonia, and Tyre; Assyria, Babylonia, and Rome; Babylonia, Media, Persia, etc. etc. Gill thinks the three meant are the devil, the beast, and the false prophet; Cocceius, the emperor, the pope, and the devil. What is common to all the hypotheses is, that the verse describes a power or powers hostile and oppressive to the people of God. The most probable opinion, therefore, is that this was what the words were intended to convey. Or if a more specific reference must be assumed, it is worthy of remark that nearly all the hypotheses, which apply the words to two or more of the great powers of the ancient world, make Babylonia one of them. From this induction we may safely conclude, that the leviathan and dragon of this verse are descriptive of a great oppressive power, with particular allusion to the Babylonian empire, a conclusion perfectly consistent with the previous allusions to the fall of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews from exile. Assuming this to be the general meaning of the verse, that of its mere details becomes either easy or comparatively unimportant. The word *leviathan*, which, from its etymology, appears to mean *contorted, coiled*, is sometimes used to denote particular species (e. g. the crocodile), and sometimes as a generic term for huge aquatic animals, or the larger kinds of serpents, in which sense the corresponding term תַּנִּין is also used. They both appear to be employed in this case to express the indefinite idea of a formidable monster, which is in

fact the sense now commonly attached to the word *dragon*. The second epithet עֲקַלָּתוֹן means *tortuous*, either with respect to the motion of the serpent, or to its appearance when at rest. Bochart regarded the *Ἐχέλαδος* of the Greek mythology as a corruption of this Hebrew word. The other epithet בָּרִחַ has been variously explained. Some of the ancients confound it with בְּרִיחַ *a bar*, and suppose the serpent to be so described either in reference to its length, or stiffness, or straightness, or strength, or its penetrating power, or the configuration of its head. J. D. Michaelis gives it the sense of *northern*, and supposes the three objects here described to be the three constellations which exhibit the appearance and bear the name of *serpents* or *dragons*. This explanation, founded on Job 23 : 16, does not materially change the meaning of the verse, since the constellations are supposed to be referred to, as connected in some way with the fortunes of great states and empires. The allusion however is so far-fetched and pedantic, that, although it suits the taste of Michaelis and Hitzig, who delight in recondite interpretations, it will scarcely satisfy the mind of any ordinary reader. The only explanation of בָּרִחַ which is fully justified by Hebrew usage is that of *fugitive* or *fleeing*, which may either be a poetical equivalent to *fleet*, or descriptive of the monster as a *flying* serpent. Hitzig objects to the supposition of a single monster, on the ground that these two epithets, *flying* and *coiled*, are incompatible, as if the same serpent could not be described both in motion and at rest, not to mention that the second term, as Umbreit suggests, may itself be descriptive of motion. The omission of any descriptive epithet with תַּנִּין makes it probable at least that it is not a new item in the catalogue. There is no need of explaining יָם to mean Babylonia as in ch. 21 : 1, since the expression relates to the type not to the antitype, and must be joined with תַּנִּין to express the complex idea of a *sea-serpent*. For the meaning of the phrase to *visit upon*, vide supra, ch. 13 : 11. The sword is a common emblem for the instruments of the divine vengeance. The explanation of קָשָׁה as meaning *heavy* is not justified by usage ; *severe* or *dreadful* does not suit the context, as the other two epithets denote physical qualities of a literal sword. The word no doubt means *hard-edged*, or, as Lowth expresses it, *well-tempered*.

V. 2. On the explanation of this verse depends that of a large part of the chapter. The two points upon which all turns, are the meaning of עֲנוּ and the reference of the suffix in לָהּ. The modern writers solve the latter by supposing כֶּרֶם to be feminine in this one place, and when expressions afterwards occur which are inapplicable to a vineyard, regard them as inaccuracies or perhaps as proofs of an uncultivated taste, whereas they only prove that the assumed construction is a false one. The only supposition which will meet the difficulties, both of the syntax and the exegesis, is the one

adopted by most of the old writers, to wit, that לָהּ refers, not directly to כֶּרֶם, but to Jerusalem or the daughter of Zion, i. e. to the church or people of God considered as his spouse (ch. 1 : 21). This reference to a subject not expressly mentioned might be looked upon as arbitrary, but for the fact that the assumption of it is attended with fewer difficulties than the construction which it supersedes, as will be seen below. As to the other word, tradition and authority are almost unanimous in giving it the sense of *sing*. Assuming that the primary meaning of the verb is to *answer*, and that the derivative strictly denotes responsive singing, Lowth, Dathe, Schnurrer, and others, have converted the whole context to the end of v. 5, into a dialogue between Jehovah and his vineyard. This fantastic arrangement of the text has been rejected by most later writers, as artificial, complex, and at variance with the genius and usage of Hebrew composition, Lowth's eloquent plea to the contrary notwithstanding. But the same interpreters, who have relieved the passage from this factitious burden and embarrassment, continue for the most part to regard what follows as a *song*, though not a dramatic dialogue, because the people are commanded in v. 2 to sing, and the song of course must follow. To this exposition, which is really a relic of the old dramatic one, there are several objections. In the first place, no one has been able to determine with precision where the *song* concludes, some choosing one place for its termination, some another. This would of course prove nothing in a clear case, but in a case like this it raises a presumption at the least that a song, of which the end cannot be found, has no beginning. But in the next place, it is easy to see why the end cannot be easily defined, to wit, because there is nothing in the next three, four or five verses to distinguish them as being any more a *song* than what precedes and follows, whether with respect to imagery, rhythm, or diction. In the third place, the presumption thus created and confirmed is corroborated further by the obvious incongruity of making the song, which the people are supposed to sing, begin with *I Jehovah keep it* etc. It is in vain that Grotius with his usual ingenuity explains עֲנוּ as meaning 'sing in the name or person of Jehovah,' and that other writers actually introduce *thus saith the Lord* at the beginning of the song. This is only admitting indirectly that the supposition of a song is wholly arbitrary in a case so doubtful, whatever it might be if the mention of a song were more explicit. For in the fourth place, there is this striking difference between the case before us and those which are supposed to be analogous (e. g. ch. 5 : 1. 26 : 1), that in these the verb שִׁיר and its derivative noun of the same form are employed, whereas here the verb is different and the noun *song* does not appear at all. Under these circumstances, it would seem to be sufficient to take עֲנוּ as a general exhortation to sing, without supposing that the words of the song actually follow, which is surely not a necessary supposition. But in the fifth place,

out of fifty-six cases in which the *piel* of עָנָה occurs, there are only three in which the sense of *singing* is conceivable, and of these three one (Ps. 88: 1) is the enigmatical title of a Psalm, another (Ex. 32: 18) is so dubious that the one sense is almost as appropriate as the other, and the third is that before us. It is true the concordances and lexicons assume two different roots, but this is merely to accommodate the difficulties of these three texts, and the multiplication of roots is now universally regarded as at best a necessary evil. On such grounds the assumption of the meaning *sing* could hardly be justified, even if it were far more appropriate to the context than the common one. But in the last place, while the supposition of a song, as we have seen, embarrasses the exposition, the usual meaning of the verb עָנָה is perfectly appropriate. This meaning is to *afflict*, and especially to afflict in an humbling and degrading manner. This may seem to be utterly at variance with the context as it is commonly explained; but the common explanation rests on the supposititious meaning of the verb, and cannot therefore be alleged in favor of that meaning. On the usual hypothesis, the verse exhorts the people to sing to the vineyard or the church; on the one now proposed it challenges her enemies to do their worst, declaring that God still protects her. This explanation of the verse agrees well with the distinct allusions to the punishment of Israel in vs. 4, 7, 8, 9, which would be comparatively out of place in a song of triumph or gratulation. Against this explanation of עַנּוּ, and of the whole verse, lies the undivided weight of tradition and authority, so far as I can trace the exposition of the passage, the only writer who adopts the sense *afflict* being Gousset (or Gussetius) in his Comment. Ebr. as cited by Gill. So unanimous a judgment might be looked upon as perfectly decisive of the question but for two considerations; first, that the proposed interpretation removes a variety of difficulties, not by forsaking usage but by returning to it; and secondly, that none of the interpreters consulted seem to have adverted to the facts already stated, with respect to the usage of עָנָה. But besides the objection from tradition and authority, another may be urged of a grammatical nature, viz. the unusual connexion of the verb with its object not directly but by means of the preposition לְ. To this it can only be replied, in the first place, that the choice presented is a choice of difficulties, and that those attending the construction now in question seem to be less than those attending any other; in the next place, that although this verb does not elsewhere take the preposition לְ after it, there are many cases in which other active verbs are separated from their objects by it, the verb then denoting the mere action, and the לְ pointing out the object *as to* which, or *with respect to* which, it is performed; and in the last place, that the לְ may have been rendered necessary here because the nouns before the verb are also in some sense its objects. The latest German writers, it is true, construe כֶּרֶם חֶמֶר as an absolute nominative, (*as to the vine-*

yard of wine) or as the subject of a verb understood (*there shall be a vineyard of wine*) but these are mere expedients to explain the לָהּ, and must of course give way to any simpler method of accomplishing that purpose. As the result of this investigation, we may now translate the verse as follows. *In that day, as a vineyard of wine, afflict her*, or, *in that day afflict for her the vineyard of wine.* It is then a defiance or permission of the enemies of the church to afflict her, with an intimation that in carrying out this idea, the expressions will be borrowed from the figure of a vineyard, as in ch. 5: 1–6. חֶמֶר strictly denotes *fermentation*, then fermented liquor, and is used as a poetical equivalent to יַיִן. It has been objected that this idea is involved in that of a vineyard, but such apparent pleonasms are common in all languages, as when we speak of a *well of water* or a *coal of fire.* Besides כרם seems to have originally had a latitude of meaning not unlike that of *orchard* in English, and we actually read of a כֶּרֶם זַיִת (not a vineyard but an olive-yard) Josh. 15: 5. חֶמֶר may therefore have been added to complete the phrase, or to preclude all doubt as to the meaning, either of which suppositions renders it superfluous to borrow the sense *red wine* from the Arabic, as Kimchi does, and to assume that the Hebrews set a special value upon this sort. Much less is it necessary to amend the text by reading כרם חמד, pleasant or beloved vineyard. The analogous expression כרמי חמד Amos 5: 11, only makes a change in this place more improbable, not to mention the endless license of conjecture, which would be introduced into the criticism of the text, by adopting the principle that phrases, which partially resemble one another, must be made to do so altogether. As a closing suggestion, not at all necessary to the exposition, but tending to explain in some degree the form of the original, it may here be added, that the masoretic interpunction may have been intended to suggest an interval of time between the clauses, as if he had said, *in that day* (shall this come to pass, but in the meantime) *afflict her* etc.

V. 3. *I Jehovah (am) keeping her; every moment I will water her; lest any hurt her, night and day will I keep her.* That is, in spite of the afflictions which befall her I will still preserve her from destruction. The antecedent of the pronouns is the same as in v. 2, viz. the church or nation considered as a vineyard. לְרָגָעִים literally means *at moments* or *as to moments*, but its sense is determined by the analogous לַבְּקָרִים *every morning.* Kimchi takes עָלֶיהָ as a noun, in which he is followed by some later writers, who explain the clause to mean, *lest one hurt a leaf of her*, or, *lest a leaf of her be wanting.* But the want of any usage to justify such an explanation of רפקד, and the construction of the same verb in v. 1 with the preposition עַל, leave no doubt that the usual explanation is the true one. To *visit upon* has here its common meaning of *inflicting evil upon*, but without any special

reference to crime or punishment. As the expression is a relative one, it must here be understood according to the context, as denoting fatal or at least excessive injury.

V. 4. Of all the senses put upon this difficult verse, there are only two which can be looked upon as natural or probable. The first may be paraphrased as follows; it is not because I am cruel or revengeful that I thus afflict my people, but because she is a vineyard overrun with thorns or briers, on account of which I must pass through her and consume her (i. e. burn them out of her). The other is this: I am no longer angry with my people; oh that their enemies (as thorns and briers) would array themselves against me, that I might rush upon them and consume them. This last is preferred by most of the later writers. The objection that *no longer* has to be supplied is of little weight. A more important one is that the feminine suffix is referred to the masculine nouns שָׁמִיר and שַׁיִת. To this it may be answered, first, that the feminine in Hebrew often corresponds to the Greek and Latin neuter; and secondly, that a free use of the feminine, where the masculine might have been expected, is characteristic of this passage. See particularly v. 11 below, to which some would add the application of the feminine pronoun throughout the passage to the masculine noun בֶּרֶם. This grammatical peculiarity, under other circumstances, would no doubt have been alleged as the mark of a different writer. But if the author of ch. xxiv–xxvii can use expressions in ch. xxvii which he does not use in the others, why may not Isaiah as the author of the whole book exhibit similar peculiarities in different parts of a collection so extended? It is important that the reader should take every opportunity to mark the arbitrary nature of the proofs, by which the genuineness of the prophecies has been assailed, and the strange conclusions to which they would lead, if applied with even-handed justice. The objection to the first interpretation of the verse is, that it puts a forced construction on the words חמה אין לי, and explains מי יתנני in a manner not consistent with the usage of the phrase. Lowth and the others who suppose a dramatic structure are obliged to read חֵמָה with the Seventy, and to make this verse a complaint of the vineyard that it has no wall, and an expression of its wish that it had a thorn-hedge, to which God replies that he would still pass through it. Schnurrer however makes even the last clause the words of the vineyard, by arbitrarily supplying *when they say*, i. e. when my enemy says, I will march against it, etc.

V. 5. *Or let him lay hold of my strength and make peace with me; peace let him make with me.* The verbs are properly indefinite (let one takehold etc.) but referring to the enemy described in the preceding verse

as thorns and briers. מעוז commonly denotes a strong place or fortress, and is here understood by most interpreters to signify a refuge or asylum, with allusion to the practice of laying hold upon the altar. Vitringa even goes so far as to suppose that the horns of the altar are themselves so called because the *strength* of certain animals is in their horns. Lowth gives the word the sense of strength afforded or *protection*. The general meaning is the same in either case, viz. that the alternative presented to the enemy is that of destruction or submission. The abbreviated future is employed as usual to express a proposition. By varying the translation of the futures, the sentence may be made more pointed: let him make peace (or if he will make peace) he shall make peace. But there is no sufficient reason for the variation, and the imperative meaning of יעשה seems to be determined by that of יחזק. Of the various senses ascribed to או (such as *unless, oh that if* etc.) the only one justified by usage is the disjunctive sense of *or*. Lowth's dramatic arrangement of the text assigns the first clause to Jehovah and the second to the vineyard. *J. Ah! let her rather take hold of my protection. V. Let him make peace with me! Peace let him make with me.* If the thorns and briers of v. 4 be referred to the internal condition of the church, this may be understood as having reference to the church itself, which is then called upon to make its peace with God as the only means of escaping further punishment. Gesenius speaks of the repetition and inversion in the last clause as a very imperfect kind of parallelism extremely common in the Zabian books!

V. 6. (*In*) *coming* (*days*) *shall Jacob take root, Israel shall bud and blossom, and they shall fill the face of the earth with fruit.* The construction of the first clause in the English Bible (*them that come of Jacob shall he cause to take root*) is forbidden by the collocation of the words, and by the usage of the verb, which always means to *take root*. The same remark applies to another construction (*them that come to Jacob*) which applies the words to the conversion of the gentiles. If there were any sufficient reason for departing from the masoretic interpunction, the sentence might be thus arranged with good effect: *they that come* (i. e. the next generation) *shall take root; Jacob shall bud; Israel shall blossom* etc. It is best however to retain the usual construction indicated by the accents. מָלְאוּ may possibly agree with יִשְׂרָאֵל as a collective; but as the other verbs are singular, the plural form of this appears to imply a reference to both names, though belonging to one person. Or as מָלֵא is both an active and a neuter verb, it may be construed with the plural noun פְּנֵי, *the face of the world shall be filled with fruit.* תֵּבֵל does not mean the land of Israel, but the world, the whole expression being strongly metaphorical.

V. 7. *Like the smiting of his smiter did he smite him, or like the slaying of his slain was he slain?* Having declared in the preceding verse that Israel should hereafter flourish, he now adds that even in the meantime he should suffer vastly less than his oppressors. Negation, as in many other cases, is expressed by interrogation. Did the Lord smite Israel as he smote his smiters, or slay him as his murderers were slain? This is now commonly agreed to be the meaning, although some of the older writers understand the verse as asking, whether God smote Israel as his oppressors smote him, which would yield a good sense but one less suited to the context. To make the parallelism perfect, הֲרֻגָיו (his slain) should be הֹרְגָיו (his slayers); but this, so far from being a defect, is a beauty, since Israel could not have been said to be slain without destroying the force of the comparison. The suffix in הֲרֻגָיו is to be referred to the oppressors or the enemy.

V. 8. *In measure, by sending her away, thou dost contend with her. He removes her by his hard wind in the day of the east wind.* The negation implied in the preceding verse is here expressed more distinctly. The Prophet now proceeds to show that Israel was not dealt with like his enemies, by first describing what the former suffered, then what the latter. Israel was punished moderately, and for a time, by being removed out of his place, as if by a transient storm or blast of wind. Of the numberless senses put upon סאסאה, none is so good in itself, or so well suited to the context, as the one handed down by tradition, which explains it as a reduplicated form of סאה strictly denoting a particular dry measure, but here used to express the general idea of measure i. e. moderation. The meaning *measure for measure*, i. e. in strict justice, is preferred by some, but this would either do away with the comparison with Israel and his enemies, or imply that the latter suffered more than they deserved. The feminine suffixes must be referred to the church or nation as a wife, which agrees well with the verb שלח, used in the law to denote repudiation or divorce. The same verb is also used to signify the sending down of judgments upon men, which sense some prefer in this case, and refer the suffix both in this word and the next to the stroke or punishment. *In sending it upon them thou dost strive with it*, or try to mitigate it. But the other explanation is more natural, and has the advantage of explicitly intimating the precise form of the punishment endured. The change of person in the last clause is abrupt, but of too frequent occurrence to excite surprise. הָגָה is interpreted by Kimchi as synonymous with הֵסִיר to remove or take away. Its object is to be supplied from the first clause; its subject is *Jehovah*. The east wind is mentioned as the most tempestuous in Palestine. The *day* of the east wind is supposed by some to denote the season of the year when it prevails; but it is rather used to intimate the temporary nature of the chastisement, as if he had said, one

day when the east wind chanced to blow. The first רוּחַ is by some translated *spirit*, and supposed to be expressive of the divine displeasure; but it is not probable that the word would be so soon used in a different sense, and the very repetition adds to the force and beauty of the sentence, *a strong wind in the day of the east wind.* תּוֹרִיב might be taken as a future proper; but the use of the preterite in the next clause seems to show, that both were meant to be descriptive presents.

V. 9. *Therefore* (because his chastisement was temporary and remedial in design) *by this* (affliction) *shall Jacob's iniquity be expiated* (i. e. purged away), *and this is all* (its) *fruit* (or intended effect), *to take away his sin*, (as will appear) *in his placing all the stones of the* (idolatrous) *altar like limestones dashed in pieces*, (so that) *groves and solar images* (or images of Ashtoreth and Baal) *shall arise no more.* The contrast between Israel and Babylon is still continued. Having said that the affliction of the former was but moderate and temporary, he now adds that it was meant to produce a most beneficent effect, to wit, the purgation of the people from the foul stain of idolatry. יְכֻפַּר, though it strictly means *shall be atoned for*, is here metonymically used to denote the effect and not the cause, purification and not expiation. In the very same way it is applied to the cleansing of inanimate objects. There is no need of rendering לָכֵן either *but* or *because*, as the strict and usual meaning, though less obvious, is perfectly appropriate. As the punishment was moderate and temporary, it was *therefore* not destructive but remedial. Some understand by *this*, the act described in the last clause, viz. that of destroying the idolatrous altar. But the preference is always due in such constructions to an antecedent literally going before, i. e. already mentioned. Besides, the destruction of the idols could not be the cause of the purification which produced it, unless we take יכפר in the strict sense of *atonement*, which would be incongruous, and inconsistent with the teachings of Scripture elsewhere, not to mention that in that case the moral effect of the captivity is not described at all. The sense required by the connexion is, not that the breaking of the altars, as a spontaneous act, atoned for Israel's previous idolatry, but that the exile cured them of that vice, and thereby led to the breaking of the altars. The construction, *this is all the fruit of the removal of his sin*, affords an incongruous and inappropriate sense, viz. that the only effect of this great revolution was the breaking of the idol altars. The true construction is the one pointed out by the disjunctive accent under פְּרִי, which marks it as the subject of the proposition of which זֶה סַר is the predicate. Some refer the suffix in בְּשׂוּמוֹ to Jehovah or the enemy, and the whole clause to his demolition of the altar at the conquest of Jerusalem. But besides the arbitrary change of subject, this would seem to refer the moral improvement of the exiles, not to their afflic-

tion, but to the destruction of their idols at Jerusalem, which, even if consistent with the fact, would be irrelevant in this connexion, where the Prophet is showing the beneficent effects of the removal of the people. That the altar is not the altar of Jehovah, is apparent from the mention of the idols in the last clause. (For the meaning of חַמָּנִים and אֲשֵׁרִים, vide supra, ch. 17 : 8.) Cocceius seems to understand the verse as a prediction that the Jews should no longer pay a superstitious regard to the temple at Jerusalem. By אַבְנֵי־גִר we may either understand some kind of stone commonly used in building, or the fragments of stone and mortar scattered by the demolition of an altar. לֹא יָקֻמוּ may either mean *shall not rise again* or *shall stand no more*, both implying their complete destruction. The prophetic description which this verse involves was fully and gloriously verified in history.

V. 10. *For a fenced* (or *fortified*) *city shall be desolate, a dwelling broken up and forsaken like the wilderness. There shall the calf feed, and there shall it lie and consume her branches.* Here begins the other part of the comparison. While Israel is chastised in measure and with the happiest effect, his oppressors are given up to final desolation. This explanation of the verse, as referring to Babylon, is strongly recommended by the fact, that the comparison otherwise remains unfinished, only one side of it having been presented. Apart from this consideration, there are certainly strong reasons for supposing the city meant to be Jerusalem itself. One of these reasons is, that the figure of a vineyard seems to be still present to the writer's mind, at the close of this verse and throughout the next, although the terms used admit of a natural application to the figure of a tree. Another reason is, that the desolation here described is not so total as that threatened against Babylon in ch. 13 : 19–22, where instead of saying it shall be a pasture, it is said expressly that it shall not even be frequented by flocks or herds. But these two places may have reference to different degrees of desolation. In favour of the reference to Babylon may be alleged the natural consecution of the twelfth verse upon that hypothesis. On the whole, the question may be looked upon as doubtful, but as not materially affecting the interpretation of the chapter, since either of the two events supposed to be foretold would be appropriate in this connexion. מְשֻׁלָּח properly means *sent away*, but seems to be applied in ch. 16 : 1 to a bird's nest, the occupants of which are scattered. The whole phrase here may suggest the idea of a family or household which is broken up and its residence forsaken. סְעִפֶּיהָ is by some understood to mean *its heights* or *hills;* but the more usual sense of *branches* is entirely appropriate. This may be understood of the vegetation springing up among ruins; but it seems best to refer it to the image of a tree, which is distinctly presented in the following verse. Ac-

cording to Vitringa, *the calf* means pious men who grow in spiritual strength, to which interpretation we may apply the words of the same excellent writer, in commenting upon Jerome's notion, that the devil in v. 1 is called a *bar* because he *imprisons* many souls. Saepe mihi mirari contingit, homines ejusmodi cogitationes aut loquendi formas imputare Spiritui Sancto, quas sibi vir sapiens imputari nollet.

V. 11. *In the withering of its boughs* (or *when its boughs are withered*) *they shall be broken off, women coming and burning them; because it is not a people of understanding, therefore its creator shall not pity it, and its maker shall not have mercy on it.* The destruction of Babylon is still described, but under the figure of a tree, whose branches are withered and cast into the fire. Women are mentioned, not in allusion to the weakness of the instruments by which Babylon was to be destroyed, but because the gathering of firewood in the east is the work of women and children. בְּאָרוֹתָ is not simply *setting on fire*, but *making a fire of*, or *burning up*. The construction of this clause bears a strong resemblance to the absolute genitive in Greek and ablative in Latin. The last clause contains a double instance of litotes or meiosis. According to the usage of the Scriptures, *not wise* here means foolish in the strongest sense, and God's *not pitying* and having mercy is equivalent to his being very wroth and taking vengeance. קָצִיר, which usually means a harvest, in a few places seems to have the sense of a bough or of boughs collectively. The feminine pronouns in the first clause must refer to עִיר or בָּבֶל understood; the masculine pronouns of the last clause refer of course to עָם.

V. 12. *And it shall be in that day, that Jehovah shall beat off* (or gather in his fruit), *from the channel of the river to the stream of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one by one* (or *one to another*) *oh ye children of Israel.* To the downfall of Babylon he now adds, as in ch. 11 : 1, its most important consequence, viz. the restoration of the Jews. חָבַט is to beat fruit (and particularly olives) from the tree. (Vide supra, ch. 17 : 6). Henderson here translates יַחְבֹּט, *shall have an olive-harvest.* The idea meant to be conveyed is that of a careful and complete ingathering. נַחַל מִצְרַיִם is explained by some of the older writers as denoting the great valley of the Nile; by others, the Nile itself; but it is now commonly agreed to signify the Wady Elarish, anciently called *Rhinocorura*, which name is given to it here by the Septuagint. *The river* is as usual the Euphrates. The simple meaning of the whole expression is, *from Assyria to Egypt*, both which are expressly mentioned in the next verse. אֶחָד is properly the construct form, but occurs in several places as the absolute. One of these places is Zech. 11 : 7, from which it cannot be inferred, however, that this use of the form betrays a later age, for

it occurs not only in 2 Sam. 17 : 22, but in Gen. 48 : 22. Gesenius puts upon this verse the forced construction, that the whole land, as possessed of old by David and Solomon, should be repeopled as abundantly and suddenly as if men fell from the trees like olives. Having given this gratuitous perversion of a natural and simple metaphor, he then apologizes for it as *offensive to our taste* (für unseyen Geschmack anstössig), no unfair sample of the way in which the sacred writers are sometimes made to suffer for the erroneous judgment and bad taste of their interpreters. The later writers are almost unanimous in setting this construction of the words aside and giving them their true sense, which is not only the obvious one, but absolutely required by the phrase לְאֶחָד אֶחָד, which cannot mean the sudden streaming in of a great multitude, but must denote the thorough and complete ingathering of what might otherwise be lost or left behind. The precise sense of this Hebrew phrase is not well expressed by the English *one by one*, which seems to represent the process as a gradual one. It rather denotes *one to one*, i. e. in our idiom, *one to another*, all together, or without exception. From what has been already said it will be seen, that the boundaries named are not intended to define the territory which should be occupied by those returning, but the regions whence they should return, which explanation is confirmed moreover by the explicit terms of the next verse.

V. 13. *And it shall be* (or *come to pass*) *in that day, (that) a great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall come that were lost* (or *wandering*) *in the land of Assyria, and those cast out* (or *exiled*) *in the land of Egypt, and shall bow down to Jehovah, in the holy mountain, in Jerusalem.* The same event is here described as in the verse preceding, but with a change of figure. What is there represented as a gathering of olives by beating the tree, is now represented as a gathering of men by the blast of a trumpet, which here takes the place of the signal-pole or flag in ch. 11 : 12. This variety of forms, in which the same idea is expressed, clearly shows the whole description to be figurative. Assyria and Egypt may be either put for foreign countries generally, or with particular allusion to the actual emigration and dispersion of the Jews in these two regions. Assyria may here be used as a comprehensive term, in order to include both the Assyrian and Babylonian deportations. For although the ten tribes never were restored, individual members of them found their way back with the Jews from Babylon. On the whole, however, it is probable that Egypt and Assyria are here named, just as Babylonia and the islands of the sea might have been named instead of them, and just as all these names and others are connected elsewhere, to denote the various lands where Jews were scattered. The emigration of the people, especially after Nebuchadnezzar's conquests, was of course not confined to their actual deportation by the enemy, nor was the

restoration merely that of such as had been thus carried captive, but of all who, in consequence of that catastrophe or any other, had been transferred to foreign parts by exile, flight, or voluntary expatriation. The application of this verse to a future restoration of the Jews can neither be established nor disproved. If such a restoration can be otherwise shown to be a subject of prophecy, this passage may be naturally understood at least as comprehending it. But in itself considered, it appears to contain nothing which may not be naturally applied to events long past, or which has not found in those events an adequate fulfilment. תִּקָּע is an impersonal verb, *it shall be blown on the trumpet*. According to Gesenius this verb denotes a single blast, as opposed to a continuous winding of the trumpet. He finds no difficulty in reconciling his hypothesis, as to the date of the prediction, with the mention of Assyria, on the ground that Assyria still formed a part of the Babylonian empire, that the name was used with latitude not only by the classical but the sacred writers, that the Prophet perhaps designedly avoided to name Babylon expressly, and that this verse *perhaps* was partly taken from an older composition belonging to the times of the Assyrian ascendency. How much hypotheses, as plausible as these, are allowed by Gesenius himself to weigh, in behalf of the genuineness of the prophecies, we have already had occasion to observe, and shall yet have occasion to observe hereafter.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Samaria, the crown of Ephraim, shall be cast down by a sudden and impetuous invasion, as a just judgment upon sensual and impious Israel, vs. 1–4. To the remnant of Israel, Jehovah will himself be a crown and a protection, a source of wisdom and of strength, vs. 5, 6. Yet even these imitate the example of apostate Israel, and in their self-indulgence cast off the authority of God and refuse the instructions of his prophet, to their own undoing, vs. 7–13. But their impious contempt of God and self-reliance shall but hasten their destruction. All who do not build upon the sure foundation laid in Zion, must inevitably perish as the enemies of Israel were destroyed of old, vs. 14–22. The delay of judgment no more proves that it will never come, than the patience of the husbandman, and his preparatory labours, prove that he expects no harvest; and the difference of God's dealings with different men is no more inconsistent with his general purposes of wrath or mercy, than the husbandman's treatment of the different grains is inconsistent with his general purpose of securing and enjoying them, vs. 23–29.

This chapter is by most of the late writers joined with ch. 29–33, as belonging to the same date and subject. Ewald without sufficient ground regards it as a later composition. The elaborate attempts, made by Hitzig and others, to determine the precise date of the composition, as they rest on no sufficient data, are of course unsatisfactory and inconclusive. It was obviously written before the downfall of Samaria, but how long before is neither ascertainable nor of importance to the exposition of the prophecy.

V. 1. *Woe to the high crown of the drunkards of Ephraim, and the fading flower, his ornament of beauty, which (is) on the head of the fat valley of the wine-smitten.* Here, as in ch. 9 : 9, 21. 11 : 13, we are to understand by *Ephraim* the kingdom of the ten tribes, by the *drunkards of Ephraim* its vicious population, and by the *lofty crown* the city of Samaria, so called as the chief town and the royal residence, but also with allusion to its local situation on an insulated hill overlooking a rich plain or valley. "It would be difficult to find, in all Palestine, a situation of equal strength, fertility, and beauty combined." (Robinson's Palestine, III. 146.) Most interpreters assume a further allusion to the practice of wearing wreaths or garlands at feasts. Lowth and Gesenius suppose this to be the only reason why the men of Ephraim are here called *drunkards*, q. d. like the crown which drunkards wear at feasts, so is Samaria a crown to Ephraim. Others, with more probability, invert the process, and suppose the figure of a garland to have been suggested by the description of the people as drunkards. Ewald combines the two hypotheses by saying that as Samaria was in its situation like a crown, and as the people were habitually drunk, the city is poetically represented as a reveller's crown. The reference to literal intoxication appears plain from a comparison of Amos 4 : 1, 6 : 1, 6. Drunkenness is mentioned, not as the only prevalent iniquity, but as a crying one, and one contributing to many others. The moral and spiritual consequences of this vice must be taken into view ; but the exclusive reference of the words to spiritual drunkenness, whether delusion or stupidity or both, seems entirely untenable. No such conclusion can be drawn, as we shall see below, from ch. 29 : 9, on the authority of which the Septuagint seems to have translated חלמי יין, in the verse before us, *μεθύοντες ἄνευ οἴνου*. The same version has confounded שִׁבֳּרֵי with שִׁכֹּרֵי and rendered it *μισθωτοί*. This verse contains three examples of the Hebrew idiom, which, instead of an adjective, uses one substantive to qualify another ; *crown of elevation* for lofty crown, *beauty of glory* for glorious beauty, and *valley of fatnesses* for fat valley. Yet no one has alleged this accumulation of peculiar idioms as a proof of bad taste or a later age. Coccejus greatly adds to the beauty of the first clause, by explaining גְּאוּת of physical elevation rather than of pride. Hitzig supposes two distinct comparisons, that of the city to a crown, and

that of the population to a flower. It is far more natural, however, to apply both clauses to Samaria, and to suppose that the figure of a crown is exchanged for that of a flower, or that the idea throughout the verse is that of a wreath or garland, which is really included under the name crown. The latter member of the first clause is by some construed thus, *and the flower whose glorious beauty fades;* by others, for example the English Version, (*Ephraim*) *whose glorious beauty is a fading flower.* The analogy of v. 4 seems to show, however, that this member of the sentence is in apposition with עֲטֶרֶת גַּאוּת in the one before it, which construction is moreover the most obvious and simple. The English Version also mars the beauty of the first clause, by making שִׁכֹּרֵי אֶפְרַיִם not a genitive but a dative. The *fading flower* implies that the glory of Samaria was transient, with particular allusion to its approaching overthrow by Shalmaneser. Hitzig and Ewald render הוֹי as a mere exclamation (O), and suppose the verse to speak of Samaria as already fallen. Vatablus strangely understands by גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים the head of the reveller, drenched with unguents and perfumes. Augusti likewise renders it, *dem Sammelplatze der Salben.* שְׁמָנִים, as being a mere qualifying term, retains the absolute form, although the phrase, considered as a whole, is in regimen with the one that follows. Examples of a similar construction may be found in ch. 10: 12, and 1 Chron. 9: 13. *Wine-smitten* or *wine-stricken* is a strong description of the intellectual and moral effects of drunkenness. Gill's lively paraphrase is: smitten, beaten, knocked down with it as with a hammer, and laid prostrate on the ground, where they lie fixed to it, not able to get up. Analogous expressions are the Greek *οἰνοπλήξ* and the Latin *saucius mero* and *percussus vino.* Barnes sets this verse down as a proof, that the inhabitants of wine countries are *as certainly* intemperate as those which make use of ardent spirits.

V. 2. *Behold, there is to the Lord* (i. e. *the Lord has*) *a strong and mighty one, like a storm of hail, a destroying tempest, like a storm of mighty rushing waters, he has brought* (*it*) *to the ground with the hand.* As הִנֵּה very commonly denotes a proximate futurity, Clericus explains it as equivalent to *mox;* but in this case it appears to be intended merely to invite attention to the following description, as of a scene or action present to the senses. The oldest editions of the Hebrew text, and a large number of manuscripts, read יהוה instead of אדני. Lowth understands *to the Lord* as expressing a superlative, like the analogous expression *before the Lord* in Gen. 10: 9, and translates accordingly, *the mighty one, the exceedingly strong one.* Henderson supposes לְ to denote possession and translates *of Jehovah.* Luther has *from,* which is retained by Gesenius, who moreover introduces the verb *comes.* Hitzig explains the לְ as denoting the efficient agent, as it is said to do after passive verbs, corresponding to the English *by.*

But this use of the particle is very doubtful, and at least unnecessary in the case before us. The simplest construction, and the one most agreeable to usage is that given by Hendewerk, Ewald, and Knobel, *there is to Jehovah*, i. e. Jehovah has, has ready, has in reserve. (Vide supra, ch. 2 : 12. 22 : 5.) The English Version therefore (*the Lord hath*) is in sense entirely correct. J. D. Michaelis follows the Peshito in taking חָזָק and אַבִּיר as abstracts meaning *power* and *strength*. Of those versions which translate them strictly as adjectives, the Vulgate makes them epithets of God himself, (*validus et fortis Dominus*) and so overlooks the ל altogether; Jarchi construes them with *wind*, Kimchi with *day*, and others with *army* understood; Cocceius and Vitringa make them neuter or indefinite, meaning *something strong and mighty;* the Targum and Rosenmüller construe them with strokes or visitations understood; but most interpreters, including the most recent, understand them as descriptive of a person and apply them directly to Shalmaneser or to the kings of Assyria indefinitely. For *tempest of destruction* Cocceius has *horror excidii*, in reference to the meaning of the root שָׁטַר and some of its derivatives. DeDieu reads שַׁעַר and translates it, *in the gate there is destruction*; others, *through the gate* it enters. But the common version (*a destroying storm*) may now be looked upon as settled. The last clause is strangely paraphrased by Jonathan so as to mean, that the enemy shall take the people from their own land to another, on account of the iniquity found in their hand. The meaning *to the earth* or *to the ground* is clear from ch. 63 : 6, and other cases. The Vulgate confounds the phrase with אֶרֶץ רְחָבַת (ch. 22 : 18), and translates it *super terram spatiosam*. בְּיָד is commonly explained to mean *with power*, as in the Septuagint (*βίᾳ*). Gesenius gives this sense to יָד itself; Rosenmüller supposes an ellipsis of *strong*, Hitzig of *outstretched*, Hendewerk an allusion to a rod held in the hand. Junius explains the phrase to mean *with one hand*, i. e. easily. There seems however to be no need of departing from the strict sense of the words as given in the English Version (*with the hand*), and by Ewald with a needless change of *hand* to *fist*. It then completes the picture by describing the crown of Ephraim as torn from his head and thrown upon the ground by the hand of a victorious enemy. To this explanation no objection can be drawn from the previous mention of the hail and rain; for these are mere comparisons, descriptive of the violence with which the enemy should make his attack. It is as if he had said, a strong and mighty enemy, rushing upon you like a hail-storm or a driving rain, shall cast your crown upon the earth with his hand. That the crown is the object of the verb הִנִּיחַ, may be safely inferred from the foregoing and the following verse, though some interpreters have made it govern the strong and mighty one himself, or the rain and storm with which he is compared, as being sent upon the earth by Jehovah. Though הִנִּיחַ should be rendered as a preterite, it

does not follow of necessity, that the event described had already taken place, but merely that in this case it is so presented to the Prophet's view.

V. 3. *With the feet shall be trodden the lofty crown of the drunkards of Ephraim.* It is cast down by the hand and trampled under foot. This antithesis makes it almost certain that יָד in the preceding verse is to be taken in its proper sense. The plural form of the verb has been variously explained. The ancient versions all translate it as a singular. The Rabbins make עטרת a collective. Lowth reads עטרות in the plural. Cocceius refers the verb to the crown and flower separately. Junius puts *drunkards*, not in construction but in apposition with *crown*, which is also the case of the English Version (*the crown of pride, the drunkards of Ephraim*). Vitringa explains the plural form upon the ground that while the verse literally relates to the downfall of Samaria, it mystically relates to the downfall of Jerusalem. Clericus simply says that the *crown* meant was that of many persons; Rosenmüller that the feminine verb is used as a neuter; Hendewerk that it is a pluralis majestaticus, or refers to Samaria as the representative of the other towns of Israel. Gesenius, Hitzig, and Knobel, seem to be agreed that it is an anomalous or rather idiomatic use of the plural for the singular, as in Exod. 1: 10. Jud. 5: 26. Job 17: 16. There is great probability in Henderson's suggestion, that the נָה in all such cases is not a feminine but a paragogic or intensive termination, analogous to that of the antithetic future in Arabic.

V. 4. *And the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley, shall be like a first-ripe fig, which he that sees it sees, and while it is yet in his hand swallows it.* This comparison expresses the avidity with which the enemy would seize upon Samaria, and perhaps the completeness of its desolation. The fruit referred to is the early fig of Palestine which ripens in June, while the regular season of ingathering is from August to November, so that the former is regarded as a rarity and eaten with the greater relish. The figure is not here intended to express either ease or rapidity of conquest, for the siege of Samaria lasted three years (2 Kings 17: 5). To suppose, with J. D. Michaelis and Henderson, that a siege of this length was considered short compared with those of Tyre and Askelon, seems very forced. The immediate eating of the fruit is only mentioned as a sign of eagerness or greediness. Vitringa understands the simile as meaning that Samaria when taken would be instantly destroyed, as the first ripe fruit is eaten and not stored away. This would also remove the apparent discrepancy, and is in itself not improbable, although less obvious and natural than the explanation first proposed. The last clause, though singularly worded, evidently means that as soon as one

sees it and lays hold of it he swallows it without delay, or as Gill expresses it in homespun English, 'as soon as he has got it into his hand, he can't keep it there to look at, or forbear eating it, but greedily devours it and swallows it down at once.' בְּעוֹד however does not literally mean *as soon as*, but *while yet*, which renders the expression stronger still, as strictly denoting that he eats it while it is yet in his hand. The Septuagint expresses the same meaning with a change of form, by saying that before one has it in his hand he *wishes* to devour it. The same version renders בִּכּוּרָה *πρόδρομος σύκον*, and Pliny says, *ficus et praecoces habet quas Athenis prodromos vocant.* Joseph Kimchi explained כַּף here to mean a *branch*, and this sense is expressed by Luther, who understands the clause to mean, that the fig spoils or perishes (verdirbt) while one still sees it hanging on the branch. As בְּעוֹד means literally *in yet*, so בְּטֶרֶם strictly means *in not yet*, two examples of a peculiar Hebrew idiom in a single sentence. Hitzig, in order to refer this verse to the conquest of Samaria as already past, denies that the ו at the beginning is conversive, and refers to other cases where it is simply conjunctive; but in this case its conversive power is determined by the foregoing future תֵּרָמַסְנָה, whereas in the others there is either no preceding future, or it is contained in a quotation and not in the regular order of discourse. It may also be objected to Hitzig's hypothesis, that the הוֹי in v. 1 and the בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא in v. 5, both imply that the event described is future. צִיצַת seems to be a mere euphonic variation of צִיץ in v. 4. In solving its construction with what follows, Gesenius and most of the late writers take נֹבֵל to be an adjective used as a substantive and governed regularly by צִיצַת, *flower of fading* for *fading flower*, of which construction there are some examples elsewhere. (See ch. 22: 24. Prov. 6: 24. 24: 25.) The next clause may then be relatively understood (*which was his glorious beauty*), or in apposition (*the fading flower, his glorious beauty*); but Ewald, and many of the older writers, regard this phrase as in regimen with what follows (*the fading flower of*, etc.). The English Version, as in v. 1, makes צִיצַת נֹבֵל the predicate (*shall be a fading flower and as*, etc.). Hendewerk supposes נֹבֵל *the fading one* to be an epithet of Ephraim himself. קַיִץ is the fruit-harvest, and especially the ingathering of figs. The modern critics are agreed that the final syllable of בכורה, although written in most manuscripts with *mappik*, is not a suffix but a feminine termination. This name of the early fig is still retained, not only in Arabic but in Spanish, into which it was transplanted by the Moors. Lowth's decision, that ירא הראה is a *miserable tautology*, is worth about as much as his decision, that Houbigant's emendation (יראה for ירא) is a *happy conjecture*. The tautology at all events is no more miserable here than in ch. 16: 10 or 28: 24, not to mention 2 Sam. 17: 9 or Ez. 33: 4, The liberties which critics of this school took with the text, and the language which they used in self-justifica-

tion, must be considered as having contributed in some degree to the subsequent revolution of opinion with respect to points of more intrinsic moment.

V. 5. *In that day shall Jehovah of Hosts be for* (or *become*) *a crown of beauty and a diadem of glory to the remnant of his people.* By the remnant of the people Jarchi understands those of the ten tribes who should survive the destruction of Samaria; Knobel the remnant of Judah itself, which should escape Shalmaneser's invasion expected by the Prophet; Hendewerk the remnant of Israel again considered as one body after the fall of the apostate kingdom; Kimchi the kingdom of the two tribes as the remnant of the whole race. This last approaches nearest to the true sense which appears to be that after Samaria, the pride of the apostate tribes, had fallen, they who still remained as members of the church or chosen people should glory and delight in the presence of Jehovah as their choicest privilege and highest honour. The expressions are borrowed from the first verse but presented in a new combination. As our idiom admits in this case of a close imitation of the Hebrew, the common version which is strictly literal is much to be preferred to Lowth's (*a beauteous crown and a glorious diadem*). Of the versions which exchange the nouns for adjectives the most felicitous is Luther's (*eine liebliche Krone und herrlicher Kranz*). Instead of *Jehovah of Hosts* the Targum has *the Messiah of Jehovah.*

V. 6. *And for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate.* This, which is the common English Version, coincides with that of the latest and best writers. עַל הַמִּשְׁפָּט may either be explained as meaning *on the judgment-seat,* with Calvin (super tribunal), or *in judgment,* i. e. for the purpose of judging, with Clericus (juris dicundi causa) and most other writers. In illustration of the first sense may be cited Ps. 9: 5, *thou sittest on the throne judging right;* in illustration of the other, 1 Sam. 20: 24. 30: 24, where יָשַׁב עַל indicates the purpose for which, or the object with respect to which, one sits. The last words of the verse are applied to those who return home safe from war, by Symmachus, the Targum, and the Vulgate (revertentibus de bello ad portam); to those who repel the battle *from* the gate, by the Peshito, Clericus, and Augusti; but by all the later writers to those who drive the war back to the enemy's own gates, or as it were carry it into his own country. J. D. Michaelis gives to *gate* the specific sense of boundary or frontier, which is wholly unnecessary, as it is usual to mention towns, if not their gates, in such connexions. (See for example 2 Sam. 11: 23. 2 Kings 18: 8.) The war meant is therefore wholly defensive. The two great requisites of civil government are here described as coming from Jehovah. Even Gesenius adverts to the fact, that the *Spirit* of this verse is not a mere influence, but God himself.

V. 7. *And (yet) these also* (or *even these*) *through wine have erred, and through strong drink have gone astray. Priest and Prophet have erred through strong drink, have been swallowed up of wine, have been led astray by strong drink, have erred in vision, have wavered in judgment.* Having predicted in the foregoing verse, that when Ephraim fell Judah should continue to enjoy the protection of Jehovah, the Prophet now describes even this favoured remnant as addicted to the same sins which had hastened the destruction of the ten tribes, viz. sensual indulgence and the spiritual evils which it generates. The drunkenness here mentioned is taken in a moral and spiritual sense, even by Calvin and others who understand v. 1 as relating to literal intoxication; but this mode of exposition seems entirely arbitrary. All that is necessary is to suppose the moral or spiritual effects of drunkenness to be included. Many interpreters suppose the Prophet to revert at this point to the state of Judah in his own day. Of such transitions there are numerous examples; but the supposition is unnecessary here, where the obvious construction of the passage, as continuous in point of time, yields a good and appropriate sense. The meaning then is that the Jews, although distinguished from the ten tribes by God's sparing mercy, should nevertheless imitate them in their sins. There is great probability in Henderson's suggestion, that the prophecy refers to the national deterioration in the reign of Manasseh. The גַּם at the beginning is emphatic, not only Ephraim but *also these* or *even these*. Ewald arbitrarily translates אֵלֶּה *here*, and makes the verbs indefinite (*taumelt man*). The Priest and Prophet are named as the leaders of the people, and as those who were peculiarly bound to set a better example. The reference to *judgment* in the last clause may be explained, either on the ground that the Priest and Prophet represent the rulers of the people in general, or because the Priests themselves exercised judicial functions in certain prescribed cases (Deut. 17 : 9. 19: 17). Junius and others needlessly take כֹּהֵן in the general sense of *ruler*. Another not improbable solution is that פְּלִילִיָּה does not mean judgment in the technical sense, but more generally the declaration of the will of God. There seems to be no sufficient ground for Gesenius's explanation of the word as meaning *judgment-seat*. Maurer gives the same sense, and explains the whole phrase, *they stagger* (or *reel*) *into the judgment-seat*. Most of the late interpreters, instead of the more general sense of *erring*, *wandering*, explain שָׁגָה and תָּעָה as specifically meaning to reel or stagger, which adds to the vividness of the description, but does not seem to be entirely justified by usage. Hendewerk takes שֵׁכָר as an abstract meaning *intoxication*. J. D. Michaelis translates it *beer*. Hitzig explains בַּיַּיִן as meaning *in the act of drinking wine;* but most other writers with more probability regard both מִן and ב as here denoting the means or cause of the intoxication. Henderson's version of נִבְלְעוּ (*overpowered*) leaves out of view

the obvious allusion to literal deglutition ; for, as Gill suggests, they swallowed the wine down, and it swallowed them up. Here again Barnes sees his favourite image of a *maelstrom*. Maurer suggests as a possible construction that the last words may cohere with the first of the next verse and פקו have the meaning of the Chaldee and Syriac נפק: they go out of the judgment-seat because all the tables, etc. But שֻׁלְחָן is a dining-table, not a writing-desk. Nor is there any such improvement in the sense as would seem to justify such a departure from the traditional arrangement of the text. The use of strong drinks was expressly forbidden to the priests in the discharge of their official functions (Lev. 10 : 9. Ezek. 44 : 21). רֹאֶה is commonly explained as a participle used for an abstract noun, *seeing* or *seer* for *sight*, an explanation which is certainly favoured by the analogous use of חֹזֶה in v. 18. It is possible however that בְּרֹאֶה may mean in the office, character, or functions of a seer, as Junius explains it (in functione videntis).

V. 8. *For all tables are full of vomit, of filth, without a place* (i. e. a clean place). Grotius understands by *tables* the tribunals, and by filth and vomit the injustice practised there, which he says was likewise called *sordes* by the Latins. How arbitrary such expositions must be, will appear from the fact, that Vitringa makes the *tables* mean the schools or places of public instruction, and the *vomit* the false doctrine there taught and again reproduced to the injury of others. The only natural interpretation is that which supposes *tables* to denote the places where men eat and drink, and the other terms the natural though revolting consequences of excess. Cocceius, who takes *tables* in its proper sense, explains the filth to mean corrupt or unprofitable conversation ; but this is a most unreasonable mixture of literal and figurative exposition. Whether the intoxication thus described is wholly spiritual, depends of course upon the meaning given to the preceding verse. Most writers suppose צֹאָה to be governed by קִיא, and resolve the phrase into an adjective construction by translating it *filthy vomit*. Augusti makes the first word the qualifying term, and renders it *vomited filth*. As the words however are distinct in origin, the best construction is that which makes them both dependent on the verb: full of vomit, full of filth. There is no more need of supplying a preposition before צאה than before קיא. The introduction of the copulative *and* is needless and impairs the force of the expression. בלי is properly a noun meaning *failure* or *defect*, but is constantly used as a negative adverb or preposition. The sense of this clause is correctly though diffusely given in the English Version (*so that there is no place clean*). Luther gives the sense, but with a change of form, by rendering it *in all places*. So too one of the French Versions (tellement que tout en est plein). It is somewhat remarkable that the Septuagint translation of this verse does not exhibit any trace of the original.

V. 9. *Whom will he teach knowledge? And whom will he make to understand doctrine? Those weaned from the milk and removed from the breasts.* The Targum makes this a description of Israel as the favoured people to whom the law was exclusively given. In like manner some of the older Christian writers understand it as descriptive of the persons whom Jehovah, or the Prophet acting in his name, would choose as proper subjects of instruction, viz. simple and childlike disciples, who *as new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the word* (1 Pet. 2: 2). But the children here described are weanlings not sucklings, and on this hypothesis the weaning, which is so particularly mentioned, would have no significancy. Besides, this explanation of the words would not suit the context, either before or after. It is therefore commonly agreed, that the last clause must be taken in a contemptuous or unfavourable sense, as denoting children not in malice merely but in understanding (1 Cor. 14: 20). On this assumption some have explained the verse as meaning, that the priest and the prophet, mentioned in v. 7, were utterly unfit to teach the people, being themselves mere children in knowledge and in understanding. This explanation supposes the singular verbs of the first clause and the plural adjectives of the second to refer to the same persons. Another interpretation makes the words descriptive not of the teachers but the taught, as being no more fit to receive instruction than a child just weaned. J. D. Michaelis applies the last clause not to their incapacity but to their unwillingness to be instructed, as being *long since weaned* and now too old to return to the breast. This ingenious explanation has the advantage of taking עֲתִיק in its usual sense of *old*, whereas all others give it one derived from עָתַק to remove. But the comparative meaning, which it puts upon the preposition following, is excluded by its obvious use in the foregoing phrase in its proper local sense of *from*. A new turn was given to the exposition of the verse by Lowth, who, adopting an obscure suggestion of Jerome, explains it as the language not of the Prophet but of the wicked men before described, expressing their indignation and contempt at the Prophet's undertaking to instruct them as if they were mere children. Whom does he undertake to teach? and whom would he make to understand his doctrine? Children weaned from the milk and removed from the breast? This interpretation has in substance been adopted by all later writers, as affording a good sense and one admirably suited both to the foregoing and the following context. It seems to be liable to only two objections; first, that it gratuitously gives the passage a dramatic form by supposing a new speaker to be introduced without any intimation in the text; and then, that it arbitrarily continues the interrogation through the sentence. The last objection may be obviated by adopting Henderson's modified construction, which supposes them to ask not whom he *would* but whom he *ought* to teach, and then to answer, little children just weaned

from the breast, not men of mature age and equal to himself. The other objection, being wholly negative, must yield of course to the positive arguments in favour of an exposition which is otherwise coherent, satisfactory, and suited to the context. Rosenmüller seems indeed to think that the space between this verse and that before it in the Hebrew manuscripts denotes a change of subject; but these mechanical arrangements of the text can have no authoritative influence upon its exposition. The verbs in the first clause may either be indefinitely construed or referred to the Prophet, without a material change of meaning. שְׁמוּעָה properly denotes something heard, and here means that which the Prophet heard from God and the people from the Prophet, in other words divine revelation, whether general or special. There are few examples of a more exact translation than the Vulgate version of this verse, in which the very form of the original is happily retained, not excepting the etymological import of the word שְׁמוּעָה. So rigid is the version that Montanus has retained it in his own unchanged. *Quem docebit scientiam? et quem intelligere faciet auditum? ablactatos a lacte, avulsos ab uberibus.*

V. 10. *For (it is) rule upon rule, rule upon rule, line upon line, line upon line, a little here, a little there.* The interpretation of this verse varies of course with that of the one before it. Those who understand v. 9 as descriptive of God's favour to the Jews, explain this in like manner as relating to the abundance of the revelations made to them, including rules and counsels suited to every emergency of life. Henderson's remark, that the words are often preposterously quoted in application to the abundant possession of religious privileges, rests of course on the assumption that his own interpretation of v. 9 is certainly the true one. But this is far from being so clear as to justify the branding of an opposite opinion with absurdity. Those who apply v. 9 to the incapacity of the people for high attainments in spiritual knowledge, regard v. 10 as a description of the elementary methods which were necessary for them. Those who apply v. 9 to the incapacity of the religious teachers of the Jews explain v. 10 as a description of their puerile method of instruction. The words are thus understood by Vitringa and applied to the Scribes and Pharisees in the time of Christ. But as all the latest writers make v. 9 the language of the Jews themselves, complaining of the Prophet's perpetual reproofs and teachings, they are equally agreed in making v. 10 a direct continuation of the same complaint. Aben Ezra explains צַו לָצָו as meaning *rule after rule* or *rule (joined) to rule*. Equally good is the construction in the English Version (*precept upon precept*), except that the word *precept* is too long to represent the chosen monosyllables of the original. The same objection may be made to Gesenius's imitation of the paronomasia (Gebot auf Gebot, Verbot auf Verbot), which is much in-

ferior to that of Ewald (Satz zu Satz, Schnur zu Schnur). Paulus, Gesenius, Maurer, Hitzig, and Ewald, understand this peculiar clause as the people's scoffing imitation of the Prophet's manner; Koppe, Eichhorn, Umbreit, and Knobel, as the Prophet's own derisive imitation of their drunken talk. Koppe even goes so far as to imagine that צו and קו are here intentionally given as half-formed words, if not as inarticulate unmeaning sounds. But קו is in common use, and צו occurs in the sense of *rule* or *precept* in Hos. 5 : 11. The Peshito and J. D. Michaelis treat these words as cognate forms and synonymes of צוֹאָה and קִיא in v. 8, and translate accordingly, *vomit upon vomit, filth upon filth.* Michaelis moreover gives זְעֵיר the sense of spot or stain. Both שָׁם and זְעֵיר are referred by some to time, and by others to quantity or space; but the simplest and best explanation seems to be the one given in the English Version (*here a little, there a little*) as expressive of minuteness and perpetual repetition. Gesenius understands this verse as having reference to the constant additions to the law of Moses in Isaiah's time, the design of which interpretation is to fortify the doctrine that the Pentateuch, as we now have it, is long posterior to the days of Moses. Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Knobel, all admit that the allusion is not to the written law, but to the oral admonitions of the Prophets. The Targum contains a diffuse paraphrase of this verse, in which the principal words are retained, but so combined with others as to make the whole relate to the captivity of Israel, as the consequence of his despising the appointed place of worship and practising idolatry.

V. 11. *For with stammering lips and with another tongue will he speak unto this people.* As לַעֲגֵי שָׂפָה may denote either *foreign* or *scoffing* speech (the former being usually described in the Old Testament as *stammering*), some suppose a double allusion here, to wit, that as they had mocked at the divine instructions by their stammering speech, so he would speak to them in turn by the stammering lips of foreigners in another language than their own. This, though by no means an obvious construction in itself, is preferred by the latest writers and countenanced by several analogous expressions in the subsequent context. Ewald understands by the stammering speech of this verse the inarticulate language of the thunder, which is very unnatural. Of the older writers some explain this verse as descriptive of God's tenderness and condescension in accommodating his instructions to the people's capacity as nurses deal with children. Others understand it to mean that through their own perverseness those instructions had been rendered unintelligible and of course unprofitable, so that their divine teacher had become as it were a barbarian to them.

V. 12. *Who said to them, this is rest, give rest to the weary, and this is quiet, but they would not hear.* The judgments threatened in the foregoing

verse were the more evidently just because he who threatened them had warned the people and pointed out to them the only way to happiness. אֲשֶׁר should not be taken in the rare and doubtful sense *because*, but in its proper sense as a relative pronoun. This construction, far from being *intolerably harsh* (Henderson), is the only natural and simple one, as well as the only one entirely justified by usage. The pronoun may either be connected with אֲלֵיהֶם in the sense of *to whom* (for which there is no other Hebrew expression), or referred to *Jehovah* as the subject of the following verb. Who was it that should speak to them with another tongue? He who had so often said to them, etc. Although admissible, it is not necessary to take מְנוּחָה in the local sense of *resting place* (Ewald). The sense is not, that the true way to rest is to give rest to the weary; the latter expression is a kind of parenthesis, as if he had said, this is the true rest, let the weary enjoy it. By *this* we are therefore to understand, not compassion and kindness to the suffering, but obedience to the will of God in general. This is the true rest which I alone can give, and the way to which I have clearly marked out. *Rest* is not quiet submission to the yoke of the Assyrians (Hitzig), but peace, tranquillity. To *give rest to the weary* does not mean to cease from warlike preparations, or to relieve the people from excessive burdens, whether of a civil or religious kind, but simply to reduce to practice the lesson which God had taught them. This is the way to peace, let those who wish it walk therein. In the last clause, *would* is not a mere auxiliary, but an independent and emphatic verb, *they were not willing*. The form אָבוּא (from the root אָבָה), though resembling the Arabic analogy, is not a proof of recent date, but rather of the fact, that some forms, which are prevalent in the cognate dialects, were known if not common in the early periods of Hebrew composition.

V. 13. *And the word of Jehovah was to them rule upon rule, line upon line, a little here, a little there, that they might go, and fall backwards, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.* The law was given that sin might abound. The only effect of the minute instructions, which they found so irksome, was to aggravate their guilt and condemnation. The terms of the first clause are repeated from v. 10, and have of course the same meaning in both places. The *vav* at the beginning of the verse is not conversive, as the verbs of the preceding verse relate to past time. There is neither necessity nor reason for translating the particle *but*, so *that*, or any thing but *and*, as it introduces a direct continuation of the foregoing description. וְלָכוּ does not simply qualify the following verbs (go on or continue to fall backwards), but expresses a distinct act. וְנָשְׁלוּ includes the two ideas of stumbling and falling. Some give to וְנִשְׁבָּרוּ the more specific sense, *and break their limbs*. לְמַעַן according to its etymology denotes design (*in order that*), but may here

be used simply to express an actual result (*so that*), unless we refer it, in its strict sense, to the righteous purpose or design of God's judicial providence.

V. 14. *Therefore* (because your advantages have only made you more rebellious) *hear the word of Jehovah, ye scornful men* (literally *men of scorn*, i. e. despisers of the truth), *the rulers of this people which is in Jerusalem* (or ye rulers of this people who are in Jerusalem). The אֲשֶׁר may refer grammatically either to חָמָס or to מֹשְׁלֵי. *This people*, here as elsewhere, may be an expression of displeasure and contempt. Jerusalem is mentioned as the seat of government and source of influence. The whole verse invites attention to the solemn warning which follows.

V. 15. *Because ye have said* (in thought or deed if not in word), *we have made a covenant with death, and with hell* (the grave, or the unseen world) *have formed a league; the overflowing scourge, when it passes through, shall not come upon us, for we have made falsehood our refuge, and in fraud we have hid ourselves.* The meaning evidently is, that if their actions were translated into words, this would be their import. There is no need therefore of throwing the words כזב and שקר into a parenthesis (J. D. Michaelis) as the Prophet's comment on the scoffer's boast. שאול is here nothing more than a poetical equivalent to מות. The textual reading שׁוֹט is probably an old cognate form and synonyme of שׂוֹט which is given in the margin. The mixed metaphor of an *overflowing scourge* combines two natural and common figures for severe calamity. Some interpreters apologize for the rhetorical defect of the expression, on the ground that Hebrew ears were not as delicate as ours. Barnes throws the blame upon the English Version, and explains the Hebrew word to mean *calamity*, but in v. 18 gives the meaning *scourge*, and says that three metaphors are there combined, which makes it less incredible that two are blended here. חֹזֶה is properly a participle (*seeing*) often used as a noun to denote a *seer* or prophet. Here the connexion seems distinctly to require the sense of *league* or covenant. That there is no error in the text, may be inferred from the substitution of the cognate form חזית in v. 18. Hitzig accounts for the transfer of meanings by the supposition that in making treaties it was usual to consult the seer or prophet. Ewald supposes an allusion to the practice of necromantic art or divination as a safeguard against death, and translates the word *orakel*. The more common explanation of the usage traces it to the idea of an *interview* or *meeting* and the act of looking one another in the face, from which the transition is by no means difficult to that of mutual understanding or agreement. (Calvin: visionis nomine significat id quod vulgo dicimus *avoir intelligence*.) The marginal reading יסבר was probably intended to assimilate the phrase to that employed in v. 18, but

without necessity, since either tense might be used in this connexion to express contingency. As the other variations (שׂוּט and שׂוּם, חזה and חזות) show that the two verses were not meant to be identical in form, the reading in the text (עבר) is probably the true one. בוא, when construed directly with the noun, means to *come upon*, in the sense of attacking or invading. The *falsehood* mentioned in the last clause is not a false profession of idolatry in order to conciliate the enemy (Grotius), nor idols, nor false prophets, but falsehood or unfaithfulness to God, i. e. wickedness in general, perhaps with an allusion to the falsity or treacherous nature of the hopes built upon it. The translation *under falsehood*, which is given in the English Bible and in some other versions, is neither justified by usage nor required by the connexion. On the other hand the reflexive version, *we have hid ourselves*, is much more expressive than the simple passive.

V. 16. *Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold I lay in Zion a stone, a stone of proof, a corner stone of value of a firm foundation; the believer will not be in haste.* To the words of the scoffers are now opposed the words of God himself. Because you say thus and thus, therefore the Lord says in reply what follows. You trust for safety in your own delusions; on the contrary I lay a sure foundation, and no other can be laid. This foundation is neither the temple (Ewald), nor the law (Umbreit), nor Zion itself (Hitzig), nor Hezekiah (Gesenius), but the Messiah, to whom it is repeatedly and explicitly applied in the New Testament (Rom. 9: 33. 10: 11. 1 Peter 2: 6). The same application of the text is made by Jarchi, and according to Raymund Martini (in his Pugio Fidei) by the Targum of Jonathan, although the word *Messiah* is now wanting in the Chaldee text. The objection, that the stone here mentioned was already laid, has no weight, as the whole theocracy existed with a view to the coming of Messiah. The reference of the words to Hezekiah is an old one, as Theodoret pronounces it an instance of extreme folly (*ἀνοίας ἐσχάτης*). Hitzig and Knobel, in order to make Zion itself the sure foundation, make the particle a *beth essentiae*, as if he had said, you have *in Zion* (i. e. Zion is to you) a sure foundation. All other writers seem to give the ב its proper local sense. The phrase literally rendered *stone of proof* admits of two interpretations. Calvin understands by it a stone which was to be the test or standard of comparison for others; but the common explanation is more natural, which makes it mean a stone that has itself been proved or tried and found sufficient. A kindred idea is expressed by the phrase מוּסָד מוּסָּד, a cognate noun and participle, literally meaning a *founded foundation*, i. e. one entirely firm and safe. The peculiar form of the original, arising from the repetition of the construct state, has been retained in the translation above given. There is no need of supposing, with Kimchi and others, that יקרת is

an absolute form in apposition with what follows. The writer's purpose seems to have been to unite the members of the sentence in construction by a very intimate and close articulation. מאמין may either be referred specifically to the corner-stone, or taken in the general sense of trusting or believing, sc. God. The objection to the former, that the prophets never exhort men to trust in men or mere localities, is valid as an argument against the reference to Hezekiah, or the temple, or Mount Zion, but not against the reference to the Messiah, who is constantly presented as an object of faith and a ground of trust. *Will not be in haste*, i. e. will not be impatient, but will trust the promise, even though its execution be delayed. This suits the connexion better than the sense preferred by the modern German writers, *will not flee*, or have occasion to flee, in alarm or despair. The Septuagint version adopted in the New Testament (*shall not be ashamed*), agrees essentially with that first given, though it makes more prominent the fact that the believer's hopes shall not be disappointed. If it be true, as Gesenius thinks probable, that the Hebrew verb, like a kindred one in Arabic, not only meant to hasten but to be ashamed, the Septuagint Version is fully justified, and the authority of the New Testament should be regarded as decisive in favour of that meaning here. But as it cannot be traced in Hebrew usage, it is better to regard the Greek as paraphrasing rather than translating the original expression. At all events, there is no need of reading יבוש with Grotius, Houbigant, and Lowth. The force of the figures in this verse is much enhanced by the statements of modern travellers in relation to the immense stones still remaining at the foundation of ancient walls. (See particularly Robinson's Palestine, I. 343, 351, 422.)

V. 17. *And I will place judgment for a line and justice for a plummet, and hail shall sweep away the refuge of falsehood, and the hiding-place waters shall overflow.* The meaning of the first clause is, that God would deal with them in strict justice; he would make justice the rule of his proceedings, as the builder regulates his work by the line and plummet. The English Version seems to make judgment or justice not the measure but the thing to be measured. The verb שׂים with the preposition לְ means to place a thing in a certain situation, or to apply it to a certain use. (See ch. 14: 23.) Hail and rain are here used, as in v. 2 above, to denote the divine visitations. The refuge and the hiding-place are those of which the scornful men had boasted in v. 15. To their confident assurance of safety God opposes, first, the only sure foundation which himself had laid, and then the utter destruction which was coming on their own chosen objects of reliance. Hitzig thinks that שׁקר must have dropped out after סתר, as if there were no examples of even greater variation in the repetitions of the prophets. The truth is that slavish iteration of precisely the same words is rather the exception than the rule.

V. 18. *And your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your league with hell shall not stand, and the overflowing scourge—for it shall pass through, and ye shall be for it to trample on.* כפר seems to be here used in its primary sense of *covering*, or perhaps more specifically *smearing over*, so as to conceal if not to obliterate, applied in this case to a writing, the image in the mind of the Prophet being probably that of a waxen tablet, in which the writing is erased by spreading out and smoothing the wax with the stylus. In the last clause, the construction seems to be interrupted. This supposition at least enables us to take both the בּ and the וּ in their natural and proper sense. Supposing the construction of the clause to be complete, it may be explained as in the English Version, which makes both the words in question particles of time meaning *when* and *then*. מרמס is properly a place or object to be trodden down or trampled on. (See ch. 5: 5.) The construction above given is the one proposed by Henderson, except that he has *him* instead of *it*, in order to avoid the application of the words to the *scourge*. There can be no doubt that the idea of a human invader was before the Prophet's mind; but the mere rhetorical incongruity is not at all at variance with the Prophet's manner, and is the less to be dissembled or denied, because the scourge will still be described as *overflowing*. The attempt to reconcile the language with the artificial rules of composition is in this case rendered hopeless by the combination of expressions which cannot be strictly applied to the same subject. An army might trample, but it could not literally overflow; a stream might overflow, but it could not literally trample down. The time perhaps is coming when, even as a matter of taste, the strength and vividness of such mixed metaphors will be considered as outweighing their inaccuracy in relation to an arbitrary standard of correctness or propriety.

V. 19. *As soon* (or *as often*) *as it passes through, it shall take you* (or *carry you away*); *for in the morning, in the morning* (i. e. every morning), *it shall pass through, in the day and in the night, and only vexation* (or *distress*) *shall be the understanding of the thing heard.* The primary meaning of the noun די is sufficiency; but the phrase מדי is used in reference to time, both in the sense of *as soon* and *as often as*. The meaning may be that the threatened visitation shall come soon and be frequently repeated. There are three interpretations of the last clause, one of which supposes it to mean, that the mere report of the approaching scourge should fill them with distress; another, that the effect of the report should be unmixed distress; a third, that nothing but a painful experience would enable them to understand the lesson which the Prophet was commissioned to teach them. שמיעה, meaning simply what is heard, may of course denote either rumour or revelation. The latter seems to be the meaning in v. 9, where the noun

stands connected with the same verb as here. Whether this verb ever means simply to perceive or hear, may be considered doubtful; if not, the preference is due to the third interpretation above given, viz. that nothing but distress or suffering could make them understand or even attend to the message from Jehovah.

V. 20. *For the bed is too short to stretch one's self, and the covering too narrow to wrap one's self.* This is probably a proverbial description of a perplexed and comfortless condition. Jerome absurdly makes the verse a description of idolatry considered as a spiritual adultery. The ב before the last infinitive may be a particle of time, meaning *when one would wrap himself in it*, which is the explanation given by Cocceius. The connexion with the foregoing verse is this: you cannot fully understand the lessons which I teach you now until your bed becomes too short etc.

V. 21. *For like Mount Perazim shall Jehovah rise up, like the valley in Gibeon shall he rage, to do his work, his strange work, and to perform his task, his strange task.* Into such a condition as that just described they shall be brought, for some of the most fearful scenes of ancient history are yet to be repeated. Interpreters are not agreed as to the precise events referred to in the first clause. The common opinion is, that it alludes to the slaughter of the Philistines described in 2 Sam. 5: 18–25 and 1 Chron. 14: 9–16, in the latter of which places *Gibeon* is substituted for *Geba*. The valley meant will then be the valley of Rephaim. Ewald, on the contrary, applies the clause to the slaughter of the Canaanites by Joshua, when the sun stood still on Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon (Josh 10: 7–15). Still another hypothesis is that of Hendewerk, who applies the first part of the clause to the *breach of Uzzah* (פֶּרֶץ עֻזָּה) described in 2 Sam. 6: 6–8, and the last to the slaughter of Israel in the valley of Achor (Josh. 7: 1–26). The only argument in favour of this forced interpretation is, that these were cases in which God took vengeance, not of strangers merely, but of his own people. But as there is no mention of a mountain in the case of Uzzah, nor of Gibeon in that of Achan, nor of Perez or Perazim in that of Joshua, neither Hendewerk's hypothesis nor Ewald's is so probable as that of Gesenius and most other writers, which refers the whole clause to the double slaughter of the Philistines by David. That these were foreigners and heathen, only adds to the force of the threatening, by making it to mean that as God had dealt with these in former times, he was now about to deal with the unbelieving and unfaithful sons of Israel. It is indeed not only implied but expressed, that he intended to depart from his usual mode of treating them, in which sense the judgments here denounced are called a *strange work*, i. e. foreign from the ordinary course of

divine providence. The English word *strange* is here the only satisfactory equivalent to the two Hebrew adjectives זָר and נָכְרִיָּה. The idea that punishment is God's strange work because at variance with his goodness, is not only less appropriate in this connexion, but inconsistent with the tenor of Scripture, which describes his vindicatory justice as an essential attribute of his nature. The unusual collocation of the words זָר and נָכְרִיָּה has led some to explain them as the predicates of short parenthetical propositions (*strange will be his work* etc.). But most interpreters, with greater probability, suppose the adjectives to be prefixed for the sake of emphasis. *Like Mount Perazim* is a common idiomatic abbreviation of the phrase *as in* (or *at*) *Mount Perazim.*

V. 22. *And now scoff not lest your bands be strong; for a consumption and decree* (or *even a decreed consumption*) *I have heard from the Lord Jehovah of Hosts, against* (or *upon*) *the whole earth.* Some versions retain the reflexive form of the first verb; others make it a frequentative; but it seems to be simply intensive or emphatic. *Bands*, i. e. bonds or chains, is a common figure for afflictions and especially for penal sufferings. To strengthen these bands is to aggravate the suffering. The last clause represents the threatened judgments as inevitable, because determined and revealed by God himself. The form of expression is partly borrowed from ch. 10 : 23.

V. 23. *Give ear and hear my voice; hearken and hear my speech.* This formula invites attention to what follows as a new view of the subject. The remainder of the chapter contains an extended illustration drawn from the processes of agriculture. Interpreters, although agreed as to the import of the figures, are divided with respect to their design and application. Some regard the passage as intended to illustrate, in a general way, the wisdom of the divine dispensations. Others refer it more specifically to the delay of judgment on the sinner, and conceive the doctrine of the passage to be this, that although God is not always punishing, any more than the husbandman is always ploughing or always threshing, he will punish at last. A third interpretation makes the prominent idea to be this, that although God chastises his own people, his ultimate design is not to destroy but to purify and save them. To these must be added, as a new hypothesis, the one maintained by Hitzig and Ewald, who reject entirely the application of the passage to God's providential dealings, and apply it to the conduct of men, assuming that the Prophet's purpose was to hold up the proceedings of the husbandman as an example to the scoffers whom he is addressing. As the farmer does not always plough or always thresh, nor thresh all grains alike, but has a time for either process and a method for each case, so should you

cease now from scoffing and receive instruction. To this explanation it may be objected, first, that the comparison contained in the passage does not really illustrate the expediency of the course proposed; and secondly, that even if it did, the illustration would be too extended and minute for a doctrine so familiar and intelligible. The objection to the third interpretation is, that the obvious design for which the comparison is introduced is not to comfort but alarm and warn. The first interpretation is too vague and unconnected with the context. The preference is therefore on the whole due to the second, which supposes the prophet to explain by this comparison the long forbearance of Jehovah, and to show that this forbearance was no reason for believing that his threatenings would never be fulfilled. As the husbandman ploughs and harrows, sows and plants, before he reaps and threshes, and in threshing employs different modes and different implements, according to the nature of the grain, so God allows the actual infliction of his wrath to be preceded by what seems to be a period of inaction but is really one of preparation, and conforms the strokes themselves to the capacity and guilt of the transgressor.

V. 24. *Does the ploughman plough every day to sow? Does he open and level his ground?* The common version *all day*, though it seems to be a literal translation, does not convey the sense of the original expression, which is used both here and elsewhere to mean *all the time* or *always*. (Gill: he may plough a whole day together when he is at it, but he does not plough every day in the year; he has other work to do besides ploughing.) The interrogation may be confined to the first clause, and the second construed as an exhortation: (*no*) *let him open and level his ground.* But as there is a difficulty then in explaining what is meant by *opening* the ground, as distinct from opening the furrows with the plough, most interpreters suppose the interrogation to extend through the verse, and make the second clause a repetition of the first, with an additional reference to harrowing. As if he had said, is the ploughman always ploughing? is he always ploughing and harrowing? Kimchi explains the last clause thus, as an answer to the question in the first: (*no*) *he will loose* (*his oxen*) *and harrow his ground.*

V. 25. *Does he not, when he has levelled the surface of it, cast abroad dill, and scatter cummin, and set wheat in rows, and barley* (*in the place*) *marked out, and spelt in his border?* That is to say, he attends to all these processes of husbandry successively, with due regard to time and place, and to the various crops to be produced. The words שִׂפָּת and כִּסֵּמְתָּ are by some explained as epithets of the grain; *principal wheat, appointed* or *sealed barley.* Ewald makes them descriptive of the soil: wheat in the best

ground, barley in the rough ground. But the explanation best sustained by usage and analogy is that of Gesenius, who takes נסמן in the sense of appointed, designated, and שורה in that of a row or series. This agrees well with the verb שם as denoting not an indiscriminate sowing, but a careful planting, which is said to be still practised in the oriental culture of wheat, and is thought by Gesenius and others to have been one of the causes of the wonderful fertility of Palestine in ancient times. The suffix in גבלתו probably relates to the farmer, and the noun to the edge of the field in which the other grains are sown or planted. The reference of the suffix to נסמן, or to the several preceding nouns, is very forced. Gesenius, in order to retain the supposed paronomasia of שורה ושערה, gives his version of this clause the form of doggerel. (Waizen in Reihen und Gerste hinein.)

V. 26. *So teaches him aright his God instructs him.* This is the form of the Hebrew sentence, in which *his God* is the grammatical subject of both the verbs between which it stands. The English idiom requires the noun to be prefixed, as in the common version, and by Lowth, Barnes, and Henderson. למשפט means *according to what is right*, i. e. correctly. The verse refers even agricultural skill to divine instruction. As parallels the commentators quote, from the Wisdom of Solomon (7 : 16), *γεωργίαν ὑπὸ ὑψίστου ἐκτισμένην*, and from the Georgics (1 : 157), Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram instituit. Joseph Kimchi thus explains the verse: so he (the husbandman) chastises it (the ground, as) his God teaches him.

V. 27. *For not with the sledge must dill be threshed, or the cart-wheel turned upon cummin; for with the stick must dill be beaten, and cummin with the rod.* Having drawn an illustration from the husbandman's regard to times and seasons, he now derives another from his different modes of threshing out the different kinds of grain. The *semina infirmiora*, as Jerome calls them, are not to be separated by the use of the ponderous sledge or wagon, both of which are common in the east, but by that of the flail or switch, as better suited to their nature. The minute description of the oriental threshing-machines belongs more properly to books of archaeology, especially as nothing more is necessary here to the correct understanding of the verse than a just view of the contrast intended between heavy and light threshing. The כי at the beginning of the verse might be translated *that* and understood as introducing an explicit statement as to what it is that God thus teaches him. *His God instructs him that etc.* This arrangement of the sentences, though certainly not necessary, makes them clearer, and is favoured by the otherwise extraordinary brevity of v. 26, as well as by its seeming interruption of the intimate connexion between vs. 25 and 27. An objection to it, drawn from the analogy of v. 29, will be stated in the exposition of that verse.

V. 28. *Bread-corn must be crushed, for he will not be always threshing it; so he drives the wheel of his cart* (*upon it*), *but with his horsemen* (or *horses*) *he does not crush it.* The sense of this verse is obscured by an apparent inconsistency between the opening and the closing words. Ewald cuts the knot by reading יִדְרֹשׁ in the former place. Umbreit takes לֶחֶם in its proper sense of *bread*, and understands the clause to mean that bread is broken by the teeth! Others make the first clause interrogative, and thus conform it to the express negation in the last clause. The translation above given supposes a climax beginning in v. 27 and completed here. Dill and cummin must be threshed out with the flail; wheat and barley may be more severely dealt with; they will bear the wheel, but not the hoofs of horses. The first words and the last are then in strict agreement; bread-corn must be bruised, but not with horses' hoofs. This is merely suggested as an additional attempt to elucidate a passage in detail, the general sense of which is clear enough. The reading פַּרְסָיו *his hoofs* (i. e. the hoofs of his cattle) is unnecessary, as the use of פָּרָשׁ in the sense of *horse* appears to be admitted by the best philological authorities. The historical objection, that the horse was not in common use for agricultural purposes, seems to be likewise regarded by interpreters as inconclusive.

V. 29. *Even this* (or *this also*) *from Jehovah of Hosts comes forth; he is wonderful in counsel, great in wisdom.* The literal translation of the last clause is, *he makes counsel wonderful, he makes wisdom great.* The hiphils may however be supposed to signify the *exhibition* of the qualities denoted by the nouns, or taken as intransitives. The antithesis which some suppose the last clause to contain between plan and execution (*wonderful in counsel and excellent in working*) is justified neither by the derivation nor the usage of תּוּשִׁיָּה. As to the meaning of the whole verse, some suppose that the preceding illustration is here applied to the divine dispensations; others, that this is the conclusion of the illustration itself. On the latter hypothesis, the meaning of the verse is, that the husbandman's treatment of the crop, no less than his preparation of the soil, is a dictate of experience under divine teaching. In the other case, the sense is that the same mode of proceeding, which had just been described as that of a wise husbandman, is also practised by the Most High in the execution of his purposes. Against this, and in favour of the other explanation, it may be suggested, first, that *coming forth* from God is a phrase not so naturally suited to express his own way of acting as the influence which he exerts on others; secondly, that this verse seems to correspond, in form and sense, to v. 27, and to bear the same relation to the different modes of threshing that v. 27 does to the preparation of the ground and the sowing of the seed. Having there said of the latter, that the husbandman is taught of God, he now says

of the former, that it also comes forth from the same celestial source. This analogy may also serve to show that v. 27 is not a part of v. 28, and thereby to make it probable that כִּי at the beginning of the latter is to be translated *for, because*. According to the view which has now been taken of v. 29, the general application of the parable to God's dispensations is not formally expressed, but left to the reflection of the reader.

CHAPTER XXIX.

This chapter consists of two parts, parallel to one another, i. e. each containing the same series of promises and threatenings, but in different forms. The prophetic substance or material of both is that Zion should be threatened and assailed yet not destroyed, but on the contrary strengthened and enlarged. These ideas are expressed in the second part much more fully and explicitly than in the first, which must therefore be interpreted according to what follows. In the first part, the threatening is that Zion shall be assailed by enemies and brought very low, vs. 1–4. The promise is that the assailants shall be scattered like dust and chaff, vanish like a dream, and be wholly disappointed in their hostile purpose, vs. 5–8. In the second part, the Prophet brings distinctly into view, as causes of the threatened judgments, the spiritual intoxication and stupor of the people, their blindness to revealed truth, their hypocritical formality, and their presumptuous contempt of God, vs. 9–16. The judgment itself is described as a confounding of their fancied wisdom, v. 14. The added promise is that of an entire revolution, including the destruction of the wicked, and especially of wicked rulers, the restoration of spiritual sight, joy to the meek and poor in spirit, and the final recovery of Israel from a state of alienation and disgrace to the service of Jehovah and to the saving knowledge of the truth, vs. 17–24. The attempts to explain the first part of the chapter as relating to the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, or Titus, have been unsuccessful, partly because the description is not strictly appropriate to either of these events, and partly because the connexion with what follows is, on either of these suppositions, wholly obscure. Those who deny the inspiration of the writer regard the last part as a visionary anticipation which was never fully verified. Those who admit it are obliged to assume an abrupt transition from the siege of Jerusalem to the calling of the gentiles. The only key to the consistent exposition of the chapter as a whole, is furnished by the hypothesis already stated, that the two parts are parallel,

not merely successive, and that the second must explain the first. That the second part describes not physical but spiritual evils, is admitted on all hands, and indeed asserted by the Prophet himself. This description is directly and repeatedly applied in the New Testament to the Jews contemporary with our Saviour. It does not follow from this, that it is a specific and exclusive prophecy respecting them; but it does follow that it must be so interpreted as to include them, which can only be effected by regarding this last part of the chapter as descriptive of the Jews, not at one time merely, but throughout the period of the old dispensation, an assumption fully confirmed by history. The judgment threatened will then be the loss of their peculiar privileges and an exchange of state with others who had been less favoured, involving an extension of the church beyond its ancient bounds, the destruction of the old abuses, and the final restoration of the Jews themselves. If this be the meaning of the second part, it seems to determine that of the first as a figurative expression of the truth, that the church should suffer but not perish, the imagery used for this purpose being borrowed from the actual sieges of Jerusalem. Thus understood, the chapter is prophetic of two great events, the seeming destruction of the ancient church, and its reproduction in a new and far more glorious form, so as not only to include the gentiles in its bounds, but also the converted remnant of God's ancient people.

V. 1. *Woe to Ariel* (or *alas for Ariel*), *Ariel, the city David encamped! Add year to year; let the feasts revolve.* All interpreters agree that *Ariel* is here a name for Zion or Jerusalem, although they greatly differ in the explanation of the name itself. Besides the explanation which resolves the form into הַר־אֵל (mountain of God), there are two between which interpreters are chiefly divided. One of these makes it mean *lion of God*, i. e. a lion-like champion or hero (2 Sam. 23 : 20. Isai. 33 : 7), here applied to Jerusalem as a city of heroes which should never be subdued. This explanation is retained not only by Gesenius, but by Ewald, who, to make the application more appropriate, translates it *lioness of God*. The other hypothesis explains it, from an Arabic analogy, to mean the *hearth* or *fire-place of God*, in which sense it seems to be applied to the altar by Ezekiel (43 : 15, 16), and the extension of the name to the whole city is the more natural because Isaiah himself says of Jehovah, that *his fire is in Zion and his furnace in Jerusalem* (ch. 31 : 9). Hitzig supposes the name to be here used in the first sense, but with an allusion to the other in the following verse. This double usage is the less improbable because the name is evidently meant to be enigmatical. The Rabbins combine the two explanations of the Hebrew word by supposing that the altar was itself called the lion of God, because it devoured the victims like a lion, or because the fire on it

had the appearance of a lion, or because the altar (or the temple) was in shape like a lion, that is, narrow behind and broad in front! *The city David encamped* is an elliptical expression not unlike the Hebrew one, in which the relative must be supplied, or קִרְיַת supposed to govern the whole phrase חָנָה דָּוִד as a noun. Here again there seems to be a twofold allusion to David's siege and conquest of Zion (2 Sam. 5: 7), and to his afterwards encamping i. e. dwelling there (2 Sam. 5: 9). *Add year to year* is understood by Grotius to mean that the prophecy should be fulfilled in two years, or in other words, that it was uttered just two years before Sennacherib's invasion. Upon this clause Hitzig founds an ingenious but complex and artificial theory as to the chronology of this whole passage (ch. xxviii—xxxi). Most interpreters explain the words as simply meaning, let the years roll on with the accustomed routine of ceremonial services. Many of the older writers take the last words of the verse in this sense, *let them kill* (or more specifically, *cut off the heads of*) *the sacrificial victims;* but it is more in accordance both with the usage of the words and with the context, to give חַגִּים its usual sense of *feasts* or *festivals*, and נָקַף that of moving in a circle or revolving, which it has in Hiphil. The phrase then corresponds exactly to the one preceding, *add year to year.*

V. 2 *And I will distress Ariel, and there shall be sadness and sorrow, and it shall be to me as Ariel.* Let the years revolve and the usual routine continue, but the time is coming when it shall be interrupted. The words translated *sadness and sorrow* are collateral derivatives from one root. The best imitation of the form of the original is that given by Vitringa (*moeror ac moestitia*). The last clause may be either a continuation of the threatening or an added promise. If the former, the meaning probably is, *it shall be indeed a furnace* or *an altar*, i. e. when the fire of affliction or divine wrath shall be kindled on it. If the latter, *it shall still be a city of heroes*, and as such withstand its enemies. Or, combining both the senses of the enigmatical name, it shall burn like a furnace, but resist like a lion.

V. 3. *And I will camp against thee round about* (literally, *as a ring* or *circle*), *and push against thee* (or *press upon thee with*) *a post* (or *body of troops*), *and raise against thee ramparts* (or *entrenchments*). The siege of Ariel is now represented as the work of God himself, which, although it admits of explanation as referring merely to his providential oversight and control, seems here to be significant, as intimating that the siege described is not a literal one. The dubious phrase וְצַרְתִּי עָלַיִךְ מָצוֹר is understood by Ewald as meaning, *I enclose thee with a wall*, or literally, *close a wall around thee.* To the supposition that these words relate to Sennacherib's attack upon Jerusalem, it has been objected that the history contains no

record of an actual siege. Henderson, indeed, says that *there cannot be a doubt* that they occupied themselves with hostile demonstrations while the negotiations were going forward; but, in spite of this assurance, there is still room for suspicion that this verse does not after all relate to the Assyrian incursion.

V. 4. *And thou shalt be brought down, out of the ground shalt thou speak, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be like (the voice of) a spirit, out of the ground, and out of the dust shall thy speech mutter.* Grotius understands this of the people's hiding themselves in subterranean retreats during Sennacherib's invasion, while Vitringa shows from Josephus that such measures were actually adopted during the Roman siege of Jerusalem. But the simple meaning naturally suggested by the words is, that the person here addressed, to wit, the city or its population, should be weakened and humbled. Some suppose the voice to be compared with that of a dying man or a departing spirit, others with that of a necromancer who pretended to evoke the dead. To this last the terms of the comparison would be the more appropriate if, as the modern writers commonly suppose, the ancient necromancers used ventriloquism as a means of practising upon the credulous. The last verb properly denotes any feeble inarticulate sound, and is applied in ch. 10: 14 and 38: 14 to the chirping or twittering of birds.

V. 5. *Then shall be like fine dust the multitude of thy strangers, and like passing chaff the multitude of the terrible ones, and it shall be in a moment suddenly.* Calvin understands by *strangers* foreign allies or mercenary troops, which he supposes to be here described as powerless and as enduring but a moment. Others among the older writers take *strangers* more correctly in the sense of enemies, but understand the simile as merely descriptive of their numbers and velocity. It is now very commonly agreed, however, that the verse describes their sudden and complete dispersion. The absence of *but* at the beginning, or some other indication that the writer is about to pass from threats to promises, although it renders the connexion more obscure, increases the effect of the description. Ewald instead of *multitude* has *tumult*, which is the primary meaning of the word; but the former is clearly established by usage, and is here much more appropriate, since it is not the noise of a great crowd, but the crowd itself, that can be likened to fine dust or *flitting chaff*, as Lowth poetically renders it. The terms of this verse readily suggest the sudden fall of the Assyrian host, nor is there any reason for denying that the Prophet had a view to it in choosing his expressions. But that this is an explicit and specific prophecy of that event is much less probable, as well because the terms are in themselves

appropriate to any case of sudden and complete dispersion, as because the context contains language wholly inappropriate to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army. To the Babylonian and Roman sieges, which were both successful, the verse before us is entirely inapplicable. These considerations, although negative and inconclusive in themselves, tend strongly to confirm the supposition founded on the last part of the chapter, that the first contains a strong metaphorical description of the evils which Jerusalem should suffer at the hands of enemies, but without exclusive reference to any one siege, or to sieges in the literal sense at all. That the evils which the last part of the chapter brings to light are of a spiritual nature, and not confined to any single period, is a fact which seems to warrant the conclusion, or at least to raise a strong presumption, that the Ariel of this passage is Zion or Jerusalem considered only as the local habitation of the church.

V. 6. *From with* (i. e. from the presence of) *Jehovah of hosts shall it be visited with thunder and earthquake and great noise, tempest and storm and flame of devouring fire.* Vitringa refers this to the singular phenomena which are said to have preceded and accompanied the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. This application may be admitted, in the same sense and on the same ground with the allusion to Sennacherib's host in the foregoing verse. But that the prophecy is not a prophecy of either catastrophe, may be inferred from the fact that neither is described in the context. Indeed, the direct application of this verse to the fall of Jerusalem is wholly inadmissible, since the preceding verse describes the assailants as dispersed, and this appears to continue the description. As תִּפָּקֵד can be either the third person feminine or the second masculine, the verse may be considered as addressed directly to the enemy; or the verb may agree with חִבּוּן as a feminine noun, in which way it is construed elsewhere (Job 31 : 34), although evidently masculine in v. 8 below. The city cannot be addressed, because the verb must then be feminine, and the preceding verse forbids the one before us to be taken as a threatening against Ariel.

V. 7. *Then shall be as a dream, a vision of the night, the multitude of all the nations fighting against Ariel, even all that fight against her and her munition and distress her.* Calvin understands this to mean that the enemy shall take her unawares, as one awakes from a dream. The modern writers generally understand both this verse and the next as meaning that the enemy himself should be wholly disappointed and his vain hopes vanish as a dream. But the true sense appears to be the one proposed by Grotius and others, who regard the comparisons in these two verses as distinct though similar, the enemy being first compared to a dream and then to a dreamer. He who threatens your destruction shall vanish like a dream, *par levibus*

ventis volucrique simillima somno. He who threatens your destruction shall awake as from a dream, and find himself cheated of his expectations, for, as Grotius beautifully says, *spes sunt vigilantium somnia.* These seem to be the two comparisons intended, both of which are perfectly appropriate, and one of which might readily suggest the other. The feminine pronouns may refer to *Ariel* as itself a feminine, or to the city which it represents.

V. 8. *And it shall be as when the hungry dreams, and lo he eats, and he awakes, and his soul is empty; and as when the thirsty dreams, and lo he drinks, and he awakes, and lo he is faint and his soul craving: so shall be the multitude of all the nations that fight against Mount Zion.* The meaning of this beautiful comparison seems so clear, and its application to the disappointment of the enemies of Ariel so palpable, that it is hard to understand how such an interpreter as Calvin could say, *Nihil hic video quod ad consolationem pertineat.* His explanation of the verse as meaning that the Jews should be awakened by the enemy from their dream of security and find themselves wholly unprovided with the necessary means of defence, is forced and arbitrary in a high degree, and seems the more so when propounded by a writer who is characteristically free from all propensity to strained and far-fetched expositions. In this verse *soul* is twice used in the not uncommon sense of *appetite*, first described as *empty* (i. e. unsatisfied) and then as *craving*. This is much better than to take the word, with Grotius, as a mere periphrasis for the man himself. To this verse Lowth quotes a beautiful but certainly inferior parallel from Lucretius:

> Ac velut in somnis sitiens quum quaerit, et humor
> Non datur, ardorem in membris qui stinguere possit,
> Sed laticum simulacra petit, frustraque laborat,
> In medioque sitit torrenti flumine potans.

The passage quoted from Virgil by the same accomplished critic is not so apposite because more general. A less poetical but not less striking and affecting parallel from real life is found in one of Mungo Park's journals, and pertinently quoted here by Barnes. "No sooner had I shut my eyes than fancy would convey me to the streams and rivers of my native land. There, as I wandered along the verdant bank, I surveyed the clear stream with transport, and hastened to swallow the delightful draught: but alas! disappointment awakened me, and I found myself a lonely captive, perishing of thirst amid the wilds of Africa."

V. 9. *Waver and wonder! be merry and blind! They are drunk, but not with wine; they reel, but not with strong drink.* Here begins the description of the moral and spiritual evils which were the occasion of the judgments previously threatened. In the first clause, the Prophet describes

the condition of the people by exhorting them ironically to continue in it; in the second, he seems to turn away from them and address the spectators. The terms of the first clause are very obscure. In each of its members two cognate verbs are used, but whether as synonymous, or as expressing different ideas, appears doubtful. Ewald adopts the former supposition, and regards the first two as denoting wonder (*erstaunt und staunt*), the last two blindness (*erblindet und blindet*). Gesenius, on the contrary, supposes verbs alike in form but different in sense to be designedly combined. To the first he gives the sense of lingering, hesitating, doubting; to the second, that of wondering; to the third, that of taking pleasure or indulging the desires; to the fourth, that of being blind. The second imperative in either case he understands as indicating the effect or consequence of that before it: refuse to believe, but you will only be the more astonished; continue to enjoy yourselves, but it will only be the means of blinding you. The express description of the drunkenness as spiritual shows, that where no such explanation is added (as in ch. 28: 1, 7), the terms are to be literally understood. By spiritual drunkenness we are probably to understand unsteadiness of conduct and a want of spiritual discernment.

V. 10. *For Jehovah hath poured out upon you a spirit of deep sleep and hath shut your eyes; the prophets and your heads* (or *even your heads*) *the seers hath he covered.* On the agency here ascribed to God, see the exposition of ch. 6: 9, 10. The two ideas expressed in the parallel clauses are those of bandaging the eyes and covering the head so as to obstruct the sight. In the latter cas ethe Prophet makes a special application of the figure to the chiefs or religious leaders of the people, as if he had said, he hath shut your eyes, and covered your heads, viz. the prophets. Some have proposed to make the clauses more symmetrical by changing the division of the sentence so as to read thus, *he hath shut your eyes, the prophets, and your heads, the seers, hath he covered.* Others, because the Prophet did not use a commonplace expression or conform to the petty rules of rhetoric, reject *prophets* and *seers* as a gloss accidentally transferred from the margin. One of the reasons given for this bold mutilation of the text is, that the subject of the previous description is not the prophets but the people; as if the former were not evidently mentioned as the leaders of the latter. The people were blinded by rendering the revelations of the prophets useless. To produce the usual confusion, Ewald, though he strikes out נביאים, insists upon retaining חזים as an adjective agreeing with ראשיכם (*your seeing heads*). This amendment of Gesenius's amendment has the good effect of making both ridiculous, and showing that the common text, with all its difficulties, is best entitled to respect and confidence.

V. 11. *And the vision of all* (or *of the whole*) *is* (or *has become*) *to you like the words of the sealed writing, which they give to one knowing writing, saying, Pray read this, and he says, I cannot, for it is sealed.* The *vision of all* may either mean *of all the prophets*, or collectively *all vision*, or the *vision of all things*, i. e. prophecy on all subjects (Ewald: Weissagung über alles). Gesenius arbitrarily takes *vision* in the sense of *law*. If we depart from that of *prophecy*, the most appropriate sense would be the primary one of *sight*. The English word *book* does not exactly represent the Hebrew סֵפֶר, which originally signifies writing in general or any thing written (Hendewerk: Schrift), and is here used as we might use *document* or the still more general term *paper*. J. D. Michaelis employs the specific term *letter*, which the Hebrew word in some cases denotes. In the phrase יֹדֵעַ סֵפֶר, the last word seems to mean writing in general, and the whole phrase one who understands it or knows how to read it. The application of the simile becomes clear in the next verse.

V. 12. *And the writing is given to one who knows not writing, saying, Pray read this, and he says, I know not writing.* The common version, *I am not learned*, is too comprehensive and indefinite. A man might read a letter without being learned, at least in the modern sense, although the word was once the opposite of illiterate or wholly ignorant. In this case it is necessary to the full effect of the comparison, that the phrase should be distinctly understood to mean, *I cannot read*. The comparison itself represents the people as alike incapable of understanding the divine communications, or rather as professing incapacity to understand them, some upon the general ground of ignorance, and others on the ground of their obscurity.

V. 13. *And the Lord said, Because this people draws near with its mouth, and with its lips they honour me, and its heart it puts* (or *keeps*) *far from me, and their fearing me is* (or *has become*) *a precept of men,* (*a thing*) *taught.* The apodosis follows in the next verse. Some read נִגַּשׁ for נִגַּשׁ and understand the clause to mean, they are *compelled* to honour me, they serve me by compulsion; or, when they are *oppressed* and afflicted, then they honour me. The common reading is no doubt the true one. Ewald makes רָחַק an intransitive verb (*wanders far from me*), which is contrary to usage. The singular and plural pronouns are promiscuously used in this verse with respect to Israel considered as a nation and an individual. At the end of the verse the English Version has, *taught by the precept of men*; but a simpler construction, and one favoured by the accents, is to take מִלְמָדָה as a neuter adjective without a substantive in apposition with מִצְוַת. This clause might be simply understood to mean, that they served God merely in

obedience to human authority. It would then of course imply no censure on the persons thus commanding, but only on the motives of those by whom they were obeyed. In our Saviour's application of the passage to the hypocrites of his day (Matthew 15: 7–9), he explains their teachings as human corruptions of the truth, by which the commandment of God was made of none effect. The expressions of the Prophet may have been so chosen as to be applicable either to the reign of Hezekiah, when the worship of Jehovah was enforced by human authority, or to the time of Christ, when the rulers of the people had corrupted and made void the law by their additions. It is unnecessary to suppose, with Henderson, that this corruption had already reached a great height when Isaiah wrote. The apparent reference, in this description, to the Jews not at one time only but throughout their history, tends to confirm the supposition, that the subject of the prophecy is not any one specific juncture, and that the first part of the chapter is not a prediction of any one siege of Jerusalem exclusively.

V. 14. *Therefore, behold, I will add* (or *continue*) *to treat this people strangely, very strangely, and with strangeness, and the wisdom of its wise ones shall be lost* (or *perish*), *and the prudence of its prudent ones shall hide itself*, i. e. for shame, or simply *disappear*. This is the conclusion of the sentence which begins with the preceding verse. *Because they draw near etc. therefore I will add etc.* יוֹסִיף is explained by some as an unusual form of the participle for יוֹסֵף; but the latest interpreters make it as usual the third person of the future, and regard the construction as elliptical. *Behold, I* (*am he who*) *will add etc.* See a similar construction of the preterite in ch. 28: 16. הַפְלִיא is strictly to *make wonderful*, but when applied to persons, to *treat wonderfully*, i. e. in a strange or extraordinary manner. The idiomatic repetition of the verb with its cognate noun (הַפְלִא וְהִפְלֵא) cannot be fully reproduced in English. The literal translation (*to make wonderful and wonder*) would be quite unmeaning to an English reader. The nature of the judgment here denounced seems to show that the corruption of the people was closely connected with undue reliance upon human wisdom. (Compare ch. 5: 21.)

V. 15. *Woe unto those* (or *alas for those*) *going deep from Jehovah to hide counsel* (i. e. laying their plans deep in the hope of hiding them from God), *and their works* (*are*) *in the dark, and they say, Who sees us and who knows us?* This is a further description of the people or their leaders, as not only wise in their own conceit, but as impiously hoping to deceive God or elude his notice. The absurdity of such an expectation is exposed in the following verse. In the last clause of this, the interrogative form implies negation.

V. 16. *Your perversion! Is the potter to be reckoned as the clay* (and nothing more), *that the thing made should say of its maker, he made me not, and the thing formed say of its former, he does not understand?* The attempt to hide any thing from God implies that he has not a perfect knowledge of his creatures, which is practically to reduce the maker and the thing made to a level. With this inversion or perversion of the natural relation between God and man, the Prophet charges them in one word (הַפִּכְּכֶם). The old construction of this word as nominative to the verb (*your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed etc.*) appears to be forbidden by the accents and by the position of the אֵת. That of Barnes (*your perverseness is as if the potter etc.*) arbitrarily supplies not only an additional verb but a particle of comparison. Most of the recent writers are agreed in construing the first word as an exclamation, *oh your perverseness!* i. e. how perverse you are! in which sense it had long before been paraphrased by Luther (*wie seyd ihr so verkehrt?*). Both the derivation of the word, however, and the context here seem to demand the sense *perversion* rather than *perverseness*. The verse seems intended not so much to rebuke their perverse disposition, as to show that by their conduct they subverted the distinction between creature and creator, or placed them in a preposterous relation to each other. Thus understood, the word may be thus paraphrased: (*this is*) *your* (*own*) *perversion* (*of the truth*, or of the true relation between God and man.) The English Version puts the following nouns in regimen (*like the potter's clay*), but the other construction (*the potter like the clay*) is so plainly required by the context, that Gesenius and others disregard the accents by which it seems to be forbidden. Hitzig, however, denies that the actual accentuation is at all at variance with the new construction. The preposition לְ is here used in its proper sense as signifying general relation, *with respect to, as to*. By translating בְּ *for*, the connexion of the clauses becomes more obscure.

V. 17. *Is it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall turn* (or *be turned*) *to the fruitful field, and the fruitful field be reckoned to the forest* (i. e. reckoned as belonging to it, or as being itself a forest)? The negative interrogation is one of the strongest forms of affirmation. That הַכַּרְמֶל is not the proper name of the mountain, may be inferred from the article, which is not prefixed to *Lebanon*. The mention of the latter no doubt suggested that of the ambiguous term *Carmel*, which is both a proper name and an appellative. For its sense and derivation see the commentary on ch. 10: 18. The metaphors of this verse evidently signify a great revolution. Some suppose it to be meant that the lofty (Lebanon) shall be humbled and the lowly (Carmel) exalted. But the comparison is evidently not between the high and the low, but between the cultivated and the wild, the field

and the forest. Some make both clauses of the verse a promise, by explaining the last to mean that what is now esteemed a fruitful field shall then appear to be a forest in comparison. But the only natural interpretation of the verse is that which regards it as prophetic of a mutual change of condition, the first becoming last and the last first. If, as we have seen sufficient reason to believe, the previous context has respect to the Jews under the old dispensation, nothing can be more appropriate or natural than to understand the verse before as foretelling the excision of the unbelieving Jews and the admission of the Gentiles to the church.

V. 18. *And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book* (or *writing*), *and out of obscurity and darkness shall the eyes of the blind see.* This is a further description of the change just predicted under other figures. As the forest was to be transformed into a fruitful field, so the blind should be made to see and the deaf to hear. There is an obvious allusion to the figure of the sealed book or writing in vs. 13, 14. The Jews could only plead obscurity or ignorance as an excuse for not understanding the revealed will of God. The Gentiles, in their utter destitution, might be rather likened to the blind who cannot read, however clear the light or plain the writing, and the deaf who cannot even hear what is read by others. But the time was coming when they, who would not break the seal or learn the letters of the written word, should be abandoned to their chosen state of ignorance, while on the other hand, the blind and deaf, whose case before seemed hopeless, should begin to see and hear the revelation once entirely inaccessible. The perfect adaptation of this figurative language to express the new relation of the Jews and Gentiles after the end of the old economy affords a new proof that the prophecy relates to that event.

V. 19. *And the humble shall add joy* (i. e. shall rejoice more and more) *in Jehovah, and the poor among men in the Holy One of Israel shall rejoice.* As the preceding verse describes the happy effect of the promised change upon the intellectual views of those who should experience it, so this describes its influence in the promotion of their happiness. Not only should the ignorant be taught of God, but the wretched should be rendered happy in the enjoyment of his favour. The *poor of men*, i. e. the poor among them.

V. 20. *For the violent is at an end, and the scoffer ceaseth, and all the watchers for injustice are cut off.* A main cause of the happiness foretold will be the weakening or destruction of all evil influences, here reduced to the three great classes of violent wrong-doing, impious contempt of truth and goodness, and malignant treachery or fraud, which watches for the oppor-

tunity of doing evil, with as constant vigilance as ought to be employed in watching for occasions of redressing wrong and doing justice. This is a change which, to some extent, has always attended the diffusion of the true religion. Gesenius connects this verse with the foregoing as a statement of the cause for which the humble would rejoice, viz. *that the oppressor is no more, etc.* But this construction is precluded by the fact, that wherever men are said to rejoice *in God*, he is himself the subject of their joy. It is however a mere question of grammatical arrangement, not affecting the general import of the passage.

V. 21. *Making a man a sinner for a word, and for him disputing in the gate they laid a snare, and turned aside the righteous through deceit.* An amplification of the last phrase in the foregoing verse. Some understand the first clause to mean, *seducing people into sin by their words.* It is much more common to explain דָּבָר as meaning a judicial cause or matter, which use of the word occurs in Exodus 18 : 16. The whole phrase may then mean unjustly condemning a man in his cause, which agrees well with the obvious allusion to forensic process in the remainder of the verse. Ewald however takes בַּדָּבָר in the same sense with the English and many other early versions, which explain the clause to mean accusing or condemning men for a mere error of the tongue or lips. The general sense is plain, viz. that they embrace all opportunities and use all arts to wrong the guiltless. Another old interpretation, now revived by Ewald, is that of מוֹכִיחַ as meaning one that reproves others. Most of the modern writers take it in the sense of arguing, disputing, pleading, *in the gate*, i. e. the court, often held in the gates of oriental cities. The other explanation supposes the gate to be mentioned only as a place of public concourse. Ewald translates it *in the market-place.* By the *turning aside* of the righteous (i. e. of the party who is in the right) we are here to understand the depriving him of that which is his due. For the meaning and usage of the figure, see the commentary on ch. 10 : 2. בְּתֹהוּ has been variously understood to mean *through falsehood* (with particular reference to false testimony), or by means of a judgment which is null and void, or for nothing i. e. without just cause. In either case the phrase describes the perversion or abuse of justice by dishonest means, and thus agrees with the expressions used in the foregoing clauses.

V. 22. *Therefore thus saith Jehovah to the house of Jacob, he who redeemed Abraham, Not now shall Jacob be ashamed, and not now shall his face turn pale.* The Hebrew phrase *not now* does not imply that it shall be so hereafter, but on the contrary that it shall be so no more. Gesenius and others render אֶל *of* or *concerning* because Jacob is immediately afterwards mentioned in the third person ; but this might be the case consistently

with usage, even in a promise made directly to himself. That אשר refers to the remoter antecedent, must be obvious to every reader; if it did not, Jacob would be described as the redeemer of Abraham. There is consequently not the slightest ground for Lowth's correction of the text by reading אֶל instead of אֶל (*the God of the house of Jacob*). There is no need of referring the redemption of Abraham to his removal from a land of idolatry. The phrase may be naturally understood, either as signifying deliverance from danger and the divine protection generally, or in a higher sense as signifying Abraham's conversion and salvation. Secker and Lowth read יחפרו for יחורו, because paleness is not a natural indication of confusion. Other interpreters affirm that it is; but the true explanation seems to be that shame and fear are here combined as strong and painful emotions from which Jacob should be henceforth free. Calvin and others understand by Jacob here the patriarch himself, poetically represented as beholding and sympathizing with the fortunes of his own descendants. Most interpreters suppose the name to be employed like *Israel* in direct application to the race itself. The reasons for these contrary opinions will be more clear from the following verse.

V. 23. *For in his seeing* (i. e. when he sees) *his children, the work of my hands, in the midst of him, they shall sanctify my name, and sanctify* (or *yes they shall sanctify*) *the Holy One of Jacob, and the God of Israel they shall fear.* The verse thus translated according to its simplest and most obvious sense has much perplexed interpreters. The difficulties chiefly urged are, first, that Jacob should be said to see his children *in the midst of himself* (בְּקִרְבּוֹ); secondly, that *his* thus seeing them should be the occasion of *their* glorifying God. The last incongruity is only partially removed by making the verb indefinite as Ewald does (wird man heiligen); for it may still be asked why Jacob is not himself represented as the agent. To remove both difficulties, some explain the verse to mean, when *he* (that is) *his children see the work of my hands* (viz. my providential judgments) *they shall sanctify etc.* It is evident however that in this construction the mention of the children is entirely superfluous, and throws the figures of the text into confusion. Ewald accordingly omits ילדיו as a gloss, which is merely giving up the attempt at explanation in despair. Gesenius, on the other hand, in his translation, cuts the knot by omitting the singular pronoun and making *his children* the sole subject of the verb. What follows is suggested as a possible solution of this exegetical enigma. We have seen reason, wholly independent of this verse, to believe that the immediately preceding context has respect to the excision of the Jews and the vocation of the Gentiles. Now the latter are described in the New Testament as Abraham's (and consequently Jacob's) spiritual progeny, as such distinguished from his

natural descendants. May not these adventitious or adopted children of the patriarch, constituted such by the electing grace of God, be here intended by the phrase, *the work of my hands*? If so, the whole may thus be paraphrased: when he (the patriarch, supposed to be again alive and gazing at his offspring) shall behold his children (not by nature but) created such by me, in the midst of him (i. e. in the midst, or in the place, of his natural descendants), they (i. e. he and his descendants jointly) shall unite in glorifying God as the author of this great revolution. This explanation of the verse is the more natural, because such would no doubt be the actual feelings of the patriarch and his descendants, if he should really be raised from the dead, and permitted to behold what God has wrought, with respect both to his natural and spiritual offspring. To the passage thus explained a striking parallel is found in ch. 49: 18–21, where the same situation and emotions here ascribed to the patriarch are predicated of the church personified, to whom the Prophet says, 'Lift up thine eyes round about and behold, all these gather themselves together, they come to thee. The children which thou shalt have after thou hast lost the others shall say etc. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children, and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? And who hath brought up these? Behold, I alone was left; these, where were they?' For the use of the word *sanctify* in reference to God as its object, see the note on ch. 8: 13. The *Holy One of Jacob* is of course identical in meaning with the *Holy One of Israel*, which last phrase is explained in the note on ch. 1: 4. The emphatic mention of the Holy One of Jacob and the God of Israel, as the object to be sanctified, implies a relation still existing between all believers and their spiritual ancestry, as well as a relation of identity between the Jewish and the Christian Church.

V. 24. *Then shall the erring in spirit know wisdom, and the murmurers* (or *rebels*) *shall receive instruction.* These words would be perfectly appropriate as a general description of the reclaiming and converting influence to be exerted upon men in general. But under this more vague and comprehensive sense, the context, and especially the verse immediately preceding, seems to show that there is one more specific and significant included. If the foregoing verse predicts the reception of the Gentiles into the family of Israel, and if this reception, as we learn from the New Testament, was connected with the disinheriting of most of the natural descendants, who are nevertheless to be restored hereafter, then the promise of this final restoration is a stroke still wanting to complete the fine prophetic picture now before us. That finishing stroke is given in this closing verse, which adds to the promise that the Gentiles shall become the heirs of Israel, another that the heirs of Israel according to the flesh shall themselves be restored to their

long lost heritage, not by excluding their successors in their turn, but by peaceful and brotherly participation with them. This application of the last part of the chapter to the calling of the Gentiles and the restoration of the Jews has been founded, as the reader will observe, not on any forced accommodation of particular expressions, but on various detached points, all combining to confirm this exegetical hypothesis, as the only one which furnishes a key to the consistent exposition of the chapter, as a concatenated prophecy without abrupt transitions or a mixture of incongruous materials.

CHAPTER XXX.

This chapter contains an exposure of the sin and folly of ancient Israel in seeking foreign aid against their enemies, to the neglect of God, their rightful sovereign and their only strong protector. The costume of the prophecy is borrowed from the circumstances and events of Isaiah's own times. Thus Egypt is mentioned in the first part of the chapter as the chosen ally of the people, and Assyria in the last part as the dreaded enemy. There is no need however of restricting what is said to that period exclusively. The presumption, as in all such cases, is that the description was designed to be more general, although it may contain allusions to particular emergencies. Reliance upon human aid, involving a distrust of the divine promises, was a crying sin of the ancient church, not at one time only, but throughout her history. To denounce such sins, and threaten them with condign punishment, was no small part of the prophetic office. The chronological hypotheses assumed by different writers with respect to this chapter are erroneous only because too specific and exclusive. Thus Jerome refers it to the conduct of the Jews in the days of Jeremiah; Kimchi to their conduct in the reign of Ahaz; Jarchi to the conduct of the ten tribes in the reign of Hoshea. Vitringa takes a step in the right direction by combining Israel and Judah as included in the censure. Some of the later writers assume the existence of an Egyptian party in the reign of Hezekiah, who negotiated with that power against the will or without the knowledge of the king. But even if this fact can be inferred from Rabshakeh's hypothetical reproach in ch. 36 : 6, it does not follow that this was the sole subject or occasion of the prophecy. It was clearly intended to reprove the sin of seeking foreign aid without divine permission; but there is nothing in the terms of the reproof confining it to any single case of the offence. The chapter may be divided into three parts. In the first, the Prophet shows

the sin and folly of relying upon Egypt, no doubt for protection against Assyria, as these were the two great powers between which Israel was continually oscillating, almost constantly at war with one and in alliance with the other, vs. 1–7. In the last part, he describes the Assyrian power as broken by an immediate divine interposition, precluding the necessity of any human aid, vs. 27–33. In the larger intervening part, he shows the connexion of this distrust of God and reliance on the creature with the general character and spiritual state of the people, as unwilling to receive instruction, as dishonest and oppressive, making severe judgments necessary as a prelude to the glorious change which God would eventually bring to pass, vs. 8–26.

V. 1. *Woe to the disobedient children, saith Jehovah*, (so disobedient as) *to form* (or execute) *a plan and not from me, and to weave a web, but not (of) my Spirit, for the sake of adding sin to sin.* Here, as in ch. 1: 2, Israel's filial relation to Jehovah is particularly mentioned as an agravation of his ingratitude and disobedience. The infinitives express *the respect in which*, or the *result with which*, they had rebelled against Jehovah. The relative construction of the English Version does not materially change the sense. The phrase לְנָסֵךְ מַסֵּכָה has been variously explained. The Peshito makes it mean *to pour out libations*, probably with reference to some ancient mode of ratifying covenants, and the Septuagint accordingly translates it ἐποιήσατε συνθήκας. Cocceius applies it to the casting of molten images (*ad fundendum fusile*), DeDieu to the moulding of designs or plots. Kimchi and Calvin derive the words from the root to *cover*, and suppose the idea here expressed to be that of concealment. Ewald follows J. D. Michaelis in making the phrase mean to *weave a web*, which agrees well with the context, and is favoured by the similar use of the same verb and noun in ch. 25: 7. Knobel's objection, that this figure is suited only to a case of treachery, has no force, as the act of seeking foreign aid was treasonable under the theocracy, and the design appears to have been formed and executed secretly. (Compare ch. 29: 15, where the reference may be to the same transaction.) Vitringa, who refers the first part of the chapter to the kingdom of the ten tribes, supposes the sin of seeking foreign aid to be here described as added to the previous sin of worshipping the golden calf. Hitzig supposes the first sin to be that of forsaking Jehovah, the second that of seeking human aid. The simple meaning seems however to be that of multiplying or accumulating guilt. סוֹרְרִים is strongly rendered by the Septuagint *apostates*, and by the Vulgate *deserters*, both which ideas may be considered as involved in the translation *rebels* or *rebellious*, disobedient or refractory.

V. 2. *Those walking to go down to Egypt, and my mouth they have not consulted* (literally *asked*), *to take refuge in the strength of Pharaoh, and to*

trust in the shadow of Egypt. Motion towards Egypt is commonly spoken of in scripture as downward. הלכים is commonly explained to mean *setting out* or *setting forward;* but DeWette and Ewald omit it altogether, or consider it as joined with the other verb to express the simple idea of descent. Hendewerk takes *mouth* as a specific designation of the Prophet, which is wholly unnecessary. To *ask the mouth*, or *at the mouth*, of the Lord is a phrase used elsewhere in the sense of seeking a divine decision or response.

V. 3. *And the strength of Egypt shall be to you for shame and the trust in the shadow of Egypt for confusion.* לָ חָיָה may here be taken in its frequent sense of *becoming* or being *converted into*. The common version of the first ו by *therefore* changes the idiomatic form of the original without necessity.

V. 4. *For his chiefs are in Zoan, and his ambassadors arrive at Hanes.* For the site and political importance of *Zoan* or *Tanis*, see the commentary on ch. 19: 11. For חנס ויגיעו, the Seventy seem to have read חנם ייגעו, they shall labour in vain. This reading is also found in a few manuscripts and approved by Lowth and J. D. Michaelis. The latter thinks it possible however that חנס may denote the Pyramids. The Targum changes *Hanes* into *Tahpanhes*, and Grotius regards the former as a mere contraction of the latter, which is also the conjecture of Champollion. Vitringa identifies the חָנֵס of Isaiah with the *Ἄνυσις* of Herodotus. This combination is approved by Gesenius and the later writers, who moreover identify the Greek and Hebrew forms with the Egyptian *Hnés* and the Arabic *Ehnés*. The city so called was in Middle Egypt, south of Memphis. The older writers almost unanimously understand this verse as relating to the envoys of Israel and Judah. Clericus indeed refers the suffixes to Egypt or to Pharaoh, but without a change of meaning, as he supposes the Egyptian envoys to be such as were sent to meet the others, or to convey the answer to their applications. But some of the late interpreters adopt the same construction with a total change of meaning. Hitzig regards the verse as a contemptuous description of the narrow boundaries and insignificance of Egypt. *His* (Pharaoh's) *princes are in Zoan* (the capital), *and his heralds* (the bearers of his royal mandates) *only reach to Hanes* (a town of middle Egypt). The unnatural and arbitrary character of this interpretation will appear from the curious fact that Ewald, who adopts the same construction of the pronouns, makes the whole verse a concession of the magnitude and strength of the Egyptian monarchy. *Although his princes are at Zoan* (in Lower Egypt) *and his heralds reach to Hanes* (much further south). Knobel objects to these constructions, that the phrase, *his princes are at Zoan*, is unmeaning and superfluous. He therefore resuscitates the Septuagint read-

ing חנם ירגזו, and makes the whole mean, that the chiefs of Pharaoh are still at Zoan (i. e. remain inactive there), and that his messengers or commissaries labour in vain to raise the necessary forces. From these ingenious extravagances it is satisfactory to fall back on the old interpretation, which is also that of Gesenius, Umbreit, and Hendewerk, with this modification in the case of the latter, that he supposes Zoan and Hanes to be mentioned as the royal seats of Sevechus and Tirhakah, to both of whom the application may have been addressed.

V. 5. *All are ashamed of a people who cannot profit them, (a people) not for help and not for profit, but for shame, and also for disgrace.* Lowth inserts אם after כי, on the authority of four manuscripts. But the כי is itself here equivalent to an adversative particle in English, although it really retains its usual meaning, *for, because.* The Hebrew construction is, they are not a profit or a help, *for* (on the contrary) they are a disgrace and a reproach. Gesenius regards הֹבִאישׁ as an incorrect orthography for הוֹבִישׁ; but Maurer and Knobel read it הֹבְאִישׁ, and assume a root בָּאַשׁ synonymous with בּוֹשׁ. The עַל in the first clause has its very frequent meaning of *concerning, on account of.*

V. 6. *The burden of the beasts of the south, in a land of suffering and distress, whence (are) the adder and the fiery flying serpent; they are carrying* (or *about to carry*) *on the shoulder of young asses their wealth, and on the hump of camels their treasures, to a people* (or *for the sake of a people*) *who cannot profit.* The Prophet sees the ambassadors of Israel carrying costly presents through the waste howling wilderness, for the purpose of securing the Egyptian alliance. Gill applies the description to the emigration of the Jews into Egypt in the days of Jeremiah. This may be alluded to, but cannot be the exclusive subject of the passage. The Septuagint translates מַשָּׂא by ὅρασις, and converts the first clause into a title or inscription. Schmidius and J. H. Michaelis regard this as the beginning of a special prophecy, or subdivision of the greater prophecy, against the southern Jews who were nearest to Egypt. Henderson also thinks it *incontrovertible*, that this is the title or inscription of the record which the Prophet is afterwards commanded to make. The latest German writers, as might have been expected, reject the clause as spurious, Hendewerk and Ewald expunging it wholly from the text, while the others include it in brackets as of doubtful authenticity. These critical conclusions all involve the supposition, that some ancient copyist or reader of the Prophet, imagining a new subdivision to begin here, introduced this title, as the same or another hand had done in ch. 13: 1. 15: 1. 17: 1. 19: 1. 21: 1, 11, 13. 22: 1. 23: 1. The number of these alleged interpolations, far from adding to the proba-

bility of the assumption, makes it more improbable in every instance where it is resorted to. In this case, there is nothing to suggest the idea of a change of subject or a new division, if the title be omitted. How then can the interpolation be accounted for? If it be said, that we are not bound to account for the absurdity of ancient interpolators, the answer is that we are just as little bound to believe in their existence. The truth appears to be, that the interpretation of this clause as an inscription is entirely imaginary. Even in the other cases cited, we have seen that the assumption of a formal title may be pushed too far. But here it is wholly out of place. It is surely an unreasonable supposition, that the Prophet could not put the word מַשָּׂא at the beginning of a sentence without converting it into a title. The most natural construction of the first clause is to take it as an exclamation (*oh the burden of the beasts! what a burden to the beasts!*)—or as an absolute nominative (*as to the burden of the beasts*). The beasts meant are not the lions and the vipers of the next clause (Hitzig), but the asses and the camels of the one following, called *beasts of the south* because travelling in that direction. The *land* meant is not Egypt (Vitringa), though described by Ammianus Marcellinus as peculiarly abounding in venomous reptiles (serpentes alit innumeras, ultra omnem perniciem saevientes, basiliscos et amphisbaenas et scytalas et acontias et dipsadas et viperas aliasque complures), nor the land of Israel as the nurse of lion-like men or heroes (J. D. Michaelis), but the interjacent desert described by Moses in similar terms (Deut. 1 : 19. 8 : 15). The preposition בְּ, meaning strictly *in*, might in this connexion denote either *through* or *into*, but the former seems to be required by the context. It follows of course that ארץ צרה וצוקה cannot mean a *land of oppression*, in allusion either to the bondage of the Hebrews or to that of the natives (Vitringa), nor a land compressed and narrow in shape (Clericus), but must denote a land of suffering, danger, and privation, such as the great Arabian desert is to travellers. Those who make ארץ to mean Egypt explain מהם as referring rather to the people than the country; but if the land referred to is the desert, it must be explained, with the latest German writers, as either a poetical license or a grammatical anomaly. The general meaning of the phrase, as all agree, is *whence*. It is also agreed that two designations of the lion are here used; but how they mutually differ is disputed. Calvin has *leo et leo major;* Cocceius, *leo animosus et annosus*. Luther makes the distinction one of sex (*lions and lionesses*), which is now regarded as the true distinction, though the first of the two Hebrew words, since Bochart, has been commonly explained to mean the *lioness*. So Clericus, *leaena et leo violentus*, and all the recent writers except Hitzig, who makes both the words generic (*Leu und Löwe*). אפעה may be translated *adder, viper, asp*, or by any other term denoting a venomous and deadly serpent. For the meaning of שרף מעופף, see the note on ch. 14 : 29.

The lions and vipers of this verse are not symbolical descriptions of the Egyptians (Junius), but a poetical description of the desert. Clericus makes even בהמות (Behemoth) an emblem of Egypt, and translates the clause (as an inscription), *oratio pronunciata de meridiano hippopotamo!* עיירים or עירים, which Lowth translates too vaguely *young cattle*, denotes more specifically *young asses*, or it may be used as a poetical designation of asses in general. That רכשם signifies the hump or bunch of the camel, as explained in the Vulgate (super gibbum cameli), the Peshito, and the Targum, is clear from the context, but not from etymology, as to which interpreters are much divided. The old Jews traced the word to רכש *honey* (because sometimes applied for medicinal purposes), while Henderson explains it by an Arabic analogy as meaning the natural *furniture* of the animal. The עַל before עֻם does not seem to be a mere equivalent to אֶל, but rather, as in v. 5, to mean *on account of, for the sake of.*

V. 7. *And Egypt* (or *the Egyptians*) *in vain and to no purpose shall they help. Therefore I cry concerning this, their strength is to sit still.* This, which is the common English Version of the last clause, is substantially the same with Calvin's. Later writers have rejected it, however, on the ground, that רַהַב, according to etymology and usage, does not mean *strength* but *indolence*. On this supposition, the Vulgate version would be more correct (superbia tantum est, quiesce), שבת being then explained as the imperative of שָׁבַת to cease, to rest. This construction is exactly in accordance with the masoretic accents, which connect הם with רהב and disjoin it from שבת. But the last word, as now pointed, must be either a noun or an infinitive. Since רהב occurs elsewhere as a name of Egypt, most of the modern writers take קראתי in the sense of naming, which is fully justified by usage, and understand the clause as contrasting the pretensions of Egypt with its actual performances, the two antagonist ideas being those of arrogance or insolence and quiescence or inaction. Thus Gesenius translates it, *Grossmaul das still sitzt*, and Barnes, *the blusterer that sitteth still.* Besides the obscurity of the descriptive epithets, the construction is perplexed by the use, first of the feminine singular (זאת), and then of the masculine plural (הם), both in reference to one subject. The common solution is that the former has respect to the country, and the latter to the people. The general meaning of the clause may be considered as determined by the one before it. חבל and רק are nouns used adverbially. Ewald introduces in the last clause a paronomasia which is not in the original (*Trotzige das ist Frostige*).

V. 8. *And now go, write it with them on a tablet and inscribe it in a book, and let it be for a future day, for ever, to eternity.* This, like the similar precaution in ch. 8 : 1, was intended to verify the fact of the predic-

tion after the event. אִתָּם seems to include the ideas of *before them* and *among them*. Knobel infers rom this command, that the Prophet's house must have been upon the street or square, in which the prediction was orally delivered. Most interpreters suppose two distinct inscriptions to be here required, one on a solid tablet for public exhibition, and the other on parchment or the like for preservation. But Gesenius more naturally understands the words לוּחַ and ספר as equivalents, which is the less improbable, because if a distinction were intended, יהי would no doubt have been connected, not with ספר but with לוּחַ. Some of the ancient versions exchange עַד for עֵד (a testimony for ever), which is adopted by several interpreters on the authority of Deut. 31 : 19, 21, 26, where the same combination occurs. Ewald adds that the idea of testimony is essential, and Knobel that the concurrence of עַד יוֹם would be cacophonous.

V. 9. *For a people of rebellion* (a rebellious people) *is it, lying* (or *denying*) *children, children* (*who*) *are not willing to learn the law of Jehovah.* By denying children Kimchi understands such as deny their father, Gill such as falsely pretend to be his children. Hitzig gives the phrase a more specific meaning, as denoting that they would deny the fact of the prediction without some such attestation as the one required in the preceding verse. The English Version makes this verse state the substance of the inscription, *that this is a rebellious people etc.*

V. 10. *Who say to the seers, Ye shall not see, and to the viewers, ye shall not view for us right things; speak unto us smooth things, view deceits.* There is great difficulty in translating this verse literally, as the two Hebrew verbs, meaning to *see*, have no equivalents in English, which of themselves suggest the idea of prophetic revelation. The common version (*see not, prophesy not*), although it conveys the true sense substantially, leaves out of view the near relation of the two verbs to each other in the original. In the translation above given, *view* is introduced merely as a synonyme of *see*, both being here used to express supernatural or prophetic vision. With this use of the verbal noun (*seer*) we are all familiar through the English Bible. Clericus translates both verbs in the present (*non videtis*), which would make the verse a simple denial of the inspiration of the prophets, or of the truth of their communications. Most interpreters prefer the imperative form, which is certainly implied; but the safest because the most exact construction is Luther's, which adheres to the strict sense of the future (*ye shall not see*). This is of course not given as the actual language of the people, but as the tendency and spirit of their acts. It is an ingenious but extravagant idea of Coccceius, that the first clause of this verse condemns the prohibition of the Scriptures by antichristian teachers, *who say to those seeing ye shall*

not see etc. Even if the first clause could be naturally thus explained, the same sense could not possibly be put upon the others. *Smooth things* or *words* is a common figurative term for flatteries. Luther's expressive version is, *preach soft to us.*

V. 11. *Depart from the way, swerve from the path, cause to cease from before us the Holy One of Israel.* The request is not (as Gill suggests) that they would get out of the people's way, so as no longer to prevent their going on in sin, but that they would get out of their own way, i. e. wander from it or forsake it. This way is explained by Gesenius to be the way of piety and virtue, but by Hitzig more correctly as the way which they had hitherto pursued in the discharge of their prophetic functions. *Cause to cease from before us,* i. e. remove from our sight. It was a common opinion with the older writers, that this clause alludes to Isaiah's frequent repetition of the name *Holy One of Israel,* and contains a request that they might hear it no more. But the modern interpreters appear to be agreed that the allusion is not to the name but the person. Cocceius understands the clause as relating to the antichristian exclusion of Christ from the church as its sanctifier. The form of the preposition (מִנֶּגֶד) is peculiar to this place.

V. 12. *Therefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because of your rejecting* (or *despising*) *this word, and* (*because*) *ye have trusted in oppression and perverseness, and have relied thereon.* On the hypothesis already stated, that the people had expressed a particular dislike to the title *Holy One of Israel,* Piscator supposes that the Prophet here intentionally uses it, as if in defiance of their impious unbelief. Gill even thinks that *this word* may mean *this name.* But all this seems to limit the meaning of the terms too much. The *word* here mentioned is no doubt the *law* of v. 9, both being common epithets of revelation generally, and of particular divine communications. (See the note on ch. 2 : 3.) J. D. Michaelis ingeniously converts the last clause into a description of Egypt, as itself oppressed and therefore unfit to be the protector of Israel. But in order to extract this meaning from the words, he is forced into an arbitrary change of the pointing. Houbigant and Lowth instead of עֹשֶׁק read עֹקֶשׁ, thus making it synonymous with נִלְוָה. The latter word seems to denote perverseness or moral obliquity in general. It is rendered in a strong idiomatic form by Hitzig (Verschmitztheit) and Ewald (Querwege).

V. 13. *Therefore shall this iniquity be to you like a breach falling* (or *ready to fall*) *swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking may come suddenly, at* (*any*) *instant.* J. D. Michaelis, by another arbitrary change of text, reads *this help* instead of *this iniquity.* The image is that of a wall which

is rent or cracked and, as Gill says, *bellies out and bulges.* The verse is explained with great unanimity by the interpreters until we come to Hitzig, who puts an entirely new face upon the simile. He objects with some truth to the old interpretation that it assumes without authority a future meaning of the participle נֹפֵל, and that it makes the breach or chasm swell and fall instead of the wall itself. He then infers, from the use of פֶּרֶץ in 2 Sam. 5 : 20 and of תִּבְקָעָה in Isaiah 64 : 1, that the former here denotes a *torrent* (Waldstrom), *falling upon* (i. e. attacking, as in Josh. 11 : 7), *and swelling against a high wall.* The weakest point in this ingenious combination is the necessity of construing נֹפֵל with בְּ, from which it is separated by נִבְעָה. To remove this difficulty, Hendewerk, adopting the same general construction, takes the whole phrase פֶּרֶץ נֹפֵל in the sense of *waterfall.* The later German writers, Ewald, Umbreit, and Knobel, have returned to the old interpretation. Ewald, however, to remove the first of Hitzig's objections, applies נֹפֵל not to the falling of the wall, but to the sinking or extension downwards of the breach itself (*ein sinkender Riss*) ; while Knobel gains the same end by explaining פֶּרֶץ to be not the aperture or chasm but the portion of the wall affected by it. This last explanation had been previously and independently proposed by Henderson, who says that the word here means *properly the piece forming one side of the breach or rent.* But this is really a mere concession that the strict and usual sense is inappropriate. With respect to the main point, that the figures were intended to express the idea of sudden destruction, there is and can be no diversity of judgment. In favour of the old interpretation, as compared with Hitzig's, it may be suggested, that the former conveys the idea of a gradual yet sudden catastrophe, which is admirably suited to the context. It is also true, as Umbreit well observes, that the idea of a downfall springing from internal causes is more appropriate in this connexion than that of mere external violence however overwhelming.

V. 14. *And it* (the wall) *is broken like the breaking of a potter's vessel* (any utensil of earthen ware), *broken unsparingly* (or *without mercy*), *so that there is not found in its fracture* (or *among its fragments*) *a sherd to take up fire from a hearth, and to skim* (or *dip up*) *water from a pool.* The first words strictly mean, *he breaks it,* not the enemy, as Knobel supposes, which would imply an allusion to the breach made in a siege, but *he* indefinitely, i. e. some one (Cocceius : *aliquis franget*), which may be resolved into a passive form as in the Vulgate (*comminuetur*). It is wholly gratuitous to read וְשֻׁבְרָה. The phrase פָּתוֹת לֹא יַחְמֹל exhibits a construction wholly foreign from our idiom and therefore not susceptible of literal translation. The nearest approach to it is, *breaking he spareth not* (or will not spare). *Sherd* is an old English word, now seldom used, meaning a broken

piece of pottery or earthenware, and found more frequently in the compound form of *potsherd*. A potter's vessel, literally, *vessel of the potters*. חֲמָה, except in a single instance, is always applied to the taking up of fire. חָשַׂף is strictly to remove the surface of a liquid, but may here have greater latitude of meaning. For גֶּבֶא the English Version has *pit*, Lowth *cistern*, and most other writers *well*; but in Ezek. 47 : 11 it denotes a *marsh* or *pool*. Ewald supposes a particular allusion to the breaking of a poor man's earthen pitcher, an idea which had been suggested long before by Gill: *as poor people are wont to do, to take fire from the hearth and water out of a well in a piece of broken pitcher.*

V. 15. *For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in returning* (or *conversion*) *and rest shall ye be saved, in remaining quiet and in confidence shall be your strength; and ye would not* (or *were not willing*). This overwhelmning judgment would be strictly just because they had been fully admonished of the way of safety. Here again Gill supposes a peculiar significance in the repetition of the *Holy One of Israel*. The rabbinical explanation of שׁוּבָה as a derivative from יָשַׁב is gratuitous and certainly not justified by Num. 10 : 36. Grotius understands by *returning* retrocession from their unlawful measures and negotiations. The Targum gives it the more general sense of returning to the law, which agrees in substance with the common explanation of the term as meaning a return to God by repentance and conversion. (For the spiritual usage of the verb, see the note on ch. 1 : 27.) This sense Gesenius mentions as admissible although he prefers to assume a hendiadys, *by returning to repose*, which is needless and unnatural. Hitzig's idea that the word denotes returning to one's self may be considered as included in the other.

V. 16. *And ye said, No, for we will flee upon horses; therefore shall ye flee; and upon the swift will we ride; therefore shall your pursuers be swift.* Calvin points out a double sense of נוּס in this verse, and the modern interpreters express it in their versions, the most successful being that of Ewald, who employs the kindred forms *fliegen* and *fliehen*. This can be perfectly copied in English by the use of *fly* and *flee*; but it may be doubted whether this is not a mere refinement, as the Hebrew verb in every other case means to *flee*, and the hope here ascribed to the people is not simply that of going swiftly, but of *escaping* from the dangers threatened. In קַל and קָלַל, the primary sense of lightness is very often merged in that of rapid motion. Knobel discovers an additional paronomasia in סוּסִים, which he makes perceptible in German by employing the three words, *fliegen*, *fliehen*, *flüchtigen*. Many of the older writers use a comparative expression in the last clause after the example of the Vulgate (*velociores*). Grotius gives תְּנוּסָתָן the specific sense of *exsulabitis*.

V. 17. *One thousand from before the rebuke* (or *menace*) *of one, from before the rebuke of five shall ye flee, until ye are left like a mast* (or *pole*) *on the top of the mountain, and like the signal on the hill.* From the use of the definite article in the last clause, Junius and Tremellius needlessly infer that the meaning is *this mountain, this hill*, meaning Zion. The pleonastic form *one thousand* is not urged by any of the German writers as a proof of later date. To supply a particle of comparison (*as one*) is of course entirely unnecessary. To complete the parallelism, and to conform the expression to Lev. 26 : 8, Deut. 32 : 31, Lowth supposes רִבָּה (a myriad) to have dropped out of the text, and finds a trace of this original reading in the Septuagint version — ί. Instead of a definite expression, Clericus and others supply *omnes*. The former emendation, although not adopted, is favoured by Gesenius; but the later writers reject both, not only as unnecessary, but because, as Hitzig well observes, such a change would disturb the connexion with what follows, the sense being plainly this, that they should flee *until* they were left etc. תֹּרֶן is taken as the name of a tree by Augusti (Tannenbaum) and Rosenmüller (pinus), by Gesenius and Ewald as a signal or a signal-pole. In the only two cases where it occurs elsewhere, it has the specific meaning of a *mast*. The allusion may be simply to the similar appearance of a lofty and solitary tree, or the common idea may be that of a *flag-staff*, which might be found in either situation. The word *beacon*, here employed by Gataker and Barnes, is consistent neither with the Hebrew nor the English usage. The idea of the last clause, as expressed by Hitzig, is that no two of them should remain together. (Compare 1 Sam. 11 : 11.)

V. 18. *And therefore will Jehovah wait to have mercy upon you, and therefore will he rise up* (or *be exalted*) *to pity you, for a God of judgment is Jehovah; blessed are all that wait for him.* The apparent incongruity of this promise with the threatening which immediately precedes, has led to various constructions of the first clause. The most violent and least satisfactory is that which takes לָכֵן in the rare and doubtful sense of *but* or *nevertheless*. This is adopted among recent writers by Gesenius, Barnes, Henderson. Another solution, given by Vitringa, leaves לָכֵן to be understood as usual, but converts the seeming promise into a threatening, by explaining וְיַחְכֶּה *will delay* (to be gracious), and וְיָרוּם *will remain afar off* (Jarchi: יתקיק). But this is certainly not the obvious and natural meaning of the Prophet's words. חָכָה elsewhere means to wait with earnest expectation and desire, and the Kal is so used in the last clause of this very verse. This objection also lies against Maurer's explanation of the clause as referring to delay of punishment. Hitzig supposes the connexion to be this: therefore (because the issue of your present course must be so fatal) he will

wait or allow you time for repentance. Knobel applies the whole to God's intended dealings with them after the threatened judgments should have been endured. On the whole, the simplest and most probable conclusion seems to be that לָכֵן has its usual meaning, but refers, as in many other cases, to a remoter antecedent than the words immediately before it. As if the Prophet paused at this point and reviewing his denunciations said, Since this is so, since you must perish if now dealt with strictly, God will allow you space for repentance, he will wait to be gracious, he will exalt himself by showing mercy. J. H. Michaelis, with much the same effect, refers לָכֵן to the condition mentioned in v. 15. *Therefore* (if you will be quiet and believe) *Jehovah will wait etc.* Another difficulty of the same kind has arisen from the next clause, where the justice of God seems to be given as a reason for showing mercy. Gill removes the difficulty by translating כִּי *although;* Henderson by taking מִשְׁפָּט in the sense of rectitude, including as a prominent idea faithfulness or truth in the fulfilment of his promises. Another expedient suggested by Gill is to give מִשְׁפָּט the sense of *discretion.* That the clause does not relate to righteousness or justice in the strict sense, appears plain from the added benediction upon those who trust Jehovah. One point is universally admitted, namely, that somewhere in this verse is the transition from the tone of threatening to that of promise. The question where it shall be fixed, though interesting, does not affect the general connexion or the import of the passage as a whole. Ewald strangely adopts, as absolutely necessary, Houbigant's emendation of the text, by reading יָרוּם for יְרִים, and explains the former to mean, does not suffer himself to be moved (rührt sich nicht), an explanation scarcely less arbitrary than the criticism on which it is founded.

V. 19. *For the people in Zion shall dwell in Jerusalem; thou shalt weep no more; he will be very gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; as he hears it he will answer thee.* The position of the first verb in this English sentence leaves it doubtful whether it is to be construed with what follows or what goes before. Precisely the same ambiguity exists in the original, which may either mean that the people who are now in Zion shall dwell in Jerusalem, or that the people shall dwell in Zion, in Jerusalem. This last is the most natural construction, and the one indicated by the accents. It is adopted in the English version, but with a needless variation of the particle, *in Zion at Jerusalem.* According to Henderson, the ב expresses more strongly the relation of the Jews to Zion as their native home. But this assertion is hardly borne out by the places which he cites (ch. 21: 13. 1 Kings 16: 24. 2 Kings 5: 23). In the translation above given the Hebrew order is restored. According to these constructions, *dwell* must be taken in the strong sense of remaining or continuing to dwell (Hende-

werk), in allusion to the deportation of the rest of Judah (Grotius), or of the ten tribes (Clericus). But a very different construction of the first clause is proposed by Döderlein, and approved by Gesenius and Ewald. These interpreters regard the whole clause as a vocative, or in other words as a description of the object of address. *For oh people in Zion, dwelling in Jerusalem, thou shalt weep no more.* To obtain this sense, we must either read יֹשֵׁב as a participle, or supply the relative before it, and suppose a sudden change of person, as in ch. 28: 16, and 29: 14. This necessity, together with the collocation of the כִּי, renders the vocative construction less natural and probable than that which makes the first clause a distinct proposition or promise. Besides, it is not easy to account for so extended a description of the people, as a mere introduction to the words that follow. These words are made emphatic by the combination of the infinitive and finite verb. DeWette, according to his wont, regards it as an idiomatic pleonasm. Grotius translates the first phrase, *non diu flebis;* the English Version, *thou shalt weep no more.* (For the usage of this combination to express continued action, see the note on ch. 6: 9.) Ewald adheres more closely to the form of the original by simple repetition of the verb (weinen weinen sollst du nicht, begnadigen begnadigen wird er dich). Coccceius retains the strict sense of the preterite חָנַן as an appeal to their experience (cum audivit respondit tibi). This yields a good sense, but the other agrees better with the context. The particle of comparison has its usual sense before the infinitive, and is best represented by the English *as.* Lowth, on the authority of the Septuagint, inserts קדוש and changes לֹא to לוֹ, reading the whole clause thus: *when a holy people shall dwell in Zion, when in Jerusalem thou shalt implore him with weeping.* For the form חָנֹן see Gen. 43: 29.

V. 20. *And the Lord will give you bread of affliction and water of oppression, and no more shall thy teachers hide themselves, and thine eyes shall see thy teachers.* The first clause is conditionally construed by Calvin (ubi dederit), Vitringa (siquidem), and Ewald (gibt euch). Clericus refers it to the past (dedit). But both usage and the context require that ו should be regarded as conversive, and the condition, though implied, is not expressed. The Vulgate renders צַר and לָחַץ as adjectives (panem arctum, aquam brevem). DeDieu supposes them to be in apposition with the noun preceding, affliction (as) bread, and oppression (as) water. This is favoured by the absolute form of מַיִם; but the same words are construed in the same way 1 Kings 22: 27, where the reference can only be to literal meat and drink. For other examples of the absolute instead of the construct, see the Hebrew grammars. Gesenius supplies *in* before affliction and oppression, implying that even in the midst of their distress God would feed them. Jarchi re-

gards this as a description of the temperate diet of the righteous, and Junius likewise renders it, *modice cibaberis*. The true connexion seems to be, that God would afflict them outwardly, but would not deprive them of their spiritual privileges; or, as Cocceius says, there should be a famine of bread, but not of the word of the Lord (Amos 8: 11). From the use of כָּנָף in the sense of *wing* and *corner*, the reflexive verb has been variously explained as meaning to fly away (Montanus), and to be removed into a corner (English Version) or shut up in one (Junius). It is now commonly agreed, however, that the primary sense is that of covering, and that the Niphal means to hide one's self. The Vulgate renders מוֹרֶיךָ as a singular (doctorem tuum), in which it is followed by Ewald, who explains the Hebrew word as a singular form peculiar to the roots with final ה. (See the note on ch. 5: 12.) Thus understood, the word must of course be applied to God himself, as the great teacher of his people. Kimchi's explanation of the word as meaning the early rain (which sense it has in Joel 2: 23 and perhaps in Ps. 84: 7) has been retained only by Calvin and Lowth. The great majority of writers adhere, not only to the sense of *teacher*, but to the plural import of the form, and understand the word as a designation or description of the prophets, with particular reference, as some suppose, to their reappearance after a period of severe persecution or oppression. (See Ezek. 33: 22.)

V. 21. *And thine ears shall hear a word from behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right and when ye turn to the left.* The Septuagint makes this the voice of seducers (*τῶν πλανησάντων*); but it is evidently that of a faithful guide and monitor; according to the Rabbins, the *Bath Kol* or mysterious echo which conducts and warns the righteous. *Word* is an idiomatic expression used where we should say *one speaking*. The direction of the voice *from behind* is commonly explained by saying, that the image is borrowed from the practice of shepherds going behind their flocks, or nurses behind children, to observe their motions. A much more natural solution is the one proposed by Henderson, to wit, that their guides were to be before them, but that when they declined from the right way their backs would be turned to them, consequently the warning voice would be heard behind them. The meaning of the call is, this is the way which you have left, come back to it. Lowth follows the Septuagint, Targum, and Peshito, in making כִּי a negative (*turn not aside*), wholly without necessity or warrant. Interpreters are commonly agreed that the particle is either conditional (*if ye turn*) or temporal (*when ye turn*); but the simplest construction seems to be that proposed by Hendewerk (*for ye turn* or *will turn* to the right and to the left). As if he had said, this warning will be necessary, for you will certainly depart at times from the path of

safety. This idea may, however, be considered as included or implied in the usual translation *when*. Calvin is singular in applying this clause, not to deviations from the right path, but to the emergencies of life in general: wherever you go, whichever way you turn, you shall hear this warning and directing voice. The verbs in the last clause are derived from nouns meaning the right and left hand. The peculiar form of the original is closely and even barbarously copied by Montanus (cum dextraveritis et cum sinistraveritis). תאמינו may be either an inaccurate orthography for תימינו, or derived from a synonymous root אמן.

V. 22. *And ye shall defile* (i. e. treat as unclean) *the covering of thy idols of silver and the case of thy image of gold, thou shalt scatter them* (or *abhor them*) *as an abominable thing. Away! shalt thou say to it.* The remarkable alternation of the singular and plural, both in the nouns and verbs of this sentence, is retained in the translation. The sense of נִסְכַּאתָם is determined by the analogy of 2 Kings 23: 8, 10, 13. The gold and silver, both in Hebrew and English, may qualify either the image or the covering. The latter is more probable, because the covering would scarcely have been mentioned, if it had not been commonly of greater value than the body of the idol. פֶּסֶל and מַסֵּכָה strictly denote *graven* and *molten* images respectively, but are constantly employed as poetical equivalents. The specific meaning given to דָּוָה by the older writers, and by some of them dwelt upon with needless and disgusting particularity, is rejected by Ewald, who makes it synonymous with דְּוַי in Job 6: 7, meaning *loathsomeness* or any thing loathsome. He also connects תִּזְרֵם with the noun זָרָא in Numbers 11: 20, and renders it *abhor*. The common meaning *scatter* is appropriate, however, and is here recommended by its application to the dust or fragments of the golden calf in Exodus 32: 20.

V. 23. *And he shall give the rain of thy seed* (i. e. the rain necessary to its growth), *with which thou shalt sow the ground, and bread, the produce of the ground, and it shall be fat and rich; thy cattle shall feed that day in an enlarged pasture.* Rosenmüller calls this a description of the golden age, and cites a parallel from Virgil. He even mentions, as a trait in the description, *fruges nullo cultu enatae*, whereas the very next words imply laborious cultivation. J. D. Michaelis supposes the resumption of tillage in the last years of Hezekiah to be here predicted. Henderson explains it as a promise of increased fertility after the return from exile. All these applications appear too exclusive. The text contains a promise of increased prosperity after a season of privation, and was often verified. That בַּר, which usually has the sense of *lamb*, is ever used in that of *pasture*, is denied by Hengstenberg (on Psalm 37: 20 and 65: 14). But the latter

meaning seems to be absolutely necessary here, and is accordingly assumed by all interpreters. The passive participle רְחַב seems to imply, not only that the pastures should be wide, but that they had once been narrow.

V. 24. *And the oxen and the asses working the ground shall eat salted provender which has been winnowed* (literally, *which one winnows*) *with the sieve and fan.* The meaning evidently is that the domesticated animals shall fare as well as men in other times. The word *ear*, used in the English Version, is an obsolete derivative of the Latin *aro* to plough. בָּלִיל חָמִיץ properly means *fermented mixture.* The first word is commonly supposed to denote here a mixture of different kinds of grain, and the other a seasoning of salt or acid herbs, peculiarly grateful to the stomachs of cattle. Lowth translates the whole phrase *well-fermented maslin*, which is retained by Barnes, while Henderson has *salted provender.* J. D. Michaelis supposes the grain to be here described as twice winnowed; but the implements mentioned were probably employed in one and the same process. Augusti: *thrown to them* (vorgeworfen) *with the shovel and the fan.*

V. 25. *And there shall be, on every high mountain, and on every elevated hill, channels, streams of water, in the day of great slaughter, in the falling of towers* (or *when towers fall*). J. D. Michaelis connects this with what goes before, and understands it as a description of the height to which agriculture would be carried, by means of artificial irrigation, after the overthrow of the Assyrians. Grotius regards it as a promise of abundant rains. Clericus calls this a gratuitous conjecture, but immediately proceeds to connect the verse with the figures of v. 33, and to explain it as referring to the water-courses which it would be necessary to open, in order to purify the ground from the effects of such a slaughter. To this, much more justly than to Grotius's interpretation, we may apply the words of Clericus himself in another place, *praestat tacere quam hariolari.* He also arbitrarily gives עַל the sense of *from.* The simple meaning seems to be that water shall flow where it never flowed before, a common figure in the Prophets for a great change, and especially a change for the better. The same sense is no doubt to be attached to the previous descriptions of abundance and fertility. In allusion to the etymology of פְּלָגִים, Lowth poetically renders it *disparting rills.* For יְגֻדָּלִים Clericus reads מְגַדְּלִים, and understands it as descriptive of the Assyrians, *qui magnifice se efferebant.* J. D. Michaelis makes the same application, and translates the word *Grossspracher.* A similar reading is implied in the versions of Aquila and Symmachus (*ὑψαίνουσι-νους*). Lowth has *the mighty* in imitation of the Targum (; רבי). Calvin applies מְגֻדָּלִים, in its usual sense, to Babylon. Hitzig infers from the use of the word חֵרֶב, that the towers meant are living towers, i. e. the Assyrian

chiefs. Knobel applies הֵרֹג to the slaughter of the Jews themselves, and understands by *towers* their fortifications, of which there would be no further need in the happy period here foretold. The words are referred by some of the Jewish writers to the days of the Messiah; by Vitringa, with a threefold application, to the times of the Maccabees, of Constantine, and of the seventh Apocalyptic period; by Gill, to the slaughter of the antichristian kings described in Rev. 19: 17–21. The diversity and arbitrary nature of these explanations show that there are no sufficient data in the text itself for any such specific and exclusive application. All that can certainly be gathered from the words is, that a period of war and carnage should be followed by one of abundance and prosperity.

V. 26. *And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day of Jehovah's binding up the breach of his people, and the stroke of his wound he will heal.* Instead of the usual words for sun and moon, we have here two poetical expressions, one denoting *heat* and the other *white*. Lowth renders one simply *moon*, but the other *meridian sun*. Augusti has *pale moon* and *burning sun*. (Ewald: *das bleiche Mondlicht* und *das Glutlicht*.) Lowth pronounces the words *as the light of seven days* to be 'a manifest gloss, taken in from the margin; it is not in most of the copies of the LXX; it interrupts the rhythmical construction, and obscures the sense by a false or at least an unnecessary interpretation.' This sentence is remarkable as furnishing the model, upon which the textual criticism of the modern Germans, with respect to glosses, seems to have been moulded. We have here the usual supposition of a transfer from the margin, the usual appeal to some defective ancient version, the usual complaint of interrupted rhythm, and the usual alternative of needless or erroneous explanation. The liberties which Lowth took with the text, in pursuance of a false but favourite hypothesis, have led, by a legitimate but unforeseen application of his principles, to results from which he would himself have undoubtedly recoiled. As to the history of this particular criticism, it is approved by Gesenius and Hitzig, but rejected by Ewald and Umbreit, who observes that the addition of these words was necessary to explain the previous words as not describing seven suns, but the light of one sun upon seven days. Maimonides supposes an allusion to the seven days of the dedication of Solomon's temple. The Targum, still more strangely, multiplies the seven twice into itself and reads, *three hundred and forty-three days*, a conceit no doubt founded upon some cabalistic superstition. Grotius explains the figures of this verse as denoting joy, and quotes as a classical parallel, *ipse mihi visus pulchrior ire dies*, to which Vitringa adds, *gratior it dies et soles melius nitent*. It is plain however that the Prophet's language is

designed, not merely to express great joy, but to describe a change in the face of nature, as an emblem of some great revolution in the state of society. (Compare ch. 13 : 10, 13.) It is therefore another item added to the catalogue of previous similes or comparisons, all denoting the same thing, yet showing by their very diversity that they denote it only in a tropical or figurative manner. Hendewerk ironically censures Hengstenberg for not including the improved feed of oxen and asses among the attributes of the Messiah's reign. But the real inconsistency is on the part of those who understand v. 24 in its strictest sense, and yet explain the verse before us as a mere poetical description or imaginative anticipation. The remark of J. D. Michaelis upon this point may be quoted as characteristic of his mind and manner. 'This is not to be literally taken, for it would be very inconvenient to us, if it were as bright by night as it is now by day when the sun shines; and if the sun should shine seven times brighter than now, we must be blinded.' According to Gesenius, the wounds referred to in the last clause are the wounds inflicted by false teachers; but there seems to be no reason for restricting the import of the terms as descriptive of suffering in general.

V. 27. *Behold, the name of Jehovah cometh from afar, burning his anger and heavy the ascent* (of smoke): *his lips are full of wrath and his tongue as a devouring fire.* Koppe begins a new division here without necessity. By the *name of Jehovah* we are not simply to understand Jehovah himself, but Jehovah as revealed in word or act, and therefore glorious. (Grotius: Deus omni laude dignissimus.) According to Raymund Martini, the expression was applied by the old Jews to the Messiah. Gill thinks it may denote the angel who destroyed Sennacherib's army. J. D. Michaelis takes the name in its strict sense and translates the verb *erschallet* (the name of Jehovah sounds or echoes from afar). מֵרָחוֹק is by some referred to time, but the proper local sense is more appropriate. Clericus alone translates אַפּוֹ *his face* (ardens facies ejus). The English Version makes בֹּעֵר agree with שֵׁם and supplies a preposition before אַפּוֹ (*burning with his anger*). Others supply the preposition before בֹּעֵר (*with his burning anger*). Others make the clause an independent proposition (*burning is his anger*). Ewald adopts a construction similar to that of the ablative absolute in Latin (*his anger burning*). Augusti supposes the next words to mean, *he makes the burden heavy*, which implies a change of text, at least as to the pointing. Most of the late interpreters explain מַשָּׂאָה as synonymous with מַשָּׂא, meaning strictly the *ascent* of smoke or flame, and by metonymy the smoke or flame itself. (Compare the notes on ch. 9 : 18, 19.) Barnes: *the flame is heavy.* Henderson: *dense is the smoke.* Hendewerk has *Rauchsäule* (column of smoke), Umbreit *aufstiegender Brand*

ascending fire or conflagration). Ewald and Knobel have reverted to the primary meaning, ascent or elevation. The former has *gewaltiger Erhebung;* the latter, *heavy* (i. e. slow) *is the rising of Jehovah* in the distance. Oecolampadius understands by *lips* and *tongue* the sentence pronounced by the Messiah on his enemies: but the words are to be strictly understood, as traits in the prophetic picture of this terrible epiphany.

V. 28. *And his breath* (or *spirit*), *like an overflowing stream, shall divide as far as the neck, to sift the nations in the sieve of falsehood, and a misleading bridle on the jaws of the people.* There are here three metaphors employed to express the same general idea, those of a flood, a sieve, and a bridle. Umbreit is singular in putting a favourable meaning on the last two, as implying that the nations should be purged, not destroyed, by sifting, and that when they thought themselves misled they should be brought into the right path by a way they knew not. This is far less natural than the common explanation of the whole verse as a threatening against Jehovah's enemies. Grotius renders רוּחַ *anger*, Luther and the English Version *breath;* but there is no sufficient reason for excluding an allusion to the Holy Spirit as a personal agent. Junius makes חִצָּה a preterite in accordance with his notion that the whole verse has respect to the Assyrian oppression of the tributary nations. The verb means strictly to divide into halves, and is here explained by the English Version in the sense of *reaching to the midst;* but most interpreters adopt the explanation of Vatablus, that the water rising to the neck divides the body into two unequal parts. The metaphor itself, as in ch. 8 : 8, denotes extreme danger. The phrase נְפַת שָׁוְא is ambiguous. It may either mean the *sieve of falsehood* (Clericus, cribro mendacii) or of wickedness in general, i. e. the instrument by which the wicked and especially the false are to be punished; or the *sieve of ruin,* pointing out the issue of the process, as the other version does the object upon which it acts. This last sense is attained, in a different way, by Calvin, who explains the words to mean in *a useless* (or *worthless*) *sieve*, i. e. according to Gill's paraphrase, 'they were to be sifted, not with a good and profitable sieve, which retains the corn and shakes out the chaff, or so as to have some taken out and spared, but with a sieve that lets all through, and so be brought to nothing, as the Vulgate Latin Version (*in nihilum*).' Barnes's translation of this clause is, *to toss the nations with the winnowing shovel of perdition.* הַנָּדָה is noted by Gesenius and Knobel as a Chaldee form, but neither of them seems to regard it as a proof that the passage is later than the time of Isaiah. The construction of this verb with רֶסֶן is regarded by some writers as an instance of *zeugma.* Others supply the verb *to put*, others the substantive verb *to be*, or *there shall be*, as in the English Version. The connexion is in any case too plain to be mistaken.

The last clause is paraphrased by Luther as denoting that Jehovah would drive the nations hither and thither (hin und her treibe). Most interpreters prefer the more specific sense of *leading astray* or in the wrong direction, with particular allusion, as J. D. Michaelis supposes, to the fact that Sennacherib was misled by a false report respecting Tirhakah the king of Ethiopia. The equestrian allusion in the text has nowhere perhaps been so fully carried out as in the old French Version, *qui les fera trotter à travers champs.*

V. 29. *The song* (or *singing*) *shall be to you* (i. e. your song shall be) *like the night of the consecration of a feast, and joy of heart* (i. e. your joy shall be) *like* (that of) *one marching with the pipe* (or *flute*) *to go into the mountain of Jehovah, to the Rock of Israel.* The night may be particularly mentioned in the first clause, either because all the Mosaic festivals began in the evening, or with special allusion to the Passover, which is described in the law (Ex. 12: 42) as *a night to be much observed unto the Lord*, as *that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.* By תִּתְקַדֵּשׁ we are probably to understand the whole celebration of the feast, and not the mere *proclaiming* of it, as expressed by Lowth and Barnes. This verse gives an interesting glimpse of ancient usage as to the visitation of the temple at the greater yearly festivals. The *Rock of Israel* is not Mount Zion or Moriah, but Jehovah himself, to whose presence they resorted, as appears from 2 Samuel 23: 3.

V. 30. *And Jehovah shall cause to be heard the majesty of his voice, and the descent of his arm shall he cause to be seen, with indignation of anger and a flame of devouring fire, scattering and rain and hailstones* (literally *stone of hail*). There is no more need of explaining Jehovah's voice to be thunder than there is of explaining the stroke of his arm to be lightning, both which explanations are in fact given by Knobel. The image presented is that of a theophany, in which storm and tempest are only accompanying circumstances. נִיחַ may be either a derivative of נוּחַ to *rest* or of נָחַת to *descend*, although the latter is more probably itself derived from the noun. Lowth's translation of בְּזַעַם אַף (*with wrath indignant*) is neither so exact nor so impressive as the literal version. נָשֶׁף is rendered by the older writers as an abstract noun from נָשַׁף *to scatter*; by Rosenmüller and Knobel as a poetical description of the winds as *scatterers*; but by Gesenius, from the Chaldee and Arabic analogy, as meaning a violent or driving rain.

V. 31. *For at the voice of Jehovah shall Assyria* (or *the Assyrian*) *be broken, with the rod shall he smite.* The כִּי before מִקּוֹל may denote either the time or the cause of the effect described, and may accordingly be ren-

dered either *at* or *by*. The first may be preferred as more comprehensive and as really including the other. חָתַת originally means *to be broken*, and is so used in ch. 7 : 8 above ; but it is commonly applied, in a figurative sense, to the breaking of the spirit or the courage by alarm. Here some translate it *beaten down*, as in the English Version, others *frightened* or *confounded*, as in Luther's (erschrecken). There are two constructions of the last clause, one continuing *Assyria* as the subject of the verb, the other referring it to *Jehovah*. Forerius amends the text by reading נֻכֶּה in the passive (*he shall be smitten*), which gratuitous suggestion is adopted by Dathe and Koppe. Lowth, not content with supplying the relative before נֻכֶּה, inserts it in the text, on the authority of Secker's conjecture that it may have dropped out (*forte excidit*). The past form given to the verb, not only in the English Version (*smote*) but by Hitzig (*schlug*), seems entirely unauthorized by usage or the context. Ewald, less violently, reads it as a present (*schlägt*) , but even if Assyria be the subject of the clause, it is clear that the Prophet speaks of her oppressions as being, in whole or in part, still future to his own perceptions. A much less simple and successful method of accounting for the future is by making the verb mean that Assyria was *ready* or *about to smite*, with Lowth and Vitringa (*vriga percussurus*). But by far the most natural construction of the clause is that which supplies nothing and adheres to the strict sense of the future, by connecting נֻכֶּה not with אַשּׁוּר but יְהוָה, both which are mentioned in the other clause. Gesenius, although right in this respect, mars the beautiful simplicity of the construction, by gratuitously introducing *when* at the beginning of the first clause, and *then* at the beginning of the second. No less objectionable, on the score of taste, is the use of *yea* or *yes*, as an equivalent to כִּי, by DeWette and Ewald. Knobel's translation of the same word by *then* is as arbitrary here as in ch. 7 : 9, the only authority to which he appeals. The express mention of Assyria in this verse, though it does not prove it to have been from the beginning the specific subject of the prophecy, does show that it was a conspicuous object in Isaiah's view, as an example both of danger and deliverance, and that at this point he concentrates his prophetic vision on this object as a signal illustration of the general truths which he has been announcing.

V. 32. *And every passage of the rod of doom, which Jehovah will lay* (or *cause to rest*) *upon him, shall be with tabrets and harps, and with fights of shaking it is fought therein.* There is the same diversity of judgment here as in the foregoing verse, with respect to the question whether the rod mentioned in the first clause is the rod which the Assyrian wielded, or the rod which smote himself. On the former supposition, the sense would seem to be, that in every place through which the rod of the oppressor had before

passed there should now be heard the sound of joyful music. This construction not only involves the necessity of supplying *in* before the first noun, but leaves the words *which Jehovah will lay upon him* either unmeaning or irrelevant, or at least far less appropriate than if the reference be to Jehovah's judgments on Assyria, which is further recommended by the reasons above given for applying the last words of v. 31 to the same catastrophe. Assuming therefore that the clause before us was likewise intended to be so applied, the sense would seem to be that every passage of Jehovah's rod (i. e. every stroke which passes from it to the object) will be hailed, by those whom the Assyrian had oppressed, with joy and exultation. It is an ingenious suggestion of Henderson, though scarcely justified by Hebrew usage, that מִעבָר is here employed in the peculiar acceptation of the English *pass*, as used to denote a push or thrust in fencing. This combination, however, is not needed to justify his version (*stroke*). For מוּסָדָה Clericus reads מוּסָרָה or מוּסַר (supplicii), on the ground of which conjecture, and the authority of one or two manuscripts, Lowth amends the text and translates accordingly (*the rod of correction*). In like manner J. D. Michaelis in his German version (*strafenden Stab*). None of the later writers seem to have retained this needless emendation. The common version, *grounded staff*, is almost unintelligible. It may have some connexion with Calvin's explanation of the Hebrew phrase as meaning, a staff grounded, that is firmly planted, in the object smitten, or as J. D. Michaelis (in his Notes) has it, *well laid on* (recht veæt und stark auf den Rücken geleget). This, to use a favourite expression of the great Reformer, seems both forced and frigid. It is now very generally agreed that מוּסָדָה denotes the divine determination or decree, and that the whole phrase means the rod appointed by him, or to put it in a form at once exact and poetical, *the rod of destiny* or *doom*. Umbreit attaches to the words the specific sense of *long since determined* (lang verhängte), which is not in the original. The tabrets and harps are not here named as the ordinary military music (Gill), nor as the sacred music which on particular occasions was connected with the march of armies (2 Chron. 20: 21, 22). Nor is the meaning that Jehovah would overcome the enemy as if in sport or like a merry-making (Grotius), which is inconsistent with the words that follow, *battles of shaking*, i. e. agitating or tumultuous battles, or as some explain the words, convulsive, struggling conflicts. The true sense seems to be, that every stroke would be attended with rejoicing on the part of the spectators, and especially of those who had been subject to oppression. נִלחַם may agree with יְהוָה as an active or deponent verb, or be construed impersonally as by Ewald (wird gekämpft). The keri (בָּם) must of course mean *with them* i. e. the Assyrians. The kethib (בָּהּ) is commonly explained to mean *with her* i. e. Assyria considered as a country. But Ewald takes it to mean *there*, or literally *in it*, i. e. in the

Holy Land. This, if we make the verb impersonal, is natural enough, except that it assumes an antecedent not expressly mentioned in the context. Be this as it may, the general sense is plain, to wit, that God would violently overthrow Assyria.

V. 33. *For arranged since yesterday is Tophet; even it for the king is prepared; he has deepened, he has widened (it); its pile fire and wood in plenty; the breath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone, kindles it.* It is universally agreed that the destruction of the Assyrian king is here described as a burning of his body at a stake or on a funeral-pile. But whether the king mentioned be an individual king or an ideal representative of all, and whether this is a mere figurative representation of his temporal destruction or a premonition of his doom hereafter, are disputed questions. Tophet is well known to have been the name of a place in the valley of Hinnom where children were sacrificed to Moloch, and on that account afterwards defiled by the deposit of the filth of the city, to consume which constant fires were maintained. Hence, by a natural association, Tophet, as well as the more general name, Valley of Hinnom, was applied by the later Jews to the place of future torment. The Chaldee paraphrase of this verse renders תָּפְתֶּה by גהנם. The name *Tophet* has been commonly derived from תּוּף, to *spit upon*, as an expression of abhorrence; but Gesenius derives it from the Persian تافتن to burn, with which he also connects *θάπτειν*, as originally meaning *to burn* and secondarily *to bury*. If this be the correct etymology of תֹּפֶת, it denotes a place of burning in the general, and was only applied to the spot before mentioned by way of eminence, in allusion either to the sacrificial or the purgatorial fires there maintained, or both. On this hypothesis, it would be altogether natural to understand the word here in an indefinite or generic sense, as meaning a place of burning, such as a stake or a funeral pile, and it is so explained accordingly by Gesenius (Brandstätte), Ewald (Scheiterhaufen), and other late interpreters. The question whether it is here used to describe the place of future torments or as a mere poetical description of the temporal destruction of the king of Assyria, is the less important, as the language must in either case be figurative, and can teach us nothing therefore as to the real circumstances either of the first or second death. Considering however the appalling grandeur of the images presented, and our Saviour's use of similar expressions to describe the place of everlasting punishment, and also the certainty deducible from other scriptures, that a wicked king destroyed in the act of fighting against God must be punished in the other world as well as this, we need not hesitate to understand the passage as at least including a denunciation of eternal misery, although the general idea which the figures were intended to express is that of sudden terrible destruction. As the phrase מֵאֶתְמוֹל has been variously explained to

mean *long ago*, and *just now* or *a little while ago*, it is best to retain the original expression with Calvin (ab hesterno) and Umbreit (von gestern her). The old Jews have a curious tradition that hell was made on the second day of the creation, or the first that had a yesterday, for which reason God pronounced no blessing on it. The verbs הֶעְמִיק and הֵרְחִב must be either construed with *Jehovah* or indefinitely. מְדֻרָה means the whole circumference and area of the place of burning. Gesenius connects it with the foregoing verbs to make the structure of the sentence more symmetrical (deep and wide is its pile—fire and wood in plenty); but Hitzig vindicates the masoretic interpunction on the ground that the foregoing verbs cannot be applied to the pile, and that the following proposition would in that case have no predicate. For a similar expression he refers to Jer. 24: 2. Lowth connects מְדֻרָתָהּ with אֵשׁ and renders it *a fiery pyre*, which Barnes has altered to *a pyre for the flame*, both overlooking the pronominal suffix. Augusti takes the final ה as a suffix (*his Tophet*); but it is commonly regarded as a paragogic letter or a mere euphonic variation of the usual form תָּפְתָּ. J. D. Michaelis, however, thinks that if the present reading is the true one, it must be a verb meaning *thou shalt be deceived*, another allusion to the false report about the Ethiopians. DeWette renders כִּי at the beginning *yea*; but it has really its proper sense of *for, because*, connecting this verse, either with the one immediately before it, or with the remoter context. Knobel supposes that the images of this verse were selected because the burning of the dead was foreign from the Jewish customs and abhorrent to their feelings. According to Clericus, the *Tophet* of this verse was a place of burning really prepared by Hezekiah for the bodies of the slain Assyrians, but entirely distinct from the Tophet near Jerusalem. Luther by rendering it *pit* (die Grube), and J. D. Michaelis *churchyard* (Kirchhof), destroy its connexion with the real Tophet and with the ideas of fire and burning.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Reliance upon Egypt is distrust of God, who will avenge himself by destroying both the helper and the helped, vs. 1–3. His determination and ability to save those who confide in his protection are expressed by two comparisons, vs. 4–5. The people are therefore invited to return to him, from every false dependence, human or idolatrous, as they will be constrained to do with shame, when they shall witness the destruction of their enemies by the resistless fire of his wrath, vs. 6–9.

Hitzig assumes an interval, though not a very long one, between this and the preceding chapter. To most interpreters and readers, it seems to be a direct continuation, or at most a repetition, of the threatenings and reproofs which had just been uttered.

V. 1. *Woe to those going down to Egypt for help, and on horses they lean* (or *rely*), *and trust in cavalry, because it is numerous, and in horsemen, because they are very strong, and they look not to the Holy One of Israel, and Jehovah they seek not.* The abundance of horses in Egypt is attested, not only in other parts of Scripture, but by profane writers. Homer describes Thebes as having a hundred gates, out of each of which two hundred warriors went forth with chariots and horses. Diodorus speaks of the whole country between Thebes and Memphis as filled with royal stables. The horses of Solomon are expressly said to have been brought out of Egypt. This kind of military force was more highly valued, in comparison with infantry, by the ancients than the moderns, and especially by those who, like the Hebrews, were almost entirely deprived of it themselves. Hence their reliance upon foreign aid is frequently identified with confidence in horses, and contrasted with simple trust in God (Psalm 20 : 8). Most interpreters give רֶכֶב here its usual sense of *chariot*, put collectively for *chariots ;* but as such a use of the singular between two plurals would be somewhat unnatural, it may be taken in the sense which we have seen it to have in ch. 21 : 7. To *seek Jehovah* is not merely to consult him, but to seek his aid, resort to him, implying the strongest confidence. For the meaning of the phrase *look to*, see the note on ch. 17 : 8.

V. 2. *And* (yet) *he too is wise, and brings evil, and his words he removes not, and he rises up against the house of evil-doers, and against the help of the workers of iniquity.* The adversative *yet* is required by our idiom in this connexion, but is not expressed by גַּם, which has its usual sense of *too* or *also*, implying a comparison with the Egyptians, upon whose wisdom, as well as strength, the Jews may have relied, or with the Jews themselves, who no doubt reckoned it a masterpiece of wisdom to secure such powerful assistance. The comparison may be explained as comprehending both. God was as wise as the Egyptians, and ought therefore to have been consulted ; he was as wise as the Jews, and could therefore thwart their boasted policy. There is not only a *meiosis* in this sentence, but an obvious irony. There is no need of supposing, with Vitringa, that the wisdom, either of Egypt or of Israel, is here denied, excepting in comparison with that of God. The translation of the verbs as futures is arbitrary. Ewald refers וַיָּבֵא to previous threatenings, which is hardly justified by usage. הֵסִיר, in this connexion, seems to have the sense of withdrawing

or revoking, as in Josh. 11 : 15 it denotes a practical revocation by neglecting to fulfil. The *house of evil-doers* is their family or race (ch. 1 : 4), here applied to the unbelieving Jews. The Egyptians are called their *help*, and both are threatened with destruction. To *rise up* is to show one's self, address one's self to action, and implies a state of previous forbearance or neglect.

V. 3. *And Egypt (is) man and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit, and Jehovah shall stretch out his hand, and the helper shall stumble and the helped fall, and together all of them shall cease* (or be destroyed). This verse repeats the contrast between human and divine aid, and the threatening that the unbelievers and their foreign helpers should be involved in the same destruction. The antithesis of *flesh* and *spirit*, like that of *God* and *man*, is not metaphysical but rhetorical, and is intended simply to express extreme dissimilitude or inequality. Reliance upon Egypt is again sarcastically represented as reliance upon horses, and as such opposed to confidence in God. As Egypt here means the Egyptians, it is afterwards referred to as a plural. *Stumble* and *fall* are here poetical equivalents.

V. 4. *For thus said Jehovah unto me, As a lion growls, and a young lion, over his prey, against whom a multitude of shepherds is called forth, at their voice he is not frightened, and at their noise he is not humbled, so will Jehovah of Hosts come down, to fight upon Mount Zion and upon her hill.* This is still another form of the same contrast. The comparison is a favourite one with Homer, and occurs in the eighteenth book of the Iliad, in terms almost identical. *Growl* is to be preferred to *roar*, not only for the reason given by Bochart, that the lion roars before not after it has seized its prey, but because הָגָה more properly denotes a suppressed or feeble sound. מְלֹא is literally *fulness*, and is rendered by Montanus *plenitudine*. Other less natural constructions of the second clause are : *when* a *multitude is called ; who* (*when*) *a multitude is called, etc.* Some read יִקָּרֵא, and translate it either *cries* or *meets*. Most interpreters have, *for Mount Zion*, in which sense עַל is used with נִלְחַם elsewhere. But as צָבָא itself, with this same preposition, means to *fight against* in ch. 29 : 7, Hitzig and Hendewerk regard this as a threatening that God will take part with the Assyrians against Jerusalem, the promise of deliverance beginning with the next verse. Ewald supposes צְבִא to be used in allusion to the name צְבָאוֹת (the Lord of *Hosts* will be present in the *host*) and gives עַל the sense of *over* or *upon* (über), which may either indicate the place or the subject of the contest. By supposing the particle to mean *concerning*, we can explain its use both in a hostile and a favourable sense. The כִּי at the beginning of this verse introduces the ground or reason of the declaration that the seeking of foreign aid was both unlawful

and unnecessary. The *hill* is by some supposed to be Moriah, as an appendage of Mount Zion; but it may just as well be simply parallel to *mountain*, the mountain of Zion and the hill thereof. The feminine suffix refers not to הַר but to צִיּוֹן.

V. 5. *As birds flying* (over or around their nests), *so will Jehovah cover over* (or protect) *Jerusalem, cover and rescue, pass over and save.* According to Hitzig, it is not Jehovah but Jerusalem that is here compared to *fluttering birds*. But, as Hendewerk properly objects, עָפוֹת means *flying*, and is inapplicable to young birds in the nest. The feminine עָפוֹת also indicates a reference to the care of mothers for their young. Gesenius follows Kimchi in explaining חָצֵל and חָמֵלְט as unusual forms of the infinitive; but Ewald and Hitzig regard this as an instance of the idiomatic combination of infinitive and finite forms. פָּסַח is the verb used to denote the passing over of the houses in Egypt by the destroying angel (hence פֶּסַח *passover*), to which there may be an allusion here. There is at least no ground for making the verb, in either case, mean to *cover* (Vitringa) or to *leap forward* (Lowth). To *pass over*, in the sense of sparing, is appropriate in both.

V. 6. Since you need no protection but Jehovah's, therefore, *return unto him from whom* (or *with respect to whom*) *the children of Israel have deeply revolted* (literally, *have deepened revolt*). The last words may also be read, *from whom they* (i. e. men indefinitely) *have deeply revolted, oh ye children of Israel.* The substitution of the second person for the third, in the ancient versions and by Barnes (*ye have revolted*), is wholly arbitrary. Some explain לַאֲשֶׁר to mean *according as* or *in proportion as*, which seems to be a forced construction. The syntax may be solved, either by supposing *to him* to be understood and giving לַאֲשֶׁר the sense of *with respect to whom*, or by assuming that, as both these ideas could be expressed by this one phrase, it was put but once in order to avoid the tautology. *Deep* may be here used to convey the specific idea of debasement, or the more general one of distance, or still more generally, as a mere intensive, like our common phrases *deeply grieved* or *deeply injured.* The analogy of ch. 29: 15, however, would suggest the idea of deep contrivance or design, which is equally appropriate.

V. 7. This acknowledgment you will be constrained to make sooner or later. *For in that day* (of miraculous deliverance) *they shall reject* (cast away with contempt), *a man* (i. e. each) *his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which your sinful hands have made for you*, or, *which your own hands have made for you as sin*, i. e. as an occasion and a means of sin. In like manner the golden calves are called the sin of Israel (Deut. 9: 21. Am.

8: 14). The construction which makes *sin* a qualifying epithet of *hands*, is preferred by Hendewerk and some older writers, but is not so natural as that which makes the former denote the object or effect of the action. For the true construction of *his silver* and *his gold*, see the note on ch. 2: 20. For the same enallage of person, in a similar connexion, see ch. 1: 29. Trust in idols and reliance upon human helpers are here, and often elsewhere, put together, as identical in principle, and closely connected in the experience of ancient Israel. (See the notes on ch. 2: 8, 22.)

V. 8. This future abandonment of all false confidences is described as springing from the demonstration of Jehovah's willingness and power to save. *And Assyria shall fall by no man's sword, and no mortal's sword shall devour him, and he shall flee from before the sword, and his young men* (or *chosen warriors*) *shall become tributary* (literally, *tribute*). לֹא־אִישׁ and לֹא־אָדָם are commonly explained as emphatic compounds, like לֹא־אֵין in ch. 10: 15, implying not mere negation but contrariety, something infinitely more than man. In such a comparison, the antithesis of *mighty man* and *mean man* seems so entirely out of place, that it is best to explain אִישׁ and אָדָם, according to the ordinary principle of parallelism, as equivalents. In either case, the terms are universal and exclusive. For לֹא, a few manuscripts and one of the earliest editions read לֹא, *not from the sword*, i. e. he shall flee when no man pursueth (Prov. 28: 1). But the pleonastic dative after verbs of motion is a common Hebrew idiom. Vitringa and others derive מַס from מָסַס to melt, and explain the whole phrase to mean, *shall be melted*, i. e. either dispersed or overcome with fear. But in every other case the expression means to become tributary, with a special reference to the rendering of service to a superior. The objection that the prophecy, as thus explained, was not fulfilled, proceeds upon the false assumption that it refers exclusively to the overthrow of Sennacherib's host, whereas it describes the decline and fall of the Assyrian power after that catastrophe.

V. 9. *And his rock* (i. e. his strength) *from fear shall pass away, and his chiefs shall be afraid of a standard* (or signal, as denoting the presence of the enemy), *saith Jehovah, to whom there is a fire in Zion and a furnace in Jerusalem.* Besides the version above given of the first clause, which is that of Jerome (fortitudo transibit), there are two constructions, also ancient, between which modern writers are divided. Kimchi explains the words to mean, that in his flight he should pass by the strongholds on his own frontier where he might have taken refuge. Grotius quotes in illustration the Latin proverb, *fugit praeter casam.* Hendewerk modifies this explanation by supposing caverns in the hills to be referred to, as customary places of

concealment. The other construction is proposed by Aben Ezra: he shall pass (not *by* but) *to* his stronghold, i. e. as Calvin understands it, Nineveh. Neither of these explanations seems so obvious and simple as the one just given. Lowth arbitrarily translates מִנֵּסּוֹ *at his flight*. Zwingle applied this clause to the cowardly desertion of the standards. The last clause, according to Piscator, means, *whose hearth is in Jerusalem*, or as Gill expresses it, *who keeps house there and therefore will defend it*. But this use of *fire* and *furnace* is not only foreign from the usage of the Scriptures, but from the habits of the orientals, who have no such association of ideas between *hearth* and *home*. The true explanation of the clause seems to be that which supposes an allusion both to the sacred fire on the altar and to the consuming fire of God's presence, whose altar flames in Zion and whose wrath shall thence flame to destroy his enemies. Compare the explanation of the mystical name *Ariel* in the note on ch. 29: 1.

CHAPTER XXXII.

This chapter consists of two distinguishable parts. The first continues the promises of the foregoing context, vs. 1–8. The second predicts intervening judgments both to Israel and his enemies, vs. 9–20.

The first blessing promised in the former part is that of merciful and righteous government, vs. 1, 2. The next is that of spiritual illumination, vs. 3, 4. As the consequence of this, moral distinctions shall no longer be confounded, men shall be estimated at their real value; a general prediction, which is here applied to two specific cases, vs. 5–8.

The threatenings of the second part are specially addressed to the women of Judah, v. 9. They include the desolation of the country and the downfall of Jerusalem, vs. 10–14. The evils are to last until a total change is wrought by an effusion of the Holy Spirit, vs. 15–18. But fearful changes are to intervene, for which believers must prepare themselves by diligence in present duty, vs. 19, 20.

V. 1. *Behold, for righteousness shall reign a king, and rulers for justice shall rule.* The usual translation is *in justice* and *in righteousness*, as descriptive epithets of the reign foretold. But as this idea is commonly expressed by the preposition ב, the use of ל here may have been intended to suggest, that he would reign not only justly, but for the very purpose of doing justice. The Hebrew particle denotes relation in its widest sense,

but is most frequently equivalent to our *to* and *for*. The cognate noun and verb (rule and rulers) are combined as in the original. The ל before שרים is commonly agreed to mean *as to, as for*. It is a question among interpreters whether the king here predicted is Hezekiah or the Messiah. The truth appears to be that the promise is a general one, as if he had said, the day is coming when power shall be exercised and government administered, not as at present (in the reign of Ahaz), but with a view to the faithful execution of the laws. Of such an improvement Hezekiah's reign was at least a beginning and a foretaste. The reference of שָׂרִים to the apostles appears very forced, and is certainly not justified, much less required, by the promise in Matt. 19: 28.

V. 2. *And a man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the rain* (or *storm*), *as channels of water in a dry place* (or *in drought*), *as the shadow of a heavy rock in a weary land.* Most of the late interpreters give אִישׁ the sense of a distributive pronoun, *each* (i. e. each of the chiefs or princes mentioned in v. 1) *shall be etc.* But the word is seldom if ever so used except when connected with a plural verb, as in ch. 9: 19, 20. 13: 8, 14. 14: 18. 19: 2. 31: 7. The meaning rather is, that there shall be a man upon the throne, or at the head of the government, who, instead of oppressing, will protect the helpless. This may either be indefinitely understood, or applied, in an individual and emphatic sense, to the Messiah. The figures for protection and relief are the same used above in ch. 4: 6 and 25: 4. The phrases *heavy rock* and *weary land* are idiomatic, but require no explanation.

V. 3. *And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken.* According to analogy, תִּשְׁעֶינָה is the future of שָׁעָה, a verb used repeatedly by Isaiah in the sense of *looking* either at or away from any object. (See, for example, ch. 17: 7, 8. 22: 4. 31: 1.) In this case, however, a contrary meaning seems to be so clearly required, both by the context and the parallelism, that most interpreters, ancient and modern, concur in deriving it from שָׁעַע, or in supposing שָׁעָה to have been sometimes used in the sense of blinding, which the former verb has in ch. 6: 10 and 29: 9. Some understand רֹאִים as meaning *seers* or prophets, and שֹׁמְעִים their *hearers*; but most interpreters apply both words to the people generally, as those who had eyes but saw not, and had ears but heard not. Compare the threatening in ch. 6: 9, and the promise in ch. 29: 18.

V. 4. *And the heart* (or *mind*) *of the rash* (heedless or reckless) *shall understand to know* (or *understand knowledge*), *and the tongue of stammerers shall hasten to speak clear things* (i. e. shall speak readily and plainly).

Some interpreters suppose that this last metaphor relates to scoffers at religion, who are elsewhere represented as stammering in derision of the Prophet's admonitions (ch. 28: 11). But it seems more natural to understand the bodily defects here mentioned as denoting others of an intellectual and spiritual nature, neglect and ignorance of spiritual matters. The minds of men shall begin to be directed to religious truth, and delivered from ignorance and error in relation to it.

V. 5. When men's eyes are thus opened, they will no longer confound the essential distinctions of moral character, because they will no longer be deceived by mere appearances. Things will then be called by their right names. *The fool* (in the emphatic Scriptural sense, the wicked man) *will no longer be called noble*, (men will no longer attach ideas of dignity and greatness to the name or person of presumptuous sinners,) *and the churl* (or niggard) *will no more be spoken of* (or *to*) *as liberal.* The sense here given to כִּילַי rests wholly on the Jewish tradition, as the word occurs nowhere else in Scripture. Gesenius derives it by *aphaeresis* from נָבַל, and explains it to mean *cunning*. The sense will then be, that a crafty policy shall no longer gain for him who practises it the reputation of magnanimous liberality. Hitzig derives the word from כָּלָה to consume, and explains the clause as meaning that the waster (prodigal or spendthrift) shall no longer be called generous. This last agrees best with the parallel clause, in which the outward show of a good quality is distinguished from its actual possession. But both these versions rest upon dubious etymologies. On either supposition, it is clear that this clause, like the other, contains a specific illustration of the general truth that men shall be estimated at their real value. Ewald translates נָבָל and כִּילַי *Taugenichts* (good-for-nothing) and *Windbeutel* (bag-of-wind).

V. 6. The Prophet now defines his own expressions, or describes the characters which they denote. *The fool* (*is one who*) *will speak folly* (in the strongest and worst sense), *and his heart will do iniquity, to do wickedness and to speak error unto* (or *against*) *Jehovah*, (while at the same time he is merciless and cruel towards his fellow-men,) *to starve* (or *leave empty*) *the soul of the hungry, and the drink of the thirsty he will suffer to fail.* The futures in this verse express the idea of habitual action, he does and will do so. The infinitives convey the same idea in a different form, by making prominent the design and effect of their unlawful course. The common version, *work* and *practise*, needlessly departs from the form of the original, in which the same verb is repeated. To give it first the sense of *devising*, and then that of *executing*, is still more arbitrary. חֹנֶף, according to the older writers, means *hypocrisy;* according to the moderns, *wickedness* in general, but in a high degree.

V. 7. Such is the fool: as for the churl, although his making money be not sinful in itself, his *arms* or *instruments*, the means which he employs, *are evil*. He that hastens to be rich can scarcely avoid the practice of dishonest arts and of unkindness to the poor. *He deviseth plots to destroy the oppressed* (or *afflicted*) *with words of falsehood, and* (i. e. *even*) *in the poor* (*man's*) *speaking right* (i. e. even when the poor man's claim is just, or in a more general sense, *when the poor man pleads his cause*). The variation in the form of the word כִּילֹּי (כִּלֹּי) is, with great probability, supposed by Gesenius to have been intended to assimilate the form to כֵּלָיו.

V. 8. As the wicked man's true character is betrayed by his habitual acts, so the noble or generous man (and according to the Scriptures none is such but the truly good man) reveals his dispositions by his conduct. *He devises noble* (or *generous*) *things, and in noble* (or *generous things*) *he perseveres* (literally, on them he stands).

V. 9. Here, as in many other cases, the Prophet reverts to the prospect of approaching danger, which was to arouse the careless Jews from their security. As in ch. 3: 16, he addresses himself to the women of Jerusalem, because to them an invasion would be peculiarly disastrous, and also perhaps because their luxurious habits contributed, more or less directly, to existing evils. *Careless women, arise, hear my voice; confiding daughters, give ear unto my speech.* Women and daughters are equivalent expressions. Careless and confiding (or secure) i. e. indifferent because not apprehensive of the coming danger.

V. 10. Having called their attention in v. 9, he now proceeds with the prediction which concerned them. *In a year and more* (literally, *days above a year*), *ye shall tremble, ye confiding ones, for the vintage fails, the gathering shall not come.* The English Version makes the time denoted to be that of the duration of the threatened evil. יָמִים עַל שָׁנָה is by some explained to mean, *during the remainder of the year*; but the version above given agrees best with the form of the original.

V. 11. He now speaks as if the event had already taken place, and calls upon them to express their sorrow and alarm by the usual signs of mourning. *Tremble ye careless* (*women*), *quake ye confiding* (*ones*), *strip you and make you bare, and gird* (sackcloth) *on your loins.* A remarkable anomaly in this verse is the masculine form of the first imperative and the singular form of the others. Ewald explains the latter as contractions for חֲגֹרְנָה, רַגְזְנָה, but admits that there are no analogous forms elsewhere. Knobel thinks it possible that the forms are infinitives with local or directive ה

(*to trembling, stripping, girding!*) but this is equally without example. Gesenius, Hitzig, and others, make them paragogic forms, in which case both the gender and number are anomalous.

V. 12. *Mourning for the breasts* (or *beating on the breasts* as a sign of mourning), *for the pleasant fields, for the fruitful vine.* The older writers explained *breasts* as a figure for productive grounds or sources of supply. Lowth connects it with v. 11 (*on your loins, on your breasts*). Gesenius in his Commentary reads שָׂדַיִם *fields;* but in his Lexicon, he follows Paulus and the ancient versions in giving סִפְדִים its primary sense of *striking*, especially upon the breast, in sign of mourning. The same act is described in Nah. 2: 8, but by a different verb. This explanation is also given by Maurer, Henderson, Ewald, Umbreit, and Knobel. It is favoured by the striking analogy of κόπτω and *plango* (the words used by the Septuagint and Vulgate here), both which have precisely the same primary and secondary meaning. The other explanation, which is still retained by Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Barnes, is recommended by the usage of סָפַד, and by the fact that עַל is twice used afterwards in this same sentence, to denote the subject or occasion of the sorrow. The argument founded on the masculine form סִפְדִים has less weight, on account of the anomalies in v. 11, and the remoteness of the feminine antecedent.

V. 13. *Upon the land of my people thorn* (and) *thistle shall come up, for* (they shall even come up) *upon all* (*thy*) *houses of pleasure, oh joyous city!* or, *upon all houses of pleasure* (*in*) *the joyous city.* The true sense of the כִּי seems to be that expressed above in the translation. Most interpreters however employ *yea* as an equivalent. According to Hendewerk, this predicts only a partial and temporary desolation, and Knobel applies it to the pleasure-grounds and houses without the walls, which is a mere gratuitous assumption.

V. 14. *For the palace is forsaken, the crowd of the city* (or *the crowded city*) *left, hill and watch-tower* (*are*) *for caves* (or *dens*) *forever, a joy* (or favourite resort) *of wild asses, a pasture of flocks.* The use of the word *palace*, and that in the singular number, clearly shows that the destruction of Jerusalem itself is here predicted, although Knobel still maintains that *palace* means country-houses. The next clause likewise contains a refutation of his hypothesis. עֹפֶל originally means a hill, but is applied as a proper name (Ophel) to the southern extremity of Mount Moriah, overhanging the spot where the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom meet. "The top of the ridge is flat, descending rapidly towards the south, sometimes by offsets of rock; the ground is tilled and planted with olive and other fruit-trees." (Robinson's

Palestine, I. p. 394.) Most writers seem to make בְּצַד here mean *instead of*, which is at best a rare and doubtful sense. In the last edition of Robinson's Gesenius, this explanation is relinquished and a local meaning given to the word, *amid caverns, i. e. surrounded by them.* But this reverses the true meaning of the preposition, *about, round about.* If strictly understood, it would rather seem to mean that the hill and tower should *enclose* caves or dens within their limits. Hendewerk, in order to avoid the conclusion that an actual destruction of the city is foretold, explains the verse as meaning that the people should shut themselves and their cattle up within the walls, so that the interior of the city, for a time, would be changed into a pasture-ground.

V. 15. The desolation having been described in v. 14 as of indefinite duration, this verse states more explicitly how long it is to last. *Until the Spirit is poured out upon us from on high, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is reckoned to the forest.* The general meaning evidently is, until by a special divine influence a total revolution shall take place in the character, and as a necessary consequence in the condition, of the people. The attempt to restrict it to the return from exile, or the day of Pentecost, or some great effusion of the Spirit on the Jews still future, perverts the passage by making that its whole meaning which at most is but a part. For the meaning of the figures, see the exposition of ch. 29: 17. In this connexion, they would seem to denote nothing more than total change, whereas in the other case the idea of an interchange appears to be made prominent.

V. 16. *And justice shall abide in the wilderness, and righteousness in the fruitful field shall dwell.* This may either mean, that what is now a wilderness, and what is now a fruitful field, shall alike be the abode of righteousness i. e. of righteous men; or that both in the cultivation of the desert, and in the desolation of the field, the righteousness of God shall be displayed. In favour of the former is the use of the word *dwell*, which implies a permanent condition, rather than a transient or occasional manifestation. It also agrees better with the relation of this verse to that before it, as a part of the same sentence. If this be the meaning of the sixteenth verse, it seems to follow clearly, that the whole of the last clause of the fifteenth is a promise, since the same inhabitation of righteousness is here foretold in reference to the forest and the fruitful field. It is possible indeed that these may be put for the whole land, as being the two parts into which he had just before divided it.

V. 17. As the foregoing verse describes the effect of the effusion of the Spirit to be universal righteousness, so this describes the natural and neces-

sary consequence of righteousness itself. *And the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness rest and assurance* (or *security*) *forever.* Both מעשה and עבדה strictly denote *work*, or rather that which is wrought, the product of labour. The translation of the former by *fruit* introduces a figure not in the original, as מעשה is never so employed, although the verbal root is used to denote the generation of plants. The phrase עד־עולם, not being limited in this case as it is in vs. 14, 15, must be taken in its widest sense.

V. 18. *And my people shall abide in a home of peace, in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places.* There is something tranquillizing in the very sound of this delightful promise, which, as usual, is limited to God's own people, implying either that all should have become such, or that those who had not should be still perturbed and restless.

V. 19. *And it shall hail in the downfall of the forest* (i. e. so as to overthrow it), *and the city shall be low in a low place* (or *humbled with humiliation*) i. e. utterly brought down. If this be read as a direct continuation of the promise in v. 18, it must be explained as a description of the downfall of some hostile power, and accordingly it has been referred by most interpreters to Nineveh, by Knobel to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army, and by Henderson to the destruction of the Jewish polity at the beginning of the Christian dispensation. Others, thinking it more natural to assume one subject here and in v. 13, regard this as another instance of prophetic recurrence from remoter promises to nearer threats; as if he had said, before these things can come to pass, the city must be brought low. This construction is entirely in keeping with the Prophet's manner, as exemplified already in this very chapter. (See the note on v. 9 above.) Most interpreters, however, seem to fall into the usual error of regarding as specific and exclusive what the Prophet himself has left unlimited and undefined. However natural and probable certain applications of the passage may appear, the only sense which can with certainty be put upon it, is that some existing power must be humbled, either as a means or as a consequence of the moral revolution which had been predicted. Knobel applies the first clause to the slaughter of Sennacherib's army, and the second to the spiritual humiliation of the Jews, which is very unnatural. The recent writers find a paronomasia in the phrase ברד ברדת, which Ewald imitates by combining the words *hageln* and *verhagelt.*

V. 20. *Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth the foot of the ox and the ass.* The allusion in this verse is supposed by some to be to pasturage, by others to tillage. Lowth follows Chardin in applying the words to the practice of treading the ground by the feet of cattle before

planting rice, Henderson to the act of setting them at liberty from the rope with which they were tied by the foot. There is still more diversity of judgment with respect to the application of the metaphor. Of the latest writers who have been consulted, Knobel understands the verse as contrasting the condition of those who lived at liberty, on the sea-side or by rivers, with theirs who were pent up and besieged in cities. Hitzig supposes a particular allusion to the case of those who had escaped with their possessions from Jerusalem. Hendewerk applies the verse to the happy external condition of the people in the days of the Messiah. Henderson says it beautifully exhibits the free and unrestrained exertions of the apostles and other missionaries in sowing the seed of the kingdom in every part of the world. Ewald explains it exclusively of moral cultivation, as implying that none can expect to reap good without diligently sowing it. Of all these explanations the last may be considered as approaching nearest to the truth, because it requires least to be supplied by the imagination. Taking the whole connexion into view, the meaning of this last verse seems to be, that as great revolutions are to be expected, arising wholly or in part from moral causes, they alone are safe, for the present and the future, who with patient assiduity perform what is required, and provide, by the discharge of actual duty, for contingencies which can neither be escaped nor provided for in any other manner.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

This chapter contains a general threatening of retribution to the enemies of God's people, with particular reference to Sennacherib or the Assyrian power. The spoiler shall himself be spoiled in due time, through the divine interposition, and for the exaltation of Jehovah, vs. 1–6. The state of desolation and alarm is followed by sudden deliverance, vs. 7–13. The same vicissitudes are again described, but in another form, vs. 14–19. The peace and security of Zion are set forth under the figures of a stationary tent, and of a spot surrounded by broad rivers, yet impassable to hostile vessels, vs. 20–22. By a beautiful transition, the enemy is described as such a vessel, but dismantled and abandoned to its enemies, v. 23. The chapter closes with a general promise of deliverance from suffering, as a consequence of pardoned sin, v. 24.

V. 1. *Woe to thee spoiling and thou wast not spoiled, deceiving and they did not deceive thee! When thou shalt cease to spoil thou shalt be*

spoiled, and when thou art done deceiving they shall deceive thee. The plural verbs, in both clauses, are indefinitely construed as equivalents to the passive participles. The two ideas meant to be expressed are those of violence and treachery, as the crying sins of arbitrary powers. The latest German writers suppose both the verbs to be expressive of robbery or spoliation, but without authority from usage. (See the note on ch. 21 : 2.) The person addressed has been supposed by different writers to be Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes (Vitringa), Ferdinand II. (Cocceius), Antichrist (Gill), and Satan (Jerome). Most interpreters suppose it to be Sennacherib, either as an individual or as a representative of the Assyrian power. In themselves the words are applicable to any oppressive and deceitful enemy, and may be naturally so explained at the beginning of the prophecy. This verse describes the enemy as acting without provocation, and also as having never yet experienced reverses.

V. 2. *Jehovah, favour us ; for thee we wait ; be their arm in the mornings, also our salvation in time of trouble.* Instead of *their arm*, Lowth follows several of the ancient versions in reading *our arm*. The common text has been variously explained as a prayer of the present for the absent (Vitringa), of the Jewish for the Christian Church (DeDieu), of the Reformed Church for its defenders (Cocceius), etc. etc. The truth seems to be, as Barnes well says, that Isaiah here interposes his own feelings, and offers his own prayer that God would be the strength of the nation, and then, with an immediate change of form, presents the prayer of the people. *Arm* is a common Hebrew metaphor for strength or support. (See ch. 9 : 19.) *As to the mornings* is an indefinite expression, understood by some to mean *early* or *quickly*, by others *every morning* (Kimchi : בכל בקר ובקר), with allusion to the daily attacks of the enemy (Henderson) or to the daily morning sacrifice (Piscator). Calvin explains the whole clause thus : be thou, who wast their arm (i. e. that of our fathers) in the morning (i. e. of old), also our salvation in time of trouble. But this is rather a Latin than a Hebrew construction.

V. 3. *At a noise of tumult* (or *tumultuous noise*) *the peoples flee ; at thy rising the nations are scattered.* The modern notion, that the voice of Jehovah always means thunder, seems entirely arbitrary. The voice and the rising up are parts of the same figure, and the one has no more reference to actual phenomena in nature than the other. Aben Ezra and Lowth suppose these words to be addressed to Sennacherib, all other writers to Jehovah himself. Jerome refers the first clause to the voice of the destroying angel, Piscator to the tumult in the camp of the Assyrians. Lowth reads *thy terrible voice*, in which, as he says, he follows the Septuagint and

Peshito. The same combination occurs in Dan. 10: 6. (Compare Rev. 1: 10, 15.) The *rising* meant is not the ascent of the judge to the judgment-seat (Piscator), nor the exaltation of the Assyrian power (Aben Ezra), but the act of rising from a state of seeming inaction, or as when one rouses himself to strike (Barnes). These words are commonly applied to the divine interposition in the case of Sennacherib's attack upon Jerusalem; but Ewald understands them more generally as denoting that such had ever been the effect of Jehovah's presence, and must be so still. Some arbitrarily translate the verse as a direct prediction (*fugient*) or a prayer (*fugiant*).

V. 4. *And your spoil shall be gathered (like) the gathering of the devourer; like the running of locusts running on it.* By another apostrophe, the Prophet here addresses the enemy collectively. חסיל is a name of the locust, so called from its devouring. (See the verb in Deut. 28: 38.) Henderson translates the parallel terms, *devouring locust* and *caterpillar-locusts.* The older writers understand this clause to mean *as locusts are gathered*, for the purpose of destroying them, even by children (Calvin) or by labourers in pits (Jerome), a custom still existing in Africa and Spain (Forerius). Junius explains it to mean *that which locusts have gathered.* But all the modern writers understand the words to mean *as locusts gather*, i. e. greedily and thoroughly, not leaving a tree or a field till they have stripped it (Bochart). As אסף is the verb used to denote the gathering of fruits in harvest (ch. 17: 5), Gesenius supposes a specific allusion to that usage here, *like the harvesting of locusts etc.* The construction of the last clause is: like the running of locusts (shall one be) running on it (i. e. on the spoil). The verb שקק denotes specifically the act of *running eagerly* or with a view to satisfy the appetite. It is sometimes used to denote desire itself, which Umbreit assumes to be the meaning here (*nach Heuschrecken-Gier giert man darnach*). Vitringa finds the fulfilment of this threatening in 1 Macc. 4: 23. 6: 6. There is an old rabbinical tradition, which so explains this verse as to justify the seizure of the spoils of the ten tribes by the Jews, when found in the possession of the Assyrians.

V. 5. *Exalted is Jehovah because dwelling on high* (or *inhabiting a high place*); *he fills* (or *has filled*) *Zion with judgment and righteousness.* The first word, being a passive participle, seems to denote not merely a condition but a change. *He has been exalted*, by the subjection of his enemies (Knobel), or by his mighty deeds in general. The future form adopted in the French Version (*va être magnifié*) is needless and arbitrary. There is no need of making כי a relative (Vitringa) or rendering it *yea* (Barnes), as it introduces an explanation of the statement in the first clause. *High place*

is not put specifically for heaven (Gesenius) but for a lofty and commanding position. The last clause probably denotes, not the moral effects produced upon the people (Ewald), but the manifestation of Jehovah's attributes. According to Hendewerk, this second clause is the beginning of the Messianic part of the first of the three prophecies contained in the chapter. Lowth introduces here his favourite idea of a chorus or choir of Jews representing the whole people.

V. 6. *And he shall be the security of thy times, strength of salvations, wisdom and knowledge, the fear of Jehovah, that is his treasure.* Most interpreters connect הָיָה either with אֱמוּנַת or חֹסֶן as its subject: there shall be security in thy times, or, the security of thy times shall be, or strength of salvations etc. shall be the security of thy times. But the simplest construction is the one proposed by Henderson, which supplies the subject from the foregoing verse, *he* (i. e. Jehovah, or *it* i. e. his righteousness) *shall be etc.* The object of address is supposed by some to be Hezekiah, by others the Messiah, but is most probably the people or the believer as an individual. *His treasure* may refer by an enallage personae to the same, or mean the treasure of Jehovah, that which he bestows. Hitzig supposes an allusion in the last clause to Hezekiah's treasury emptied by the tribute to Sennacherib, as if he had said, henceforth the fear of the Lord shall be his treasure. Umbreit makes the first clause by a forced construction mean that the evil times should produce or foster *faith*, and that this should be a treasure to the people. חֹסֶן, according to its etymology, means strength, but in usage is applied exclusively to that arising from wealth. The original construction is perfectly intelligible and much more expressive than such paraphrastic versions as *possessio salutaris* (Clericus). According to Hendewerk, this verse proves that the only Messiah, of whom Isaiah ever prophesies, is Hezekiah! Knobel thinks that it must be addressed to the people, because Hezekiah was a pious man before.

V. 7. *Behold, their valiant ones cry without; the ambassadors of peace weep bitterly.* The Targum and some other ancient versions seem to treat אֶרְאֶלָּם as a contraction of אֶרְאֶה לָּם or אֶרְאֶה לָּם. Thus Aquila has *ὀραθήσομαι αὐτοῖς*, Symmachus *ὀφθήσομαι*, the Vulgate *videntes*. But there is no example of the form לָּם for לָהֶם. (See the note on ch. 9: 6.) Ewald reads אַרְאֵלִים and explains it as an adjective derived from רָאַל synonymous with the Arabic رعل, to fear. *They fearful cry aloud.* This coincides in meaning with the Septuagint version (*ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτῶν*). Most of the other modern writers identify the word substantially with *Ariel* in ch. 29: 1, by reading אֲרִיאֵלִים in the plural or אֲרִיאֵלָּם with a suffix. The latest investigations, although still unsatisfactory, tend strongly to confirm the version given

in the English Bible. (See Gesenius's Thesaurus s. v.) Some, however, here as in ch. 29: 1, give *Ariel* the sense of *altar*. Thus Grotius translates the words *behold their altar*, and regards it as a derisive exclamation of the enemy, while Jarchi makes it a sorrowful ejaculation of the Jews themselves. Aben Ezra and Kimchi give it the sense of *messengers*, which is plainly a conjectural inference from the parallel expression. J. D. Michaelis characteristically makes it the name of a species of bird and renders it *Rohrdommel*. The messengers mentioned in the other clause are not those sent by Hezekiah to Isaiah (2 Kings 19: 2), nor the Maccabees, as being both priests and heroes (Vitringa), nor the ministers of the gospel, nor the two apocalyptic witnesses (Gill), but probably the three men sent by Hezekiah to Rabshakeh (2 Kings 18: 18) or perhaps the bearers of the tribute, weeping on account of Sennacherib's refusal to fulfil his promise. Hendewerk supposes them to be called valiant, because they ventured into the enemy's camp; others because they were probably military chiefs. Their weeping is agreed by all interpreters to be in strict accordance with the ancient usage, as described, for example, by Homer. According to Cocceius, the first clause is an exclamation at the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

V. 8. *The highways are wasted, the wayfarer ceaseth; he breaks the covenant, despises cities, values no man.* These are not the words of the ambassadors reporting the condition of the country (Grotius), but of the Prophet himself describing it. The scene presented is not that of Protestant cities seized by Antichrist and a stop put to a religious course and conversation (Gill), but the actual condition of Judea during the Assyrian invasion. (Compare Judges 5: 6.) The verbs of the last clause are not to be indefinitely construed (Cocceius), nor do they agree with *wayfarer*, but with Sennacherib or the Assyrian. They are not to be rendered as pluperfects (Junius), but as preterites or descriptive presents. The meaning is not that he rejected the cities offered him by Hezekiah (Lowth), nor that he barbarously disregarded the condition of the conquered country (J. D. Michaelis), but that he despised its defences as unable to resist him. The last words may either mean that he has no regard to any man's interest or wishes, or that he does not value human life. Some have strangely understood this as an impious reproach on God himself as having broken his engagements.

V. 9. *The land mourneth, languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed, it pines away; Sharon is like a wilderness, and Bashan and Carmel cast* (their leaves). The most fertile and flourishing parts of the country are described as desolate. That the language is figurative, may be inferred from the fact that none of the places mentioned were in Judah. Hitzig and Hendewerk suppose the date of the prediction to be fixed by the allusion to the falling

of the leaf. But would this periodical change be represented as a sign of desolation? According to Umbreit, Lebanon (the white mountain) is here described as blushing, but according to Ewald, as turning pale. Barnes thinks the reference is to the places through which the Assyrians had passed. J. D. Michaelis follows up his favourite mode of exposition by asserting that נגי denotes the buzzing of the gadfly, but is here used in the sense of *swarming* and applied to the hostile armies. Cocceius takes the same word in the sense of *roaring*. According to Grotius, the Sharon here meant is the one in Bashan (1 Chron. 5: 16). According to Clericus, Lebanon is put for Mount Niphates, and the other places for places in Assyria.

V. 10. *Now will I arise, saith Jehovah, now will I be lifted up, now will I exalt myself.* The emphasis is not upon the pronoun (Barnes), which in that case would have been expressed in Hebrew, but upon the adverb *now*, which is twice repeated to imply that the time for the divine interposition is arrived, and that there shall be no more delay. According to Gesenius, אֲרוֹמֵם is for אֲהָרוֹמֵם, but others read אֲרוֹמֵם.

V. 11. *Ye shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble; your breath (as) fire shall devour you.* The first clause contains a common Scriptural figure for failure and frustration. (See ch. 26: 18.) Chaff and stubble are not named as being dry and innutritious food (Vitringa), which would be wholly out of place in this connexion, but as worthless and perishable substances. Lowth follows Secker and the Targum in reading רוחי כבי for רוחכם (*my spirit like fire shall consume you*). Grotius takes רוח in the sense of *anger*, Clericus in that of *pride*. Calvin understands the clause to mean that their own breath should kindle the fire that destroyed them. As specimens of opposite extremes in exposition, it may be mentioned, that J. D. Michaelis applies this last clause to the infection of the plague communicated by the breath, Cocceius to the evils arising from the abuse of religious liberty in Germany and Holland, and especially from efforts to reunite the Protestant and Romish churches.

V. 12.. *And nations shall be lime-kilns* (or *burnings of lime*); *thorns cut up, in the fire they shall burn.* By *nations* we are not to understand the different races mingled in Sennacherib's army, but all nations that incur the wrath of God. The same word *burnings* is applied to the aromatic fumigations used at ancient burials (Jer. 34: 5), to which there may be some allusion here. The Hebrew word according to analogy may be a noun of place (Hendewerk), but is commonly supposed to denote burnings. Clericus connects the clauses by supposing that the thorns are described as being burnt in lime-kilns. The ideas expressed are those of quickness and

intensity. The thorns are perhaps described as *cut up*, to suggest that they are dry and therefore more combustible. On this same verse J. D. Michaelis observes, that the Jews at that time burnt the bodies of the dead; Knobel, that they regarded the custom with abhorrence. The former adds that when they burnt the Assyrians they might be said to burn a nation. Gill of course refers the verse to the future destruction of antichristian Rome. (Rev. 17: 16. 18: 8.)

V. 13. *Hear, ye far, what I have done, and know, ye near, my might.* By *far* and *near* the Targum understands confirmed saints and repentant sinners; Junius the Jews and Gentiles; Hendewerk the ten tribes and the Jews; but Barnes, more naturally, all without exception. According to Hitzig, the near are commanded to *know*, because they can see for themselves. Henderson retains the common version, *acknowledge*. According to Hendewerk, this is the beginning of a third distinct prediction. It is really an apostrophe, expressing the magnitude of the event predicted in the foregoing context.

V. 14. *Afraid in Zion are the sinners.* Not *at* or *near Zion*, meaning the Assyrians (Sanctius), but *in Zion* i. e. in Jerusalem, referring to the impious Jews themselves. *Trembling has seized the impious*, a parallel expression to *sinners*. The meaning *hypocrites* is rejected by the modern lexicographers for that of *impure* or gross sinners. So Calvin, in the margin of his version, has *scelratos*. The persons so described are the wicked and unbelieving portion of the Jews. Gill applies the terms directly to formal professors in the reformed churches; Grotius, to such of the Jews as had apostatized to heathenism in order to conciliate Sennacherib. On this far-fetched hypothesis Vitringa well remarks, that such expedients were unknown in ancient warfare, and that Sennacherib probably cared nothing as to the religion of those whom he attacked. What follows might be understood as the language of the Prophet himself, giving a reason for the terror of the wicked. Interpreters appear to be unanimous, however, in making it the language of the wicked Jews themselves. At the same time, they differ greatly as to the time at which these words must be supposed to have been spoken. Some refer them to the past, and understand the verse to mean that they are now in terror who once said thus and thus. On this hypothesis, the words themselves might be explained as the language of defiance. *Who of us is afraid* (זה) *of the devouring fire? Who of us is afraid of everlasting burnings?* Or with Vitringa, as the language of complaint. *Who of us can dwell with* (*this*) *devouring fire? Who of us can dwell with* (*these*) *perpetual burnings?* i. e. with a God of such severity? But the great mass of interpreters, both old and new, suppose this to be given not

as the former but the present language of the wicked Jews, when actually seized with terror. Not those *who once said*, but *who now say etc.* On this supposition, it can be expressive neither of defiance nor complaint, but only of alarm and desperation. Ewald, adopting this interpretation in the general, gives גור the sense of *protecting*, derived from its primary import of *sojourning* as a guest and a friend; but this is a gratuitous departure from the usage of the language. Those who adhere to it are still divided as to the application of the figures. Grotius understands by the fire the Assyrian host that menaced them. *Who can abide this devouring fire?* Piscator, the fire of God's wrath, as executed by the Assyrians. Aben Ezra, the wrath of God as exercised against the Assyrians themselves. This is the interpretation commonly adopted. It supposes the words to be expressive of the feelings excited by the slaughter of Sennacherib's host. If this be a specimen of God's vindicatory justice, what may we expect? *Who of us can dwell with (this) devouring fire? Who of us can dwell with (these) perpetual burnings?* Many make the language still more emphatic, by supposing that the Prophet argues from the less to the greater. If these are God's temporal judgments, what must his eternal wrath be? If the momentary strokes of his hand are thus resistless, *who of us can dwell with the devouring fire, who of us can dwell with everlasting burnings?* The last words may then be taken in their strongest and most unrestricted sense. Henderson thinks they have no meaning if they do not refer to eternal punishment. מי does not here mean *for us* or *with us*, but is used in its widest sense, as expressive of relation in general, to qualify the pronoun. *Who with respect to us*, i. e. *who of us*, as opposed to *men in general.* Gesenius describes it as an emphatic formula, and yet omits it in the translation. Hitzig and Hendewerk take fire and burning as a poetical description of the plague, by which they suppose the Assyrians to have perished. Clericus *more suo* understands it of the burning of the villages of Judah by the invaders. Knobel says the burning was called everlasting, because it was everlasting in its consequences, i. e. it destroyed what it consumed forever. But who could or would speak, in any language, of a man's being hung with an everlasting rope, or killed by an everlasting stroke of lightning? DeDieu's construction of the last clause as containing several distinct propositions (*quis commorabitur nostrum? ignis devorat etc.*) is ingenious, but unnatural and wholly unnecessary.

V. 15. This verse contains a description of the righteous man, not unlike that in the fifteenth and twenty-fourth Psalms. *Walking righteousnesses* i. e. leading a righteous life. *Walk* is a common Scriptural expression for the course of conduct. The plural form of the other word may either be used to mark it as an abstract term, or as an emphatic expression for fulness

or completeness of rectitude. In order to retain the figure of walking, the preposition *in* may be supplied before the noun; but in Hebrew it seems to be governed directly by the verb, or to qualify it as an adverb. *And speaking right things*, or (taking the plural merely as an abstract) *rectitude* or *righteousness*. The idea is not merely that of speaking truth as opposed to falsehood, but that of rectitude in speech as distinguished from rectitude of action. *Rejecting* or *despising* (or combining both ideas, *rejecting with contempt*) *the gain of oppressions* or *extortions*. *Shaking his hands from taking hold of the bribe*, an expressive gesture of indignant refusal, which Forerius compares to Pilate's washing his hands, and Gataker to Paul's shaking off the viper. Malvenda imagines that the terms are so selected as to suggest the idea of a weighty gift. Gesenius and others greatly weaken the expression, and indeed destroy its graphic form, by rendering the phrase, *whose hand refuses to receive a bribe*. The true sense is forcibly conveyed in J. D. Michaelis's version, *shakes his hands that no bribe may stick to them*, and in Gill's homely paraphrase, *that won't receive any, but when they are put into his hands shakes them out*. The Chaldee Paraphrase of this first clause contains the expression *mammon of falsehood*, which may be compared with the *mammon of unrighteousness* in Luke 16: 9. *Stopping his ears from hearing bloods*, i. e. plans of murder, or as Lowth expresses it, *the proposal of bloodshed*. For the usage of the plural form דמים, see the note on ch. 1: 15. *Shutting his eyes from looking at evil* i. e. from conniving at it, or even beholding it as an indifferent spectator. The ב is then a mere connective like the English *at* or *on*; but the combination of this verb and particle appears in many cases to denote the act of gazing at a thing with pleasure, which idea would be perfectly appropriate here. Lowth has, *against the appearance of evil*, which does not convey the exact sense of the original. According to the natural connexion of the passage, this verse would seem to contain the answer to the question in v. 14, and is so understood by those who make the question mean, who can stand before this terrible Jehovah? But on the supposition of an allusion to eternal punishment, the answer is absurd, for it implies that the righteous man can or will endure it. This may either be regarded as a proof that there is no such allusion to eternal punishment in v. 14, or as a proof that this is not an answer to the question there recorded. The former conclusion is adopted by the latest German writers, who understand this verse as meaning that God is a consuming fire only to the wicked, and that the righteous man as here described is perfectly secure. On the other hand, Henderson separates this verse from the preceding context by a larger space than usual, making this the beginning, as it were, of a new paragraph. To this construction there is the less objection, as the sentence is evidently incomplete in this verse, the apodosis being added in the next.

V. 16. *He* (the character described in v. 15) *high places shall inhabit.* This does not denote exalted station in society, but safety from enemies, in being above their reach, as appears from the other clause. *Fastnesses* (or *strongholds*) *of rocks* (*shall be*) *his lofty place*, i. e. his refuge or his place of safety, as in ch. 25: 12. To the idea of security is added that of sustenance, without which the first would be of no avail. *His bread is given*, including the ideas of allotment or appointment and of actual supply. *His water sure*, or, retaining the strict sense of the participle, *secured.* At the same time there is evident allusion to the moral usage of the word as signifying faithful, true, the opposite of that which fails, deceives, or disappoints the expectation, in which sense the same word with a negative is applied by Jeremiah (15: 18) to *waters that fail.* Clericus explains the first clause of this verse as a promise that those living in the plain should be as safe as if they lived in the mountains. Grotius explains the second as a promise of literal deliverance from famine. Knobel arbitrarily applies the whole to protection and supply in a time of siege, and then infers that the passage must have been composed before Sennacherib approached Jerusalem, because the Prophet afterwards was well aware that no siege had taken place at all. This charge of false prediction is exploded by the simple observation, that the verse is an assurance, clothed in figurative language, of general protection and support to the righteous. Vitringa's reference of the words in their lower sense to the support of the Levitical priesthood, and in their higher sense to the happiness of heaven, goes as much to an extreme, though in an opposite direction.

V. 17. *A king in his beauty shall thine eyes behold.* Kimchi, by an arbitrary syntax, takes the future as a past tense and refers it to the king of Assyria, whom their eyes had seen but should see no more. Besides the grammatical objection to this version, it is inconsistent with the other clause, unless that also be referred to the same subject by supplying *king* before *a distant land.* Of those who take the futures in their proper meaning, some suppose Jehovah to be meant (Vitringa, J. D. Michaelis), others the Messiah (Abarbenel), but most writers Hezekiah, either exclusively (Gesenius) or as a type of Christ (Calvin). For this departure from his customary mode of exposition, Calvin thinks it necessary to apologize by saying, *ne quis me hic allegorias sequi putet a quibus sum alienus.* To see the king *in his beauty* does not mean in his moral excellence (Hendewerk), but in his royal state, with tacit reference to his previous state of mourning and dejection (ch. 37: 1). *They* (i. e. thine eyes) *shall behold a land of distances* or *distant places.* The most natural explanation of this phrase would be *a distant land*, in which sense it is used by Jeremiah (8: 19) and a part of it by Zechariah (10: 9), and by both in reference to exile or captivity.

The verse before us, taken by itself, might be understood as a threatening that the Jews should see the king of Babylon in his royal state and in a distant land. Interpreters seem to be agreed, however, that in this connexion it can be taken only as a promise. Grotius accordingly explains it to mean that after the fall of the Assyrian host, the Jews should be free to go abroad without restraint and especially to visit the scene of the catastrophe. This explanation he illustrates by a parallel from Virgil. *Panduntur portae, juvat ire et Dorica castra desertosque videre locos litusque relictum.* Hitzig confines it to their literally *seeing* far and wide from the walls of Jerusalem, their view being no longer obstructed by entrenchments or the presence of the enemy. Luther and others, on the contrary, suppose the land itself to be here described as actually widened by an accession of conquered territory. To all these explanations it may be objected that the Prophet does not speak of *distant boundaries* or frontiers, as in ch. 26: 15, but of a *distant land.* The only explanation of the verse as a promise, against which this objection does not lie, is that of Henderson, who translates the clause, *they shall see distant lands*, and explains it to mean that instead of being cooped up within the walls of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, the inhabitants should not only freely traverse their own land, but visit distant nations. Whether the liberty of foreign travel is in this connexion an appropriate promise, may be made a question. Piscator understands the clause to mean that their eyes should see ambassadors from a far country, viz. those of Berodach-baladan (2 Kings 20: 12). But in this case the most important word of the sentence is supplied by mere conjecture. Vitringa applies the whole verse, in its lower sense, to the conquests of the Maccabees and their enlargement of the Jewish territory, but in a higher sense to the glorious reign of the Messiah.

V. 18. *Thy heart shall meditate terror.* This does not mean, it shall conceive or experience present terror, but reflect on that which is already past. What follows is explained by some as the language of the Jews in their terror calling for the officers on whom they depended for protection. But the officers here named are not those to whom they would probably have looked in this emergency. Others more naturally understand it therefore as the triumphant exclamation of the people when they found themselves so suddenly delivered from their enemies. *Where is he that counted? where is he that weighed? where is he that counted the towers?* As a noun, סֹפֵר means a *scribe*, and is commonly so rendered here. Some even give it the New Testament sense of γραμματεύς, a learned man or doctor of the law. So the Septuagint (γραμματιζοί), the Vulgate (*literatus*), Luther (*Schriftgelehrten*), Vitringa (*doctus*). This

leads of course to an analogous interpretation of the other terms, as meaning *legis verba ponderans, doctor parvulorum, dialecticus subtilis, etc. etc.* Others, adhering to the Hebrew usage of the noun סֹפֵר, understand by it a *secretary*, financial or military, *perhaps a secretary of state, or of war, or an inspector-general* (Barnes). The clause is still more modernized by J. D. Michaelis: *where is the general, where the engineer?* But as the second סֹפֵר is evidently construed as a participle, and in the primary sense of *counting*, it is much more natural to understand the first סֹפֵר and שֹׁקֵל in like manner, as denoting him who counted, him who weighed. This is Ewald's construction (*wer zählte, wer wog*), and Lowth gives the same sense to the words as nouns (*the accomptant, the weigher of tribute*). Thus explained, they may be applied either to the instruments of the Assyrian domination in Judea, or to certain necessary officers attached to the besieging army. The counting and weighing may be either that of tribute or of military wages. The second סֹפֵר denotes the same act as the first, but is applied expressly to another object. The *towers* are of course the fortifications of Jerusalem. By *counting* them some understand surveying them, either with a view to garrisoning or dismantling; others the act of reconnoitring them from without, which some ascribe particularly to Rabshakeh or Sennacherib himself. The general meaning of the verse is plain, as an expression of surprise and joy, that the oppressor or besieger had now vanished. The Apostle Paul, in 1 Cor. 1: 20, has a sentence so much like this, in the threefold repetition of the question *where*, and in the use of the word *scribe*, that it cannot be regarded as a mere fortuitous coincidence. Of the mutual relation of the passages two views have been taken by interpreters. Junius and Cocceius regard that in Corinthians as a quotation of the one before us, and Vitringa makes the former determine the whole meaning of the latter. He accordingly explains the Hebrew words as all denoting some form of worldly wisdom and sagacity or its possessors, and the whole verse as implying that the great deliverance had not been wrought by any such means but by God alone. The violence done by this interpretation to the language of the Prophet is enough of itself to make the hypothesis on which it rests a doubtful one. Calvin, on the other hand, denies that Paul has any reference to this place, which is going too far, since it is probable, as Henderson observes, that the structure of the one passage may have suggested the other. The expression *it is written*, in the preceding verse of the epistle, introduces a quotation from ch. 29: 14, but does not necessarily extend to the next verse, which may therefore be regarded as a mere imitation, as to form and diction, of the one before us.

V. 19. *The fierce* (or *determined*) *people thou shalt not see.* Thou shalt see no more the Assyrians, whose disappearance was implied in the

questions of the foregoing verse. The essential idea of עזּז seems to be that of firmness and decision, perhaps with the accessory idea of aggressive boldness. It is taken in the stronger sense of *impudent* by several of the ancient versions. DeDieu and Capellus (the two Ludovici, as Vitringa calls them) would read לעז so as to secure a parallel to נלעג in the other clause. (Compare Ps. 114 : 1.) *A people deep of lip from hearing* i. e. too obscure for thee to understand. Deep is referred to the sound of the voice, the mode of utterance, by the Septuagint (*βαθύφωνοι*), Clericus (*e profundo gutture loquentem*), and Vitringa, who illustrates the expression by the difference between the utterance of the Swiss and the Saxons on the one hand and the French and English on the other. But the later writers more correctly understand *deep* as denoting obscure or unintelligible. The preposition before *hearing*, though not directly negative, is virtually so, as it denotes *away from*, which is really equivalent to *so as not to hear* or *be heard*. (See the note on ch. 5 : 6.) *Barbarous tongue* (or of a barbarous tongue), *without meaning* (literally, there is no meaning). The verb לעג, in its other forms, means to mock or scoff, an idea closely connected, in the Hebrew usage, with that of foreign language, either because the latter seems ridiculous to those who do not understand it, or because unmeaning jargon is often used in mockery. Jerome's translation of the last phrase, *in quo nulla est sapientia*, changes the meaning of the clause entirely. Some of the latest German writers understand it to signify not only *unintelligible* but *unmeaning*, and regard the description as an illustration of Jewish narrowness and prejudice. The parallelism might have taught them that no more was meant to be conveyed than the actual want of meaning to the hearers. The whole is a mere periphrastic description of a people altogether strange and foreign. Henderson supposes the expressions to refer to the Medo-Persian mercenaries in the Assyrian army, but most interpreters apply them directly to the Assyrians themselves. According to Gill, the language here meant is the Latin ; but the people he explains to be both Turks and Papists.

V. 20. *Behold Zion the city of our festivals.* Instead of the presence of foreign enemies, see Jerusalem once more the scene of stated solemnities. Houbigant and Lowth, on the alleged authority of the Targum, read *thou shalt see*, which is not only unnecessary but less expressive than the direct command to see the object as already present. The address is to the people as an individual, and not to Zion itself, as Luther and the Targum have it. *Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet home, a tent* (*that*) *shall not be removed* (or *taken down*). The whole of this description is drawn from the usages of the nomadic life. *Its stakes shall not be pulled up forever, and all its cords shall not be broken*, or in our idiom, *none of its cords shall be broken.* According to Kimchi, לנצח means for a long time (זמן רב) ;

according to Henderson, until the end of the old dispensation. The peculiar beauty of the imagery lies in ascribing permanence to a tent, which from its very nature must be movable. This may either imply a previous state of agitation and instability, or that the church, though weak in herself, should be strengthened and established by the power of God. Gill understands the verse as describing what he calls the *philadelphian church state*. Conrad Pellican applies it to the rest and peace of heaven, Vitringa to the state of the Jews under the Maccabees, considered as a type of the Christian church. He also robs the passage of its beautiful simplicity, by making it the language of a choir of teachers, or of the Prophet speaking in their name, and by giving to each part of the tent a specific spiritual sense, the stakes being the promises, and the ropes the hope and faith of true believers. On this mode of expounding the prophetic figures, see the exposition of ch. 5 : 3.

V. 21. *But there shall Jehovah be mighty for us* (or *in our behalf*). Some take the particles כי אם separately, as meaning *because certainly*. There is no need, however, of departing from the ordinary sense of *but*, which the phrase has elsewhere after a negation. The connexion of the verses is that Zion shall never be weakened or removed, *but on the contrary* Jehovah etc. The construction of אדיר as a mere epithet of יהוה is forbidden by the collocation of the words. The sense seems to be that he will there display his power for our protection and advantage. *A place of rivers, streams, broad* (*on*) *both hands* (or *sides*), i. e. completely surrounding her. Cocceius connects this clause with the verb of the preceding verse (*thine eyes shall see a place etc.*) and throws the immediately foregoing words into a parenthesis. J. D. Michaelis supplies *we have*. But most interpreters connect these words directly with *Jehovah*. Of these some suppose מקום to be used like the Latin *loco* meaning *in the place, instead*. The promise then is that Jehovah will supply the place of streams and rivers. Others more boldly put מקום in apposition with יהוה, and explain the clause to mean that Jehovah will himself be a place of streams and rivers to the people. Clericus supposes the allusion to nomadic life to be still continued, and the people to be described as encamping on the banks of noble streams, but without incurring the dangers usually incident to such a situation. According to Gill, the ideas meant to be conveyed are those of abundance, freedom, pleasant situation and security. Many interpreters suppose the situation of Jerusalem to be here compared with that of Nineveh, Memphis, and other cities situated on great rivers, the want of which advantage was abundantly compensated by the divine protection. But the latest German writers understand the clause as meaning that God himself would be to Zion what moats and trenches are to fortified cities. This idea is neither natural in

itself nor naturally suggested by the words *streams* and *rivers*, the plurals of the terms which are commonly applied to the Nile and the Euphrates. The most obvious explanation seems to be that this clause is an amplification of the adverb שָׁם. *Jehovah will be mighty for us there.* What place is meant? A place of rivers and streams broad on both sides, i. e. spreading in every direction. There is the less occasion, therefore, to read שֵׁם with Lowth or שָׂם with Koppe. The situation described is one which has all the advantages of mighty streams without their dangers. *There shall not go in it an oared vessel* (literally, *a ship of oar*), *and a gallant ship shall not pass through it.* The parallel expressions both refer, no doubt, to ships of war, which in ancient times were propelled by oars. The antithesis which some assume between trading ships and vessels of war would here be out of place. The fine old English phrase *gallant ship* is ill exchanged by some translators for *mighty* or *magnificent vessel.*

V. 22. *For Jehovah our Judge, Jehovah our Lawgiver, Jehovah our King, he will save us.* This is a repetition of the same idea, but without the figures of the preceding verse. Ewald agrees with the older writers in making *Jehovah* the subject and the other nouns the predicates of a series of short sentences (*Jehovah is our Judge etc.*). Gesenius makes them all the complex subject of the verb at the end. The general meaning is the same in either case.

V. 23. *Thy ropes are cast loose; they do not hold upright their mast; they do not spread the sail; then is shared plunder of booty in plenty; the lame spoil the spoil.* Cocceius refers the first clause to the tent (thy cords are lengthened) and the rest to a ship. Clericus makes the whole relate to a tent, and supposes חֹרֶן to denote the central pole or post. Interpreters are agreed, however, that there is, at the beginning of this verse, a sudden apostrophe to the enemy considered as a ship. This figure would be naturally suggested by those of v. 21. It was there said that no vessel should approach the holy city. But now the Prophet seems to remember that one had done so, the proud ship of Assyria. But what was its fate? He sees it dismantled and abandoned to its enemies. The first phrase is rendered in Robinson's Gesenius, *thy tacklings are broken in pieces*, an expression which could hardly be applied to ropes. The Rabbins understand it to mean, thy ropes are abandoned by the sailors. The Vulgate version is *laxati sunt.* The last two explanations may be combined by supposing the words to mean that they cast the ropes loose and abandon them. Kimchi explains כֵּן as an adverb meaning *well* or *rightly;* Cocceius as a noun, meaning the base or socket of the mast. This last is adopted by most of the late writers; but an equally natural construction is to make כֵּן an adjec-

tive meaning *upright*, which is justified by usage and peculiarly appropriate in this connexion. Some take נס in its more usual sense of flag or banner, without materially changing that of the whole sentence. אז marks the transition from abandonment to plunder, whether past or future. יד שלל appears to be an emphatic pleonasm or reduplication. The eagerness of the pillage is expressed by making the lame join in it.

V. 24. *And the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick* (or *have been sick*). This may either mean that none shall be sick, or that those who have been so shall be recovered. Some interpreters suppose an allusion to the plague. *The people dwelling in it* (*is*) *forgiven* (*its*) *iniquity.* Some suppose this to be an explanation of the sickness mentioned in the first clause, as a spiritual malady. Others understand it as explaining bodily disease to be the consequence and punishment of sin. The words may be taken in a wider sense than either of these, namely, that suffering shall cease with sin which is its cause. Thus understood, the words are strictly applicable only to a state of things still future, either upon earth or in heaven. The last clause shows the absurdity of making the first mean merely that no one shall excuse himself from joining in the pillage on the plea of sickness.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

This chapter and the next appear to constitute one prophecy, the first part of which (ch. 34) is filled with threatenings against the enemies of the church, the latter part (ch. 35) with promises to the church itself. The threatenings of ch. 34 are directed, first against the nations in general, vs. 1–4, and then against Edom in particular, vs. 5–15, with a closing affirmation of the truth and certainty of the prediction, vs. 16, 17. The destruction of the enemies of Zion and the desolation of their lands are represented by the figures of a great sacrifice or slaughter, the falling of the heavenly bodies, the conversion of the soil into brimstone and the waters into pitch, and the inhabitation of animals peculiar to the desert.

Rabbi Moses Haccohen applies all this to the desolation of Edom in the days of Isaiah. Grotius, who adopts the same hypothesis, supposes these judgments to have been provoked by the aid which the Edomites afforded to the Assyrians in their invasion of Judea, and to have been executed by the Ethiopians. Schmidius also applies the chapter to the literal

desolation of Edom in the days of Isaiah. Eusebius applies it to the day of judgment and the end of the world. Cyril makes the same application of vs. 1–4, but applies the rest to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish commonwealth, mystically represented here by Edom. Theodoret extends this explanation to the whole, in which he is followed by Cocceius. The rabbinical interpreters, with one exception which has been already mentioned, explain Edom as a mystical or figurative name for Rome, or rather Christendom, of which Rome was once the representative, and understand the chapter as predicting the future downfall of the Christian powers in the days of the Messiah. On this same rabbinical hypothesis Vitringa rears a Christian exposition, by making Edom the emblem not of Christian but of Antichristian (i. e. Papal) Rome. So J. H. Michaelis, Gill, and others, most of whom however give the prophecy a greater latitude of meaning, as a general threatening of destruction to the enemies of Zion, but especially to Antichrist here typified as Edom. J. D. Michaelis regards the prophecy as yet to be fulfilled, and thinks it possible that the ancient Idumea may hereafter be possessed by an antichristian power whose destruction is here foretold. Rosenmüller and the other recent German writers regard the whole as an extravagant expression of revengeful malice by a writer long posterior to Isaiah. This gratuitous assumption is sustained by the usual empirical criticism, which, as we have seen before, may be employed on either side of any question. Hitzig, while complaining of the writer's diffuseness and verbosity, heaps up tautological expressions of contempt in his own peculiar style. It is worthy of remark, too, that the spirit of this chapter is extremely shocking to these pious unbelievers. Leaving these prejudiced interpretations out of view, the reference of the prophecy to Antichrist may be objected to, upon the ground that the sense which it gives to Edom is a forced one, not sustained by any usage or authority, except certain parts of the book of Revelation, which the older writers used as a key to the ancient prophecies, whereas these alone afford the key to it. The simplest and most satisfactory view of the whole passage is the one proposed by Calvin, who regards it as a general threatening of destruction to the enemies of Zion, Edom being particularly mentioned, as an enemy of ancient Israel peculiarly inveterate and malignant, and thence used to represent the whole class of such enemies. Thus understood, the prophecy extends both to the past and future, and includes many particular events to which interpreters have erroneously endeavoured to restrict it, not excepting the destruction of Antichrist, as the greatest event of this kind which is foretold in prophecy. Compare the note on ch. 11 : 4.

V. 1. *Come near, ye nations, to hear, and ye peoples, hearken.* Lowth adds *to me,* on the authority of a single manuscript. *Let the earth hear*

and its fulness (that which fills it, all that it contains), *the world and all its issues* (or productions, all that comes forth from it). This may either be explained with Calvin as an appeal to inanimate nature, like the one at the beginning of the book (ch. 1 : 2), or as an appeal to men, poetically represented as the fruit of the earth, which is the sense given in the ancient versions and adopted by Vitringa. Knobel supposes a climax or anticlimax, the Prophet first invoking men (*nations* and *peoples*), then brutes (the *fulness of the earth*), and then plants (*its productions*). But the sense thus put upon the fulness of the earth is altogether arbitrary. This verse announces, as about to be delivered, a prediction of great moment and deserving the attention of the whole world. Cocceius understands by *nations* the heathen and by *peoples* the tribes of Israel, a distinction which he makes even in the first verse of the second Psalm. All other writers take the words as poetical equivalents.

V. 2. This verse assigns the reason for the invocation in the one before it. *For* (*there is*) *anger to Jehovah.* The English Version has, *the indignation of the Lord is*, an idea which would be otherwise expressed in Hebrew. The construction is the same as in ch. 2 : 12. *Jehovah has anger* (or *is angry*) *against all the nations.* The common version is *upon*, which is the primary meaning of the particle, and is appropriate in this case as suggesting the idea of infliction. That of hostility is of course implied, even if not expressed. Vitringa needlessly and arbitrarily distinguishes between the nations mentioned in the first verse and in this, upon the ground that those who were to be destroyed would not be summoned to hear of their destruction. But why not? It is exactly like the case of an individual convict hearing his sentence before its execution. Vitringa also makes גוים mean nations in general, and הגוים these nations, i. e. the ones to be destroyed. But כל הגוים is the strongest expression possible in Hebrew for *all nations.*—*And wrath* (is to Jehovah) *against all their host.* Not *their armies* in particular, as Clericus suggests, but their whole multitude, all that belong to them. (Compare the same expression in Gen. 2 : 1.)—*He has doomed them*, or devoted them irrevocably to destruction. For the peculiar usage of the Hebrew verb, see the note on ch. 11 : 15.—*He has given* (i. e. appointed and abandoned) *them to the slaughter.* The past tense is not a mere *praeteritum propheticum*, implying the certainty of the event although still future, but describes the divine determination or decree as really and literally past.

V. 3. *And their slain shall be cast out.* The Hebrew word strictly means *their wounded*, and is so translated in the Septuagint and some other versions. But usage gives it the specific sense of *wounded mortally*, and

for the most part in battle. *Cast out* i. e. unburied. This suggests the several ideas of contemptuous neglect, of a multitude too vast to be interred, and perhaps of survivors too few to perform the duty. (Compare ch. 14: 18–20.) They shall not lie unburied merely for a time, but until they rot upon the ground. *And their corpses* (or *carcasses*), *their stench shall go up.* The first noun is construed as an absolute nominative: *as to their carcasses, their stench* etc. which is equivalent in our idiom to *the stench of their carcasses shall go up.* With reference to the same revolting circumstance, Lucan calls a battle-field *olentes agros.* (Compare Amos 4: 10. Joel 2: 20.)—*And mountains shall be melted with* (or *by*) *their blood*, as they are sometimes washed away by rains or torrents. This cannot mean merely that blood shall run down from the hills (Clericus), but must be taken as a strong poetical hyperbole descriptive of excessive carnage.

V. 4. *And all the host of heaven* (or heavenly bodies) *shall consume away.* This verb is commonly applied to the pining or consumption occasioned by disease. In Ps. 38: 6 it means to *run* as a sore, from which analogy Gesenius deduces here the sense of *melting*, and adopts Vitringa's notion that the stars are poetically likened to wax candles. Maurer, with better taste, supposes the obscuration of the heavenly bodies to be represented as a pining away. The ideas of *sickly lights* and *dying lights* are not unknown to modern poetry.—*And the heavens shall be rolled up* (or *together*) *like a scroll*, i. e. like an ancient *volume* (*volumen* from *volvo*) or a modern map. Grotius explains this as meaning that nothing should be seen in the heavens any more than in a book rolled up or closed. This idea Umbreit carries out by talking of the sky as God's great book, in which he has written his eternal name with countless stars. J. D. Michaelis more naturally understands the Prophet as alluding to the phenomena of storms, in which the sky is first overcast and then covered with clouds, the motion of which gives it the appearance of being rolled together. The best explanation seems however to be that proposed by Pfeiffer in his Dubia Vexata, to wit, that as God is elsewhere described as having stretched out the heavens like a curtain, their destruction or any total change in their appearance would be naturally represented as a rolling up of the expanse. In like manner Horace says: *horrida tempestas contraxit coelum.* The Targum strangely makes כספר mean according to the book i. e. the scriptures. Montanus no less strangely makes it govern הכוכבים (*sicut liber coelorum*), a construction utterly precluded by the article. (See a similar mistake of Lowth in ch. 17: 8.)—*And all their host* (referring to *the heavens*) *shall fade* (or *fall away*) *like the fading of a leaf from a vine.* This beautiful comparison with the decay of plants makes it the more probable that the preceding clause alludes to that of animal life and not to the melting of wax or tallow.

—*And like a fading* (*leaf*) or *a withered* (*fig*) *from a fig-tree.* Knobel explains נבלת as a feminine collective put for the plural masculine, an idiom of which there are few if any unambiguous examples. As נבלה is masculine, the feminine adjective may be referred to a noun understood. J. D. Michaelis imagines that this clause describes the seeming motion of the stars occasioned by a nocturnal earthquake. Grotius supposes the description of the carnage to be still continued, and the exhalations of the putrid corpses to be here described as veiling the heavens and producing those meteoric appearances called shooting stars. This extravagant conceit is justly condemned by Gesenius as a most infelicitous conception of a poetic image, and is certainly worse than his own prosaic supposition of wax candles. Such exhibitions may enable us to estimate correctly the aesthetic contempt with which some writers speak of this magnificent passage as plainly belonging to a later age. A similar remark may be applied to Knobel's repetition of Vitringa's indiscreet suggestion as to the popular belief of the Hebrews respecting the heavens and the heavenly bodies. It would be no less rational to argue from the foregoing verse, that they believed in streams of blood so vast as to dissolve whole mountains. If the terms of that verse are poetical hyperboles, on what ground is this to be explained as a lesson in natural philosophy? Another notion of Vitringa's, equally unfounded, although not adopted by the modern Germans, is that the terms of this verse plainly show that the prediction has respect to some great body politic or organized society, the sun being the emblem of the civil power, the moon of the ecclesiastical, and the stars of distinguished men in church and state. The context clearly shows that the terms used are not symbolical but poetical, and that here, as in ch. 13: 10, the idea which they are all intended to convey is that of revolution, of sudden, total, and appalling change. The imagery of the passage has been partially adopted in Matt. 24: 29 and Rev. 6: 13, neither of which however is to be regarded either as a repetition or an explanation of the one before us.

V. 5. There is no need of giving כי the sense of *yea* (Augusti) or of explaining it as a mere connective particle (Knobel), since it may be construed, in its proper sense, either with v. 3 (Hitzig) or with the whole of the preceding description. All this shall certainly take place, *for my sword* (the speaker being God himself) *is steeped* (saturated, soaked) *in heaven.* Most versions, ancient and modern, take the verb here in the sense of being *drunk* or intoxicated, either with wrath or with the blood of enemies. It is very improbable however that two different figures were intended here and in v. 7, where all agree that the earth is described as being soaked or saturated with blood. Koppe proposes to read מרוטה *sharpened*, after the analogy of Ezek. 21: 33. The same sense had long before been put upon

the common text by Clericus, who supposes an allusion to the wetting of the grindstone or the blade in grinding. The Targum has *revealed*, on the authority of which loose paraphrase Lowth reads *made bare*, adding with great naïveté in his note, *whatever reading, different I presume from the present, he might find in his copy, I follow the sense which he has given of it.* This implies that it is not even necessary to know what a reading is before it is allowed to supersede the common text. The phrase *in heaven* has been variously explained. Some of the older writers understand it as expressing the certainty of the event (as firm or sure as the heavens); others as descriptive of the great men who were to be destroyed. Gill says *it may denote the whole Roman papal jurisdiction*, and Henderson, who rejects all allusion to Rome, explains it to mean *the Idumean heaven or the ruling power in Edom.* Gesenius supposes the sword to be here described as drunk with wrath in heaven before it is drunk with blood on earth; Ewald, as dropping blood in heaven as if by anticipation (*wie zum voraus*). The best explanation is that of Calvin, who refers the expression to the divine determination and foreknowledge. In the sight of God the sword, although not yet actually used, was already dripping blood. The sword is mentioned, neither because commonly employed in executions (Barnes), nor in the sense of a butcher's knife (Vitringa), but as a natural and common though poetical expression for any instrument of vengeance. Knobel is singular in understanding this clause as referring to the slaughter of the Babylonians already past, and now to be succeeded by that of the Edomites. *Behold, upon Edom it shall come down.* Some translate the future as a present, but there is no sufficient reason for departing from the proper sense. The Jewish tradition is that Edom in the prophecies means Rome. For this opinion Abarbenel endeavours to secure a historical foundation by making the Romans actual descendants of Esau. Vitringa justly denounces this as egregious trifling, but adopts the same hypothesis, only applying the name to Pagan and Papal Rome. At the same time, he appears unwilling to abandon altogether its application to the Jews themselves. Now the only thing common to these three distinct subjects is their malignant hatred of God's people. This may serve, therefore, to confirm Calvin's doctrine, that the name is here applied to the inveterate enemies of the church at large, and not to any one of them exclusively. Henderson, in avoiding Vitringa's error, goes to the opposite extreme of confining the prediction to the literal and ancient Edom. Even the German critics grant that Edom is here mentioned as a representative. The same thing is clear from the whole complexion of this prophecy and from the analogy of others like it. The strength of the expressions cannot be explained by the gratuitous assertion that *it was merely adequate to meet the expectations of a patriotic Jew in reference to the infliction of divine judgment on those who*

had been the ancient and most inveterate enemies of his country. On the other hand, they are sufficiently accounted for, by the supposition that the passage is a prediction of the downfall not of Edom only but of others like him. The fulfilment of these threatenings cannot be traced in the history of ancient Edom. They ceased to be a people not by extirpation but by incorporation with the Jews. The name *Idumea*, as employed by Josephus, includes a large part of Judea. The Herods, the last royal family of Judah, were of Idumean origin.—*And upon the people of my curse* or doom i. e. the people whom I have doomed to destruction. (See v. 2.) This is not an extension of the threatening against Edom to other nations (Junius), but a repetition of it in a different form. לְמִשְׁפָּט is not an adverbial phrase meaning *justly*, but a declaration of the end for which the sword was to come down, viz. *for judgment* i. e. to execute justice upon Edom.

V. 6. *A sword (is) to Jehovah* (or *Jehovah has a sword*); *it is full of blood.* The genitive construction (*the sword of Jehovah*), although not ungrammatical, is not to be assumed without necessity.—*It is smeared with fat.* The allusion is not to the fatty part of the blood or to the fat combined with it (Gesenius), but to fat and blood as the animal substances offered in sacrifice.—*With the blood of lambs and goats*, mentioned as well-known sacrificial animals, *with the fat of the kidneys* (or the kidney-fat) *of rams*, mentioned either as remarkable for fatness or as a parallel expression to the foregoing clause.—*For there is to Jehovah* (or *Jehovah has*) *a sacrifice in Bozrah and a great slaughter in the land of Edom.* זֶבַח is otherwise explained to mean a *victim* (Vulgate), or the preparation for a feast (Coccceius). Bozrah was an ancient city of Edom. Gesenius in his Commentary identifies it with Bostra in Auranitis; but in his Thesaurus he agrees with Raumer and Hitzig in making it the same with the modern *Busaireh*, a village and castle in Arabia Petraea south-east of the Dead Sea. (See Robinson's Palestine, II. p. 570.) Cocceius thinks Jerusalem is here called *Bozrah* as being a *stronghold* of thieves and robbers. Vitringa applies it to Rome, which he derives from רוּם *high*. Hitzig applies this verse to the literal slaughter of the Edomitish flocks and herds, which seems inconsistent with the next verse.

V. 7. *And unicorns shall come down with them, and bullocks with bulls And their land shall be soaked* (or *drenched*) *with blood, and their dust with fat shall be fattened.* The ancient versions, with great unanimity and uniformity, explain רְאֵם as meaning the unicorn. This animal has been commonly regarded as fabulous in modern times; but of late some traces of it have been found in Thibet and other parts of Asia. But even supposing it to be a real animal, we have no reason to believe that it was ever common

in the Holy Land, as the ראם would seem to have been from the frequency with which it is mentioned. The explanation of the Hebrew word by Aquila and Saadias, as meaning the rhinoceros, may be considered as exploded by Bochart. The modern writers are divided between a certain species of gazelle or antelope and the wild buffalo of Palestine and Egypt. The name may here be used either as a poetical description of the ox, or to suggest that wild as well as tame beasts should be included in the threatened slaughter. Some understand the term as denoting potent and malignant enemies. Grotius gives a distinctive meaning also to the species mentioned in the foregoing verse, the lambs being the common people, the goats the priests, and the fat rams the men of wealth. This mode of exposition is at variance with the very nature of figurative language. For ראמים in this verse some of the old Jews read רומים Romans. *Dust* here denotes *dry soil*, which is said to be enriched by the bodies of the slain. So Virgil says that Roman blood had twice enriched the soil of Macedonia. *The field of Waterloo* (says Barnes) *has thus been celebrated, since the great battle there, for producing rank and luxuriant harvests.* To *come down* in the first clause is by some explained as meaning to come down to the slaughter (Jer. 50 : 27. 51 : 40); by others to fall or sink under the fatal stroke (Zech. 11 : 2).

V. 8. *For (there is) a day of vengeance to Jehovah, a year of recompenses for the cause of Zion*, i. e. to maintain her cause. Some have taken this in an unfavourable sense as meaning *to contend with Zion.* Cocceius and Umbreit regard day and year as a climax, but most writers as equivalent indefinite expressions. This verse connects the judgments threatened against Edom with the cause of Zion or the church of God. On the construction and the meaning of the first words of the sentence, compare ch. 2 : 12.

V. 9. *And her streams* (those of Idumea or the land of Edom) *shall be turned to pitch, and her dust to brimstone, and her land shall become burning pitch.* This verse, as Calvin well observes, announces nothing new, but repeats the same prediction under other figures, borrowed from the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, which throughout the Bible *are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire* (Jude 7). To the fire and brimstone there mentioned, pitch or bitumen is added, as Hendewerk and Knobel suppose, because the soil of Idumea, lying adjacent to the Dead Sea, is bituminous and abounds in veins or springs of naphtha. According to Sanctius, pitch is mentioned as a substance easily kindled and burning long. נחליה neither means *her valleys* (Septuagint) nor *her torrents* (Lowth), but *her streams* in general, as distinguished from *her dust* or dry ground, both being included in the general term *land* which occurs in the

last clause (Hitzig). According to Knobel, the suffix in ארצה still refers to Idumea and the noun means *surface*. Grotius applies this description to the burning of the Idumean cities. Clericus explains the first clause as meaning that their streams should be as *turbid* as if turned to pitch. Barnes correctly understands it as expressing in the strongest terms the idea of *utter and permanent destruction*, as complete and terrible *as if* the streams were turned to pitch. The old editions of the Chaldee paraphrase read here *the streams of Rome* etc. According to the Talmud, Rome was founded on the day that Jeroboam set up the golden calf, and is to be destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah. Upon this tradition (which is given at length in Buxtorf's Talmudical Lexicon under the word רומא) Gill seizes with avidity, so far as it is suited to his purpose, and applies it to the future destruction of Rome by fire, as predicted in Rev. 17: 16. 18: 8. Vitringa also thinks it not impossible that even this verse may be literally verified in the sulphureous soil of Latium and Campania. He seems indeed to have regarded it as an event likely to happen in his own day, and cites with great solemnity the similar anticipations of Jerome Savonarola, as recorded by Philip de Comines, and the prophecy found, according to Matthew of Paris, in the bed-room of Gregory IX. So little does the failure of these earlier forebodings appear to have taught him their groundless and unprofitable nature! At the same time he appears to allow ample space for the fulfilment by referring to the great fire under Nero as a prelude to the final conflagration.

V. 10. *Day and night it shall not be quenched; forever shall its smoke go up; from generation to generation shall it lie waste, for ever and ever, there shall be no one passing through it.* The remarkable gradation and accumulation of terms denoting perpetuity can scarcely be expressed in a translation. This is especially the case with the last and highest of the series, which Lowth renders *to everlasting ages*, and Henderson *to all perpetuity*, neither of which is stronger than the common version *for ever and ever*, or approaches much nearer to the strict sense of the Hebrew phrase, *to perpetuity of perpetuities*. The original form of expression, though not the exact sense of the words, is retained by Theodotion, εἰς ἕσχατα ἐσχάτων. Grotius's characteristic explanation is in these words: *id est, diu.* Lowth's disposition to improve the common version by substituting Latin for Saxon words is exemplified in this verse, where he changes *waste* and *quenched* into *desert* and *extinguished*. Grotius supposes an allusion to the long-continued smoking of burnt cities, and quotes parallels from Virgil and Seneca. A much more striking parallel is found in the statement (Gen. 19: 28), that when Abraham looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, *the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.* These sublime and fearful images are copied in the book of Revelation

(14: 10, 11), but it does not follow that the copy, though inspired and prophetic, was intended to determine the sense of the original. Rosenmüller and Knobel understand the last words as meaning that no one shall *go to it* or *pass into it*, but Gesenius and Ewald with the older writers, that no one shall pass *through* or *over it*, implying that it shall not be a thoroughfare for caravans or single travellers. Keith, in his Evidence of Prophecy, has collected some remarkable illustrations of this passage from the incidental statements of modern travellers with respect to what was once the land of Edom. Thus Volney speaks of thirty deserted towns within three days' journey; Seetzen, of a wide tract utterly without a place of habitation, and of his own route through it as one never before attempted; Burckhardt, of the passage as declared by the people of the nearest inhabited districts to be impossible, in accordance with which notion he was unable to procure guides at any price. These are striking coincidences, and as illustrations of the prophecy important, but are not to be insisted on as constituting its direct fulfilment, for in that case the passage of these very travellers through the country would falsify the prediction which they are cited to confirm. The truth of the prophecy in this clause is really no more suspended on such facts, than that of the first clause and of the preceding verse upon the actual existence of bituminous streams and a sulphureous soil throughout the ancient Idumea. The whole is a magnificent prophetic picture, the fidelity of which, so far as it relates to ancient Edom, is notoriously attested by its desolation for a course of ages. In this verse Hitzig represents the writer as attaining his highest point of bitterness against the Edomites; and Knobel, in a kindred spirit, says that the repeated threatening of perpetual desolation, while it makes the prediction more impressive, shows great spite (*verräth grossen Hass*), an expression far more applicable to the comment than the text, which is as little open to the charge of malice as the sentence which a judge pronounces on a convict.

V. 11. *Then shall possess it* (as a heritage) *the pelican and porcupine, the crane and crow shall dwell in it. And he* (or *one*) *shall stretch upon it the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness.* Having declared that man should no longer pass through it, he now explains who shall be its inhabitants. The first verb is rendered by Coccius, *shall inherit;* by Junius still more fully, *shall possess by hereditary right;* but by Gesenius and most later writers, *shall possess*, which though correct is scarcely adequate, as the original word could not fail to suggest to a Hebrew reader the idea of *succession.* These animals should not only occupy the land, but occupy it as the successors and to the exclusion of mankind. The קאת is no doubt the pelican, as the etymology of the name (from קוא to vomit) agrees with the habits of that bird, and the ancient versions so explain it. In this place, it is true, the

Septuagint has not *πελεκᾶν*, as Henderson quotes it, but the general term *ὄρνεα*, and the Vulgate not *pelican* but *onocrotalus*. The next word has been translated *owl* (Calvin) and *bittern* (English Version), but is now agreed to mean the porcupine or hedgehog, as explained in the Septuagint (*ἐχῖνοι*). The next word is now understood to denote not an owl (Bochart), but a heron or crane; according to the Septuagint, the *ibis* or Egyptian heron. The essential idea, as Calvin observes, is that of wild and solitary animals. (Compare ch. 13: 21, 22. 14: 23. Rev. 18: 2.) Here again a remarkable coincidence is furnished by the statements of travellers with respect to the number of wild birds in Edom. Mangles, while at Petra, describes the screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, seemingly annoyed at any one approaching their lonely habitation. Burckhardt speaks of Tafyle as frequented by an immense number of crows and of the birds called *katta*, which fly in such large flocks that the boys often kill two or three at a time merely by throwing a stick among them. In this last case the coincidence is verbal also, as the *katta* bears a strong resemblance to the קאת. The apparent inconsistency between this clause and the description of the country in the verse before it only shows that neither can be strictly taken, but that both are metaphorical predictions of entire desolation. In the next clause the same idea is expressed by an entire change of figure. The verb may be construed either with *Jehovah* understood (Kimchi), or indefinitely, as by Junius (*quisquis conabitur*) and Augusti (*man zieht*), which is really equivalent to the passive form adopted in the Vulgate (*extendetur*). In the use of the words תהו and בהו, there may be a distinct allusion to Gen. 1: 2, as there is in Jer. 4: 23. The *line* meant is a measuring line, mentioned elsewhere not only in connexion with building (Zech. 1: 16), but also with destroying (2 Kings 21: 13). The *stones* meant are not the black flints with which the soil of ancient Edom is profusely covered (Burckhardt), but stones used for *weights* (Deut. 25: 13. Prov. 16: 11), and here for *plumb-line* or *plummet*. This sense, which is given in the Vulgate (*perpendiculum*), is required by the parallelism and assumed by all interpreters. The same figure is employed by Amos (7: 7–9) to denote a *moral* test or standard, but in this case as a symbol of destruction. The plummet is here mentioned, not because actually used in the taking down of buildings (Henderson), but as a parallel to *line* (Hitzig), both together expressing the idea of exact and careful measurement. The sense of the whole metaphor may then be either that God has laid this work out for himself and will perform it (Barnes), or that in destroying Edom he will act with equity and justice (Gill), or that even in destroying he will proceed deliberately and by rule (Knobel), which last sense is well expressed in Rosenmüller's paraphrase (*ad mensuram vastabitur, ad regulam depopulabitur*). Ewald seems to understand the clause as meaning that the land

should be meted out to new inhabitants, but that these should be only Waste and Chaos. Calvin and others make it mean that all attempts at restoration should be vain, the line and plummet of the builder should only serve as measures of desolation. According to Clericus, the sense is that there should be nothing to prevent one from measuring the ruins. The Septuagint curiously assimilates the clauses by translating this: *ass-centaurs shall inhabit it.*

V. 12. *Her caves and there is no one there* (i. e. her uninhabited or empty caves) *they will (still) call a kingdom, and all her chiefs will be cessation* (i. e. cease to be). Lowth reads בחרדיה or על חרדיה, connects it with the preceding verse (for which division of the text he cites the authority of the Peshito), and translates the last words of that verse as follows: *and the plummet of emptiness over her scorched plains.* Such a sense is dearly purchased by an arbitrary change of text and the introduction of a word of rare occurrence, not to say of doubtful meaning. Not content with this, however, he reads שֵׁם for שָׁם, gives קָרָא the sense which he says it has in Prov. 20: 6, and translates the first clause: *no more shall they boast the renown of the kingdom!* Most other writers take חֹרֶיהָ in the sense given to it by the Septuagint (ἄρχοντες) and Vulgate (*nobiles*). Montanus renders it *heroes.* Gesenius retains the common meaning but derives it (on the strength of an Arabic analogy) from the primary idea of *free-born.* It is also commonly agreed since Vitringa, that this first word should be construed as a nominative absolute (*as to her nobles*), and the first verb as indefinite. That verb has been variously explained here as meaning to *say* (Augusti), to *cry* (French Version), to *lament* (Castalio), to *propose* (DeDieu), to *name* (Forerius), to *recall* (Grotius), to *proclaim* (Cocceius), and to *call* in the sense of nominating or appointing (Vatablus). No less various are the senses put upon the whole clause, among which however three may be particularly mentioned. According to the first, it means that there shall be none to proclaim the kingdom (Ewald) or to call a king (Munster). According to the second, it means that there shall be no kingdom. This idea is variously expressed and combined so as to mean that their princes will be princes without land (Luther), or that they will lament for the destruction of the kingdom (Castalio), or will cry that it is at an end (French Version), or will call for its restoration (DeDieu); to which may be added Augusti's explanation, that men will say of her princes, they have no kingdom! and Grotius's, that they will call to mind (*memoria recolent*) their ancient royal race now extinct, in favour of which he appeals to the Targum, which is here of very doubtful meaning. A third sense, preferred by most of the late writers, is that there shall be no one whom they can call *to the kingdom.* The same elliptical construction is supposed to occur in Deut. 33: 19. This great variety of explanations, and the harshness of construction

with which most of them are chargeable, may serve as an excuse for the suggestion of a new one, not as certainly correct, but as possibly entitled to consideration. All the interpretations which have been cited coincide in giving to חֹרִים the sense of *nobles*, which it certainly has in several places. (See 1 Kings 21 : 8, 11. Neh. 2 : 16. 4 : 13.) But in several others, it no less certainly means *holes* or *caves*. (See 1 Sam. 14 : 11. Job 30 : 6. Nah. 2 : 13.) Now it is matter of history, not only that Edom was full of caverns, but that these were inhabited, and that the aboriginal inhabitants, expelled by Esau, were expressly called *Horites* (חֹרִים) as being troglodytes or inhabitants of caverns (Gen. 14 : 6. 36 : 20. Deut. 2 : 12, 22). This being the case, the entire depopulation of the country, and especially the destruction of its princes, might be naturally and poetically expressed by saying that the kingdom of Edom should be thenceforth a kingdom of deserted caverns. How appropriate such a description would be to the actual condition of the country, and particularly to its ancient capital, may be seen from Robinson's account of Petra (Palestine, II. pp. 514–537). The supposed parallelism between חרוּת and שׂרוּת, which Henderson urges against Lowth's absurd emendation of the text, can have little weight in a case where the construction is at best so difficult. It is proper to add that this interpretation was suggested by the allusion to the Horites which Hendewerk assumes, although he gives חרים the sense of *nobles* with the great mass of interpreters. Gesenius infers from his own interpretation of this clause, that the kingdom of Edom was elective, and Hitzig adds that they sometimes called a king from foreign parts, of which he finds an instance in Gen. 35 : 37 ; but Hendewerk objects that on the same grounds, Isaiah 3 : 6, 7 would prove Judah to have been an elective monarchy. Gill of course applies this verse to the *kingdom of the beast* (Rev. 16 : 10) and שׂרוּת to the cardinals.

V. 13. *And her palaces* (or *in her palaces*) *shall come up thorns, nettles and brambles in her fortresses.* The natural consequence of her depopulation. Here, as in ch. 5 : 6, Cocceius and Ewald construe the verb with the noun of place (*increscent spinis*) ; but Gesenius, who adopts the same construction in the other case, rejects it here, where it is much more natural, as it precludes the necessity of supplying a preposition. In the next clause, Ewald supplies *are ;* but the preposition before *fortresses* makes the other construction the more probable. Grotius quotes a beautiful parallel from Virgil. *Carduus et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.* The word *paliurus* is itself used in the Vulgate version of this sentence. In במבצריה Gill supposes an allusion to the name *Bozrah*. Grotius explains the phrase to mean within the limits of her ancient walls. The situation here described would of course be the resort of wild and solitary animals. *And she shall be a home of wolves.* The Septuagint has *sirens* and the Vulgate *dragons*,

which is retained in most of the old versions. Gill, who refers it all to Rome directly, understands this to mean that as she had been the abode of figurative dragons, i. e. of the old dragon, the devil and the beast, with their creatures, popes and cardinals, so now she shall be occupied by literal dragons, i. e. monsters of the wilderness. Gesenius and Ewald render תנים *jackals*, but Henderson's version *wolves* is more expressive, and the exact species meant is both dubious and unimportant. *A court* (or *grass-plot*) *for ostriches.* Gesenius explains חָצִיר as an orthographical variation for חָצֵר a court or enclosure. Hitzig takes it in its usual sense of grass. In like manner it had been explained as meaning grass or pasture long before by Luther (*Weide*) and Coccius (*gramen*). The general sense, in either case, is that of an enclosed and appropriated spot, a play-ground or a dwelling-place. The last phrase is rendered by Augusti, *daughters of howling.* It is now understood to mean not owls but female ostriches. (See the note on ch. 13: 21.)

V. 14. *And wild* (or *desert*) *creatures shall* (there) *meet with howling creatures.* The verb sometimes means to meet or encounter in the sense of attacking (Ex. 4: 24. Hos. 13: 8); but here it seems to have the general sense of falling in with. These lonely creatures, as they traverse Idumea, shall encounter none but creatures like themselves. Gesenius and Ewald follow Bochart in explaining צִיִּים to mean *wild-cats.* Lowth has *jackals.* Most other writers, with greater probability, take it in the general sense of those inhabiting the wilderness. (Compare the note on ch. 13: 21.) In like manner אִיִּים may be understood, according to its etymology, as signifying howlers, i. e. howling animals. This is less arbitrary, and at the same time better suited to the context, than the explanation of the words as names of particular species. The principal specific meanings put upon אִיִּים are those of vultures (Luther), thoes (Bochart), mountain-cats (Lowth), wild-cats (Grotius), wild dogs (Gesenius), and wolves (Ewald). Hendewerk prefers the more general meaning *beasts of prey* (Raubthiere), for which there seems to be no sufficient ground in etymology. Augusti retains both Hebrew words (*Zihim* and *Ijim*). Castalio has *Sylvani* and *Faunis.* Next to the explanation first proposed, the most probable is that given by Coccius and the English Version, *wild beasts of the desert* and *wild beasts of the island.* The antithesis might then be that between the animals inhabiting dry places and those frequenting marshes or the banks of streams (according to the wide sense of the Hebrew אִי, explained in the note on ch. 20: 6), implying either the existence of such spots in Idumea, or that the whole description is to be tropically understood. By the wild beast of the desert Coccius understands the Saracens and Turks, and by the wild beasts of the island the Crusaders. In the words צִיִּים and אִיִּים

there is a *paronomasia* but not a *pun* (Barnes). A pun is the use of one word in two senses. A paronomasia is the likeness of two different words in form or sound. *And the shaggy monster shall call to his fellow.* Hitzig and Ewald give יקרא the sense of *meeting*, as a parallel to פגשׁ, and suppose the Kal to be here construed as the Niphal is in Ex. 3: 18. But as the Kal itself never means to meet, excepting in a figurative application, and as the other explanation gives a perfectly good sense, and adds variety to the description, it is better to explain it as most writers have done since the Septuagint version (*βοήσονται*). For the true sense of שׂעיר, see the extended comment on the plural form as it occurs in ch. 13: 21. Ewald, who has *satyrs* there, has *he-goat* in the case before us; and Henderson, who has *wild goats* there, has here *the shaggy he-goat.* Other writers still give the word, as in the former case, the sense of a hirciform spectre (Bochart), field-spirit (Augusti), field-devil (Luther), wood-devil (J. D. Michaelis and Gesenius), and the Dutch Version makes it flatly mean *de duyvel.* Amidst these various and fanciful interpretations, the most consistent with itself and with the etymology is still that of the Vulgate (*pilosus*). This is preferable even to that given by Henderson and Ewald, on the ground that it corresponds better with the general descriptive meaning which, as we have seen above, most probably belongs to the words צירים and אירים in the preceding clause. If that clause speaks of wild and howling beasts, and not of any one class exclusively, it is more natural that this should speak of shaggy monsters generally than of goats. Hendewerk's conjecture, that the Prophet here alludes to Mount Seir (שׂעיר), is not so felicitous as that respecting the allusion to the Horites in v. 12. *Only there reposes the night-monster and finds for herself a resting-place.* אך, which the older writers render *quinimo* (Vitringa), *certe* (Cocceius), etc. is properly a particle of limitation meaning *only.* The latest writers connect it with שׁם as meaning *only there* (Gesenius), or with the verb as meaning *only rest* (DeWette), or with לילית as meaning *nonnisi spectra nocturna* (Maurer). The word לילית, which occurs only here, has experienced very much the same fate with שׂעיר. In itself it means nothing more nor less than *nocturnal*, and would seem to be applicable either to an animal or to any other object peculiarly belonging to the night. The Vulgate renders it by *lamia*, a word used very much like the English *witch*, but derived from the name of a Libyan queen, who having lost her child was said to prey upon the children of others. With this may be connected another Roman superstition, that of the *strix* or vampyre, which sucked the blood of children in the cradle. These superstitions were adopted by the later Jews and connected with the word before us, as denoting a *nocturnal spectre* (or *she-demon* as Gill calls it) preying upon newborn children, against which the German Jews are said to use traditional precautions. This gratuitous interpretation

of the Hebrew word was unfortunately sanctioned by Bochart and Vitringa, and adopted with eagerness by the modern Germans, who rejoice in every opportunity of charging a mistake in physics or a vulgar superstition on the Scriptures. This disposition is the more apparent here, because the writers of this school usually pique themselves upon the critical discernment with which they separate the exegetical inventions of the Rabbins from the genuine meaning of the Hebrew text. Gesenius, for example, will not even grant that the doctrine of a personal Messiah is so much as mentioned in the writings of Isaiah, although no opinion has been more universally maintained by the Jews, from the date of their oldest uncanonical books extant. In this case, their unanimous and uninterrupted testimony goes for nothing, because it would establish an unwelcome identity between the Messiah of the Old and New Testament. But when the object is to fasten on the Scriptures a contemptible and odious superstition, the utmost deference is paid, not only to the silly legends of the Jews, but to those of the Greeks, Romans, Zabians, and Russians, which are collated and paraded with a prodigal expenditure of trifling erudition, to prove what never was disputed, that these superstitions have existed and do still exist; as if it followed of course that they were current in the days of Isaiah, and if not believed are distinctly mentioned by him. But this conclusion would be wholly unauthorized, even if the words of the Prophet at first sight seemed to bear that meaning; how much more when it can only be attached to them by violence. J. D. Michaelis, who stands among the writers on Isaiah at the turning point between belief and unbelief, acquits the Prophet of believing in such spectres, but regards it as a case of accommodation to popular errors or illusions, the same principle on which the demoniacal possessions of the gospel are explained away, and as the ultimate result of the same process, the historical existence of Christ himself resolved into a mythus. That a similar mode of exposition was adopted by such men as Bochart and Vitringa, only proves that they lived before its dangerous tendency had been developed. It should also be considered that nocturnal spectres had not then been so decisively referred to the category of ideal beings as they are at present. These remarks are intended merely to prevent an inconsiderate adoption of the views in question, on the authority either of the older writers or the modern Germans. Against the views themselves there are substantive objections of the most conclusive kind. Besides the fact already mentioned, that לילית strictly means *nocturnal*, and that its application to a spectre is entirely gratuitous, we may argue here, as in ch. 13 : 25, that ghosts as well as demons would be wholly out of place in a list of wild and solitary *animals*. That such animals are mentioned in the first clause of this verse and of the next, is allowed by all interpreters, however widely they may differ as to the specific meaning of the terms employed. Taking Gesenius's

interpretation, the first item in the catalogue is *wild cats*, the second *wild dogs*, the third *demons*, the fourth *hobgoblins*, and the fifth *arrow-snakes*. Is this a natural succession of ideas? Is it one that ought to be assumed without necessity? The only necessity that can exist in such a case is that of meeting the conditions of the context. The third and fourth particulars in this list must of course be something doleful or terrific; but they need not be more so than the other objects in the same connexion. It is enough if they belong to the same class, in this respect, with wild-cats, jackals, wolves, and arrow-snakes. This is sufficiently secured by making לילית mean a nocturnal bird (Aben Ezra) or more specifically an owl (Cocceius) or screech-owl (Lowth). But the word admits of a still more satisfactory interpretation, in exact agreement with the exposition which has been already given of the preceding terms as general descriptions rather than specific names. If these terms represent the animals occupying Idumea, first as belonging to the wilderness (צירים), then as distinguished by their fierce or melancholy cries (אירים), and then as shaggy in appearance (שעיר), nothing can be more natural than that the fourth epithet should also be expressive of their habits as a class, and no such epithet could well be more appropriate than that of *nocturnal* or belonging to the night. Another objection to the meaning *spectre* is, that the poetry and legends of all nations have associated with such beings the idea of inquietude. When Hamlet says, *Rest, rest, perturbed spirit!* he virtually tells the ghost to cease to be one. But here, according to the fashionable exegesis, the spectre is described, not as flitting or gliding through the land or among its ruins, but as taking up its lodgings and reposing. Of all the figures that could be employed, that of resting seems to be the least appropriate in the description of a spectre, and especially of such as Gesenius describes to us from eastern story books and rabbinical traditions. Of this incongruity he seems to have had at least a vague apprehension, as he strangely says that the terms here used imply a restless wandering state, whereas they seem to imply the very contrary, and no less strangely cites Matt. 12 : 43, where the evil spirit is expressly said to pass through dry places *seeking rest and finding none*. On these grounds, therefore, that the Hebrew word, according to its derivation, simply means *nocturnal;* that in this sense it suits perfectly the parallelism and the context, as containing names of animals or rather descriptions of their habits; that the action described is peculiarly unsuited to a ghost or a spectre; that the Scriptures contain no intimations of the real existence of such beings; that the supposition of a mere accommodation to the popular belief is dangerous, unworthy, and gratuitous; and that the existence of the popular belief itself so early is exceedingly improbable; we may safely set aside the spectral interpretation as untenable on philological and historical grounds, and as certainly not worth being taken for granted.

The same considerations make it unnecessary to retain the Hebrew word (*lilith*), as Augusti and Henderson have done, as if in obedience to the flippant direction of John David Michaelis, that whoever will not tolerate a ghost here must retain the Hebrew word and imagine it to mean what he pleases (*was ihm beliebt*). The alternatives in such a case are seldom so few as they are sometimes represented by this learned and ingenious but conceited and dogmatical interpreter. It only remains to observe that the Septuagint version, the authority of which has done so much to introduce *demons* into ch. 13 : 23, makes use of the word *δαιμόνια* in this verse too, but as the translation of צירים, while its favourite term *ὀρεσίτραγοι* is employed to represent both אדרים and לילית. This absurd interpretation is so far consistent with itself, that it makes the whole verse a catalogue of nondescript hobgoblins, demons, and ass-centaurs, and if not a refutation of the current exposition of לילית, is at least a severe satire on it.

V. 15. Several manuscripts and one of the oldest editions read קפיד as in v. 11 above, and the Septuagint has *ἐχῖνος* in both places. Jarchi and Kimchi explain the common reading (קפוז) as a synonyme. It is supposed to denote different kinds of birds by Calvin (*ulula*), Junius (*merula*), Cocceius (*anataria*) etc. Bochart objects that if a bird were meant, its *wings* would have been mentioned in the other clause, and not merely its *shadow*. Most of the modern writers follow Bochart in explaining it to mean the *serpens jaculus* or arrow-snake, so called from its darting or springing motion. The same learned writer shows that the use of the word *nest* in reference to serpents is common in Arabic as well as Greek and Latin. There is no need therefore of giving קננה a wider meaning as Jerome does (*habuit foveam*). The next verb is rendered by the Vulgate, *enutrivit catulos ;* by Castalio, as an adverbial expression meaning *safely*, *with impunity ;* but by the great mass of interpreters, as meaning to *lay eggs*, a sense analogous to that of the cognate form applied in ch. 66 : 7 to human parturition. Jerome translates the next verb *circumfodit*, but most other writers *hatch*, the primary sense being that of cleaving. (Compare ch. 59 : 5.) This meaning Luther seems to give to דגרה, perhaps by an inadvertent transposition. Others explain it to mean *gather* (Junius), *hide* (Augusti), *take refuge* (Rosenmüller), but the latest writers *brood* or *cherish*, after the Vulgate (*fovet*). It is here applied to the young when hatched, as it is in Jer. 17 : 11 to the eggs of the partridge. Calvin seems to refer the suffix in בצלה not to the animal but to some other object. Grotius's paraphrase is *sub ruinis*. All the modern writers understand it to mean, *under her own shadow*. דיה is either the black vulture (Bochart) or the kite (Gesenius). Lowth's translation, *every one her mate*, may convey an incorrect idea, as both the Hebrew words are feminine. Cocceius disregards the gender and translates the

phrase, *unus cum altero*. As to the particular species of animals referred to in this whole passage, there is no need, as Calvin well observes, of troubling ourselves much about them. (*Non est cur in iis magnopere torqueamur.*) The general sense evidently is, that a human population should be succeeded by wild and lonely animals, who should not only live but breed there, implying total and continued desolation. So Horace says of Troy: *Priami Paridisque busto insultat armentum, et catulos ferae celant inultae.*

V. 16. *Seek ye out of the book of Jehovah and read.* Knobel connects דרשו with the preceding verse (*each one her mate they seek*), and then changes the remainder of this clause so as to read thus: מספר יהוה יקרא על, *by number will Jehovah call* (*them*). This bears a strong resemblance to Lowth's treatment of the first clause of v. 12, but is still more extravagant. The *book of Jehovah* has been variously explained to mean the book of his decrees (Aben Ezra), his annals or record of events (Forerius), the Scriptures generally, or more particularly the book of Genesis, or that part which relates to clean and unclean animals (Jarchi), the Mosaic law relating to that subject (Joseph Kimchi), the law in general (Calvin), the book of Revelation (Gill), the book of Prophecy in general (Junius), the Prophecies against Edom in particular (Alting), and finally this very prophecy (David Kimchi). The most natural interpretation seems to be that which makes this an exhortation to compare the prophecy with the event, and which is strongly recommended by the fact that all the verbs are in the past tense, implying that the Prophet here takes his stand at a point of time posterior to the event. *The book* may then be this particular prophecy, or the whole prophetic volume, or the entire scripture, without material change of sense. The persons addressed are the future witnesses of the event. מעל does not mean *from top* to bottom, as Vitringa imagines, but simply *from upon*, as we speak of reading a sentence *off* a book or paper. This expression seems to have been used in anticipation of the verb קראו, which has here the sense of publishing by reading aloud. *One of them has not failed.* A very few writers understand this as relating to the evils threatened; but the great majority more naturally apply it to the animals mentioned in the preceding verses, as signs of desolation. As if he had said, I predicted that Edom should be occupied by such and such creatures, and behold they are all here, not one of them is wanting. This is a lively and impressive mode of saying, the prediction is fulfilled. *One another they miss not.* The verb has here the sense of mustering or reviewing to discover who is absent, as in 1 Sam. 20: 6. 25: 15. The reference is not to the pairing of animals (Barnes), because both אשה and רעותה are feminine, and because the context requires an allusion to the meeting of different species, not of the individuals of one kind. *For my mouth, it has commanded; and his spirit, it has*

gathered them, i. e. the animals aforesaid. The last phrase is a more specific explanation of the general expression *has commanded*. To add a suffix to the latter, therefore, would complete the parallelism but disturb the sense. The sudden change of person from *my mouth* to *his spirit* has led to various explanations. Houbigant reads פיו and Knobel פיהו, *his mouth*, which is actually found in a few manuscripts. Lowth reads יהיה for היא, *the mouth of Jehovah*, which is not only arbitrary but in violation of his favourite principle of parallelism. The same objection lies against the explanation of היא, by Glassius and Simonis, as a divine name, and by Rosenmüller and Dathe, as a substitute for it. Such an explanation of the second היא is precluded by the foregoing suffix. A much more plausible solution is the one proposed by Aben Ezra and Kimchi, who refer the suffix in רוחו to פי (*my mouth* and *its breath*), and thus make God the speaker in both clauses. But on the whole, the simplest course is either to suppose with Vitringa that Jehovah speaks in one clause and the Prophet in the next, an enallage too frequent to be inadmissible, or that the Prophet really refers the command to his own mouth instrumentally, but then immediately names the Divine Spirit as the efficient agent. This is the less improbable because the first clause of the verse, as we have seen, contains an appeal to his own written prediction. The Spirit of God is not merely his power but himself, with special reference to the Holy Ghost, as being both the author and fulfiller of the prophecies.

V. 17. *He too has cast the lot for them, and his hand has divided it to them by line.* An evident allusion to the division of the land of Canaan, both by lot and measuring-line. (See Numb. 26: 55, 56. Josh. 18: 4–6.) As Canaan was allotted to Israel, so Edom is allotted to these doleful creatures. Having referred to the allotment as already past, he now describes the occupation as future and perpetual. *Forever shall they hold it as a heritage, to all generations shall they dwell therein.* Coccéius, who applies the whole prediction to the unbelieving Jews, thus explains this last clause: *nunquam restituetur respublica Judaeorum in illa terra.*

CHAPTER XXXV.

A GREAT and glorious change is here described under the figure of a desert clothed with luxuriant vegetation, vs. 1, 2. The people are encouraged with the prospect of this change and with the promise of avenging

judgments on their enemies, vs. 3, 4. The same change is then expressed, by a change of figure, as a healing of corporeal infirmities, vs. 5, 6. The former figure is again resumed, and the wilderness described as free from all its wonted inconveniences, particularly those of barrenness and thirst, disappointment and illusion, pathlessness and beasts of prey, vs. 7–9. The whole prediction winds up with a promise of redemption, restoration, and endless blessedness, v. 10.

This chapter is regarded by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Rosenmüller, as entirely distinct from that before it; by Hitzig as a separate composition of the same writer; but by most interpreters as a direct continuation of it. According to Rosenmüller, it was written by the author of ch. XI, XII; according to Umbreit by the author of ch. XL–LXVI, according to Ewald by another in imitation of that writer; according to Gesenius by the author of ch. XIII, XIV, which the passage before us resembles, he says, in its literary merit and its moral defects, especially its spirit of revenge and bloodthirsty hatred. All these writers agree that it cannot be the work of Isaiah. As a sample of the proofs on which their judgment rests, it may be stated that Hitzig makes the use of the form חציר and of the phrase נבהרי לב a proof of later date. He authoritatively sets it down as belonging to the period immediately before the termination of the exile. By such assertions and pretended proofs, its genuineness is of course unshaken.

With respect to the subject of the chapter there is no less diversity of judgment. It has been explained with equal confidence as a description of the state of Judah under Hezekiah (Grotius), of the return from exile (Clericus), of the state of Judah after that event (Rosenmüller), of that state and the times of the New Testament together (J. H. Michaelis), of the calling of the Gentiles (Cocceius), of the Christian dispensation (Luther, Calvin, al.), of the state of the church after the fall of Antichrist (Vitringa), of the state of Palestine at some future period (J. D. Michaelis), and of a future state of blessedness (Gill). These arbitrary hypotheses refute each other. The best description of the chapter is that given by Augusti in the title to his version of it, where he represents it as the description of a happy condition of the church after a period of suffering. This is no doubt its true import, and when thus explained it may be considered as including various particulars, none of which can be regarded as its specific or exclusive subject. Gesenius says this prophecy was of course never fulfilled; but so far is this from being true, that it has rather been fulfilled again and again. Without any change of its essential meaning it may be applied to the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, to the vocation of the Gentiles, to the whole Christian dispensation, to the course of every individual believer, and to the blessedness of heaven. The ground of this manifold application is not that the language of the passage is unmeaning or indefinite, but that

there is a real and designed analogy between the various changes mentioned, which brings them all within the natural scope of the same inspired description.

V. 1. *Desert and waste shall rejoice (for) them.* The verb is translated as an imperative of the second or third person by the Septuagint, Cocceius, and others; and as a descriptive present by Gesenius and some later writers; but there is no sufficient reason for departing from the strict sense of the future. The desert has been variously explained to mean Idumea, Judea, the Jewish church, the Christian church, the Gentile world, and the wilderness separating Palestine from Babylonia. The true sense seems to be that given by Gesenius, who supposes the blooming of the desert to be used here, as in many other cases, to express an entire revolution, the subject of the change being not determined by the figure itself but by the whole connexion. The final ם has been variously explained, as a suffix, equivalent to בהם, להם, or עמם; as a paragogic letter, used instead of ן, on account of the ה following; and as a mere orthographical mistake, arising from the same cause. Those who make it a suffix refer it, either to the animals described in the close of the preceding chapter, or to the judgments there threatened against Edom, or to the Jewish exiles returning from captivity. The suffix is not expressed in any of the ancient versions. Kennicott supposes the ם to have been added merely to complete the line; but why should such a form have been perpetuated? The idea of the first clause is repeated in the second. *And the wilderness shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.* This explanation of the last word is given by several of the Rabbins, and retained by Junius, Cocceius, Lowth, and Augusti. The later writers object that the word, according to its etymology, must denote a bulbous plant. The ancient versions, with Luther and Calvin, make it mean the *lily*, which is retained by Ewald; but for this flower the language has a different name. Saadias and Abulwalid explain it the *narcissus*, which is approved by Gesenius in his Commentary, and after him by most of the later German writers. But in his Thesaurus he makes it mean the *colchicum autumnale* or meadow-saffron. Amidst this diversity and doubt, it is best with Barnes to retain the English word *rose*, as more familiar and as conveying a more striking image of beauty. The poetry, if not the botany, of this translation is superior to Henderson's (*and blossom as the crocus*).

V. 2. The same idea of complete and joyful change is again expressed by the same figure, but with greater fulness, the desert being here described as putting on and wearing the appearance of the spots most noted for luxuriant vegetation. (*It shall*) *blossom, it shall blossom and rejoice; yea,* (*with*) *joy and shouting;* or, *yea, joy and shouting* (*there shall be*). *The glory of*

Lebanon is given unto it (the desert), *the beauty of Carmel and of Sharon. They* (who witness this great change) *shall see the glory of Jehovah, the beauty of our God.* The figures here employed are so familiar, and in their obvious meaning so expressive, that we only weaken their effect by treating them as symbols or an allegory. Thus Jarchi understands by the glory of Lebanon the temple; Gill, *choice and excellent Christians*, etc. As a change in the relative condition of the Jews and Gentiles is no doubt included in the prophecy, there is not the same objection to the opinion of Forerius, that the second clause of the verse denotes the transfer of God's spiritual presence, and the glory connected with it, from the Jewish to the Christian church. According to Oecolampadius, Lebanon, Carmel, and Sharon are here mentioned, as natural boundaries or landmarks of the country. Schmidius supposes that a mountain, a cultivated field, and an extensive plain, are given as samples of the whole, to intimate that nothing should be wanting to the perfection of the state here promised and described. But Lebanon and Carmel are both mountains, unless we give the latter its generic sense of *fruitful field*, as Junius and Tremellius do, in obvious violation of the context, since the preceding and the following word are evidently proper names. The *glory* or *beauty* of the places named is not fertility, as Grotius thinks, but rather its effect as seen in their luxuriant vegetation. The reduplication of the first verb in the sentence is regarded by almost all interpreters as emphatic, though they differ greatly as to its precise force. Calvin and Junius make it expressive of abundant and progressive growth, as if he had said, *it shall blossom more and more.* Hitzig applies it to the rankness of the growth (*hoch sprosst sie auf*), Knobel to its universality (*ganz sprosset sie*). Augusti repeats the verb as in Hebrew (*blühen ja blühen*), and the Vulgate copies the precise form still more closely (*germinans germinabit*).—The future translation of נָתַן by Calvin and the English Version is gratuitous and arbitrary. The preterite form points out the true relation of the cause to its effect. It *shall* rejoice because the glory of Lebanon *has been* given to it. The pronoun *they* is referred by Vitringa to the desert, Lebanon, etc. But as these are the immediate antecedents, the pronoun would hardly have been introduced, except for the purpose of directing attention to some other nominative than the nearest, as in Psalm 22: 18. The true sense is probably that given in the Septuagint (*my people*) and the Targum (*the house of Israel*), and in a more general form by Clericus (*qui aderunt*). Instead of וירנן, the Seventy seem to have read וירדן (*τὰ ἔρημα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*), and this reading, with a corresponding change of the preceding word, is adopted by Houbigant (גלות הירדן), Kennicott (גדות הירדן), and Lowth (*the well-watered plain of Jordan*). The words, as they stand in the common text, may be construed either with a preposition

or the substantive verb understood. Eleven manuscripts read לָךְ (*to thee*) for לָהּ (*to it*), which merely converts the description into an apostrophe.

V. 3. With the prospect of this glorious change the people are commanded to encourage themselves and one another. *Strengthen hands* (now) *sinking, and knees* (now) *tottering make firm.* The hands and knees are here combined, as Vitringa observes, to express the powers of action and endurance. The participial forms represent the hands as actually hanging down, relaxed, or weakened, and the knees as actually giving way. The passage thus explained is far more expressive than if we make the participles adjectives, denoting a permanent quality or habitual condition. In itself, the language of this verse is applicable either to self-encouragement or to the consolation of others. It is understood to mean, *renew your own strength*, by Cocceius and Clericus (*reparate vires vestras*). Most of the older writers, and some moderns, make the other the prominent idea, and suppose the command to be addressed to those in office (Barnes), or to ministers (Calvin), or to the prophets (Knobel), or to these and other good men (Grotius), or to the people generally (Junius). Neither of these interpretations is erroneous except in being too exclusive. There is no reason why the words should not be taken in their widest sense, as meaning, let despondency be exchanged for hope. That self-encouragement is not excluded, may be learned from Paul's use of the words in that sense (Heb. 12: 12). That mutual encouragement is not excluded, is sufficiently apparent from the following verse. Thus understood the words may be considered as including, but not as specifically signifying, spiritual weakness or inability to do God's will (Targum), and the duty of encouraging the Gentiles with the prospect of admission to his favour (Menochius). The specific application of the passage to the Roman persecutions (Gurtlerus) is gratuitous. Equally so is the idea that the Jews are here encouraged under the depressing recollection of sufferings already past (Grotius), or under the alarm excited by the foregoing threats (Calvin). The same objection lies against the exclusive reference of the words to the exiles in Babylon who distrusted the promises (Hendewerk) or believed themselves to be forsaken by Jehovah (Knobel). As a general exhortation, they are applicable to these and to many other situations, none of which can be regarded as the exclusive subject of the promise. The figures here used are the same with those employed in ch. 13: 7 and in Job 4: 3, 4. The image presented is that of *persons who can scarcely lift up their hands or stand upon their legs* (Gill). The Septuagint supposes the command to be addressed to the hands themselves (*ἰσχύσατε χεῖρες*). Hitzig gratuitously changes *hands* to *arms*, as in ch. 10: 10, 13. 14: 27. 19: 16. 25: 10. 26: 11 etc.

V. 4. This verse shows how the command in the one before it is to be obeyed, by suggesting, as topics of mutual encouragement, the vindicatory justice of God, and his certain interposition in behalf of his people. *Say ye to the hasty of heart* (i. e. the impatient, those who cannot wait for the fulfilment of God's promise), *Be firm, fear not; behold your God* (as if already present or in sight); *vengeance is coming, the retribution of God; he (himself) is coming, and will save you.* The connecting link between his vengeance and their safety is the destruction of their enemies. (*Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you.* 2 Thess. 1 : 6.) נִמְהָר, as a passive participle, corresponds, in form and sense, to the English *hurried.* It has been variously explained as meaning inconsiderate (Junius), precipitate (Cocceius), inconstant (Vatablus), faint-hearted (Lowth), palpitating (Rosenmüller), ready to flee (Gesenius), *hasty in drawing black conclusions upon themselves and their state* (Gill). But the true sense seems to be the one expressed by Clericus, to wit, impatient of delay in the execution of God's promises (*qui nullas moras aequo animo ferre possunt*). This includes the ideas of despondency and unbelieving fear, while at the same time it adheres to the strict sense of the Hebrew word. Compare the analogous expression in ch. 28: 16, *he that believeth will not make haste* or be impatient.—The construction of the second clause is greatly perplexed by making אֱלֹהֵיכֶם the subject of יָבוֹא. Thus the English Version, which is founded upon Calvin's, supplies two prepositions and assumes an unusual inversion of the terms. *Your God will come (with) vengeance, even God (with) a recompense.* This construction also involves an anticlimax, as the simple name of *God* is of course less emphatic than the full phrase *your God.* Luther has *to vengeance*, and *God who recompenses.* Jerome makes the construction still more complex by translating יָבוֹא as a causative (*ultionem adducet retributionis*). The true construction, as given by Junius, Cocceius, Vitringa, and most later writers, makes *behold your God* an exclamation, and *vengeance* the subject of the verb. Vitringa observes that יָבוֹא is here used to express both the present and the future, an idea which may be conveyed in English by the idiomatic phrase, *is coming* or *about to come.* The הוּא might be grammatically construed with גְּמוּל (*it will come*), but as the act of saving is immediately afterwards ascribed to the same subject, it is better to explain the pronoun as an emphatic designation of Jehovah. Not only his vengeance but himself is coming. Grotius, true to his principle of seeking the fulfilment of all prophecies in the days of the Prophet himself, explains *he will save you* as meaning *he will not let the Ethiopians reach you.* The exclusive application of the threatening here implied to the Babylonians, the Jews, Antichrist, or the Devil, is untenable for reasons which have been already given in the exposition of the foregoing verse. While Barnes denies that the phrase *your God* refers to the Messiah,

Calovius alleges that the name of *Jesus* is expressly mentioned, being included in the verb יושׁ. The words are really a promise of deliverance to God's people, and include, as the most important part of their contents, the *unspeakable gift* of Christ and his salvation.

Vs. 5, 6. The change in the condition of the people is now represented by another figure, the removal of corporeal infirmities. *Then* (when God has thus come) *shall the eyes of the blind be opened and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame leap* (or *bound*) *as an hart and the tongue of the dumb shall shout* (*for joy*), *because waters have burst forth in the wilderness and streams in the desert.* The reason assigned in this last clause for the joy to be expressed shows clearly that the miraculous removal of disease and the miraculous irrigation of the desert are intended to express one and the same thing. The essential idea in both cases is that of sudden and extraordinary change. This precludes Grotius's interpretation of the fifth verse as meaning that the most obtuse and prejudiced shall see and acknowledge what God has wrought. It also precludes Jonathan's symbolical exposition of the words as predicting the removal of spiritual disabilities, and the opposite hypothesis, maintained by many of the older writers, that Isaiah here explicitly foretells the miracles of Christ. Calovius asserts that Christ himself has so interpreted the passage in Matt. 11 : 5, Luke 7 : 22. But as Henderson justly says, there is no proof whatever that Christ refers John the Baptist to this prophecy ; he employs none of the formulas which he uniformly uses when directing attention to the Old Testament (e. g. in Matt. 9 : 16. 11 : 10. 12 : 17. 13 : 14), but simply appeals to his miracles in proof of his Messiahship ; the language is similar, but the subjects different. Another argument is urged by J. D. Michaelis, namely, that the last clause of the sixth verse cannot be applied to the miracles of Christ, and yet it obviously forms a part of the same prophetic picture. The evasion of this difficulty by assuming, as Vitringa seems inclined to do, a mixture of literal and figurative language in the parallel clauses of the very same description, is one of those arbitrary exegetical expedients, which can only be affirmed on one side and rejected on the other. To the question whether this prediction is in no sense applicable to our Saviour's miracles, we may reply with Calvin, that although they are not directly mentioned, they were really an emblem and example of the great change which is here described. So too the spiritual cures effected by the gospel, although not specifically signified by these words, are included in the glorious revolution which they do denote. The simple meaning of the passage is, that the divine interposition which had just been promised should produce as wonderful a change in the condition of mankind, as if the blind were to receive their sight, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear,

the lame to walk, and deserts to be fertilized and blossom as the rose. In the process of this mighty transmutation, miracles were really performed, both of a bodily and spiritual nature, but the great change which includes these includes vastly more. Gesenius and others understand the sixth verse as describing the joy of the returning exiles, which might be compared to that of men miraculously healed; but it is far more natural to understand the healing as descriptive of the change itself, which must therefore be much more extensive than the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, although this may be one of the particulars included. To the explanation of נבקעו as a future there is the same objection as to that of נתן in v. 2. The original form of expression is not that they *shall* rejoice for waters *shall* burst forth, but that they *shall* rejoice because waters *have* burst forth already, the last event being spoken of as relatively past, i. e. as previous to the act of rejoicing which the future verb expresses. The version *when they shall have burst forth* (Cocceius) yields an equally good sense, and indeed the same in substance, but departs without necessity from the usual and strict sense of the particle. The suggestion, which Barnes quotes from Campbell's travels in South Africa, that lameness and dumbness (i. e. indisposition or inability to speak) are here alluded to as painful incidents to travel in the desert, is striking and ingenious, but a little far-fetched and at variance with the context, which requires changes more extraordinary than the mere relief of taciturnity and footsore weariness. Here as in ch. 34 : 14, J. D. Michaelis first suggests a fanciful interpretation (making lameness denote ill success in war), and then prescribes as the only alternative a reference to the paths of virtue and religion, in which those who are deficient may be said to halt or limp. Clericus, who usually follows Grotius in preferring the lowest and the most material sense of which the language is susceptible, applies these words to spiritual changes, but thinks it necessary to apologize for this departure from his usual mode of exegesis, which he does by adding to his note upon the sixth verse, *ex quibus intelligere licebit, quamquam propriam verborum potestatem sectemur quotiescumque licet, nos ubi necesse est ad tralatitium adeoque allegoricum (ut vocatur) sensum devenire.* The only wonder is that he was able to overcome his scruples in a case where there is no necessity whatever for the so-called allegorical interpretation, but a simple instance of poetical metaphor. The verb רנן, to which the older writers gave the sense of *singing*, is explained by the modern lexicographers as properly denoting the expression of joyous feelings by inarticulate cries or shouts.

V. 7. The idea of complete and joyful change is still expressed by the transformation of a desert and the consequent removal of its inconveniences, among which the Prophet here particularly mentions the tantalizing illusions

to which travellers in the wilderness are subject. *And the mirage shall become a pool* (or the sand lake a water lake, the seeming lake a real one), *and the thirsty land springs of water*, (*even*) *in the haunt of wolves, their lair, a court* (or *field*) *for reed and rush.* Instead of the general meaning put upon שרב by the older writers following the Septuagint (*ἄνυδρος*) and the Vulgate (*quae erat arida*), it is now agreed that the word denotes the illusive appearance caused by unequal refraction in the lower strata of the atmosphere, and often witnessed both at sea and land, called in English *looming*, in Italian *fata morgana*, and in French *mirage*. J. D. Michaelis thanks God that the German language has no need of such a term; but Ewald and Umbreit use *Kimmung* as an equivalent. Other equivalents are employed by Hitzig (*Wasserschein*), DeWette (*Sandmeer*), Hendewerk (*Sandschimmer*), and Henderson (*vapoury illusion*). In the deserts of Arabia and Africa, the appearance presented is precisely that of an extensive sheet of water, tending not only to mislead the traveller but to aggravate his thirst by disappointment. The phenomenon is well described by Quintius Curtius in his Life of Alexander the Great. (*Arenas vapor aestivi solis accendit..... Camporum non alia quam vasti et profundi aequoris species est.*) It is thus referred to in the Koran (24: 39): *And as for those who disbelieve, their deeds are like the mirage* (سراب) *in the desert; the thirsty reckons it for water, till when he comes he finds it nothing.* More deceitful than the mirage (or *serab*), is an Arabian proverb. Gesenius follows Hyde in deriving the Hebrew word from a Persian phrase meaning a surface of water. Hitzig explains it as an Arabic derivative denoting an abundant flow or stream. Its introduction here adds a beautiful stroke to the description, not only by its local propriety, but by its strict agreement with the context. The etymology of מבוע suggests the idea of a gushing fountain, which is expressed in some translations, particularly those of Lowth (*bubbling springs*) and Augusti (*Sprudelquellen*). Gesenius and the other recent German writers render תנים *jackals*, as in ch. 13: 21 and 34: 13; but Henderson's translation (*wolves*) has a better effect in English. The essential idea is that of wild and solitary animals. נוה and חציר are combined as in ch. 34: 13. The latter word is explained by some as meaning *grass*, and the whole clause as predicting, that hay *and* reeds *and* rushes (Luther), or grass *with* reeds and rushes (Junius), shall grow in what was once the haunt of wild beasts; or that grass shall grow *instead of* reeds and rushes (Augusti); or that grass shall be converted *into* reeds and rushes (Cocceius). Most writers now however give חציר the sense of *court*, enclosure, or the more general one of *place*, and understand the clause to mean, that what was once the haunt of wild beasts should become a place for the growth of reeds and rushes, which require a great degree of moisture, and therefore imply an entire change in the condition of the desert. The

same sense is given by Calvin (*locus erit arundini et junco*) and Vitringa (*late excrescet calamus et juncus*). Knobel instead of רבצה reads יצמח on the alleged authority of the Peshito and the Vulgate (*orietur*). *In the haunt of jackals springs up grass to* (the height of) *reeds and rushes*, a luxuriance of vegetation which of course implies excessive moisture. Even if this construction of the particle were natural and justified by usage, the change in the text would still be inadmissible because unnecessary. All these interpretations understand the last clause as a distinct proposition or description of a change to be wrought in the haunts or lairs of desert animals. But Ewald regards the whole as a mere description of the desert and continues the construction into the next verse. *In the haunt of jackals, (in) their lair, (in) the place for reeds and rushes, even there shall be a way* etc. As this removes the difficulty of explaining the growth of reeds and rushes as a promise, it would seem to be entitled to the preference, but for the length of the sentence which it assumes and the conjunction at the beginning of v. 8. These objections may be obviated, and the advantages of the construction still secured, by connecting this, as a descriptive clause, not with what follows but with what precedes: *fountains shall burst forth in the haunt of wolves, (in) their lair* (or *resting place*), (*in*) *the court* (or *growing-place*) *of reeds and rushes.* We may then suppose either that these marshy spots are represented as the favourite resort of certain animals, or that two distinct descriptions of the wilderness are given, first by describing it as the resort of solitary animals and then as insusceptible alike of culture and inhabitation. The description, even if inapplicable strictly to the same spot, might correctly be applied to different parts of the same wilderness. The suffix in רבצה refers not to ארץ understood (DeDieu), but to תנים as a *pluralis inhumanus* (Gesenius), or to each of the תנים distributively (Junius: *cubili cujusque*) as an individual of the feminine gender (Lam. 4: 31). There is consequently no need of reading רבצים (Kennicott), פרץ (Houbigant), פרצה or פרצי (Lowth). Gesenius supplies a relative before רבצה (*which was its lair* or *where its lair was*); but a much more natural construction is proposed by Maurer and Hitzig, who explain it as in simple apposition with נוה תנים. The explanation which has now been given of the verse, as a poetical description of complete and joyful change, excludes of course the allegorical interpretation of the pools as meaning schools and the fountains teachers (Vitringa), the dragon's den the heathen world (Schmidius), the dragons themselves persecutors, *pagan emperors and papal powers* (Gill), the reeds and rushes persons eminent in spiritual knowledge, authority, and influence (Cocceius). All these particulars may be included in the change described, but none of them can be regarded as specifically much less as exclusively intended.

V. 8. The desert shall cease not only to be barren but also to be pathless or impassable by reason of sand. *And there shall be there a highway and a way; and there shall not pass through* (or *over*) *it an unclean* (*thing* or *person*); *and it shall be for them* (*alone*). Job (12 : 24) speaks of a תהו לא דרך (*a wilderness in which there is no way*), and Jeremiah (18 : 15) of a דרך לא סלולה (*a way not cast up*), to both which descriptions we have here a contrast. The comparison suggested is between a faint track in the sand and a solid artificial causeway. (Rosenmüller: *via aggerata.* Henderson: *a raised road.* Vatablus: *exaltata lapidibus.* Clericus: *munita semita.*) Eighteen manuscripts and several ancient versions omit וידרך, which may be explained however (with Junius and Tremellius) as a hendiadys, *highway and way* for *high way.* The way meant is explained by Forerius to be Christ, faith, and the sacraments; by Gill, *a way cast up by sovereign grace which is raised above the mire and dirt of sin, and carries over it and from it.* Grotius, as usual, goes to the opposite extreme of making it denote the way to the temple. Gataker seems to apply it to the improvement of the roads in Judea. Musculus understands it as ensuring to the exiled Jews a free return to their own country. But even this return seems to be only one of many particulars included in the promise of a general change and restoration, which is really the thing denoted by this whole series of prophetic figures. On the form and import of the phrase, *it shall be called*, see ch. 1 : 26. (J. H. Michaelis: *vocabitur quia erit.*) For the *way of holiness*, Clericus substitutes the classical expression, *via sacra.* The next clause is paraphrased by Grotius as meaning that no Syrian, Assyrian, Ethiopian, or Egyptian, shall be seen there. Hitzig explains it as an exclusion of the heathen generally, and pronounces it a *trace of later judaism.* Knobel goes further and describes it as an effusion of *national hatred.* The obvious meaning of the words is that the people of Jehovah shall themselves be holy. (Compare ch. 1 : 25. 4 : 3.) This is in fact the meaning even of those scriptures which exclude from Zion (or the sanctuary) the Canaanite (Zech. 14 : 21), the uncircumcised (Ezek. 44 : 9), and the stranger (Joel 4 : 17). The הוא may be grammatically construed either with מסלול or with דרך which is sometimes masculine. *It shall be for* is rendered by Hitzig *it belongs to*, without a material change of meaning. The pronoun *them*, which has no expressed antecedent in the sentence, has been variously applied to the blind whose eyes were opened (Junius), to the saints (Gataker), to Israel (Kimchi), to the exiles (Hitzig), to those recovered from idolatry (Henderson), and to those truly reformed by suffering (Knobel). Barnes and Henderson refer it, by prolepsis, to גאולים in the next verse. This is no doubt substantially correct; but the precise import of the original expression seems to be, that the highway shall belong exclusively to them for whose sake it was made, for whose use it was

intended. A very different sense is put upon this phrase by Calvin, who connects it with what follows and translates, *et erit illis ambulans in via*, referring הוא to God himself, and explaining the whole as a promise that he would go before them in the way thus prepared, as he went before Israel of old in the pillar of cloud and of fire. The same construction is adopted by DeDieu (*et erit ipse illis ambulator viae*), and Clericus (*erit qui prior illis viam ingredietur*), who applies it expressly to Christ as the *dux salutis nostrae*. Lowth says that the old English versions gave the same sense, but that our last translators were misled by the absurd division of the verse in the masoretic text, destroying the construction and the sense. His own version is: *but He himself shall be with them, walking in the way*, which he explains to mean, that God should dwell among them, and set them an example that they should follow his steps. Among the later writers this construction is approved by Dathe and Ewald (*und da er den Weg ihnen geht*). The objections to it, stated by Gesenius, are, the sense which it puts upon the particle in לבד, and the needless violation of the masoretic accents. He, and most of the other modern writers, give precisely the construction found in Junius and Tremellius (*viator ne stulti quidem poterunt deerrare*), taking הלך דרך as equivaleut to עבר ארח (ch. 33 : 8), and though singular in form collective in meaning and construction. The ו before אוילים is not expletive (Henderson) but exegetical and emphatic. The meaning strictly is, *the travellers and the fools*, i. e. the travellers not excepting such as are ignorant or foolish. אוילים is translated by the Septuagint *διεσπαρμένοι*, and by Cocceius *leves*. Gataker explains it as denoting simple-minded Christians, while Henderson understands the whole clause as a promise, that the Jewish exiles, *however defective some of them might be in intellectual energy*, should not fail of reaching Zion. Hendewerk comes nearer to the full sense of the words, which he explains to mean that only moral impurity, not ignorance or weakness, should exclude men from this highway. But the words, in their primary and strict sense, are descriptive, not of the travellers, but of the way itself, which should not be a faint or dubious track through shifting sands, but a highway so distinctly marked that even the most ignorant and inexperienced could not miss it. The straightness or directness of the path, which Grotius and Rosenmüller make a prominent idea, may be implied, but is not expressed.

V. 9. The wilderness, though no longer barren or pathless, might still be the resort of beasts of prey. The promised highway might itself be exposed to their incursions. But immunity from this inconvenience is here promised. *There shall not be there a lion, and a ravenous beast shall not ascend it, nor be found there; and (there) shall walk redeemed (ones).* For a similar promise, in a still more figurative dress, see Hosea 2 : 18, and

for a description of the desert as the home of deadly animals, Isaiah 30: 6. Hendewerk refers *there* and *it* to the desert, Hitzig and others to the way. Both are consistent with the context, which describes all the inconveniences and dangers of the desert as removed; but in this place the primary allusion is no doubt to the highway described in the foregoing verse. Hence the phrase *ascend it*, i. e. from the level of the sands, through which the road is supposed to be cast up. This precludes the necessity of referring, with Gesenius, to the use of this verb by Ezra and Nehemiah in reference to the journey from Babylon, or by Job in reference to the wilderness itself as higher than the cultivated country (Job 6: 18). Lowth seems to take פריץ חיות as a poetical description of the lion (*the tyrant of the beasts*). But the first word is an adjective denoting violent, rapacious, ravenous, destructive, deadly. It is translated as a simple case of concord by the Vulgate (*mala bestia*), Luther (*reissendes Thier*), Tremellius (*violenta fera*), the English Bible (*ravenous beast*), and Henderson (*destructive beast*). The original construction is retained by Cocceius (*violenta ferarum*), while Knobel supplies a preposition (*ein zerreissendes unter ihnen*), and Ewald makes it a direct superlative (*das gewaltsamste der Thiere*). These terms are applied by the Targum to persecuting kings and rulers, by Jarchi to Nebuchadnezzar in particular, by Junius to the enemies of the church, and by Augusti to the avenger of blood. But they are rather intended to complete the great prophetic picture of a total change in the condition of the desert, under which general idea we may then include a great variety of suitable particulars, without however making any one of them the exclusive subject of the prophecy. The feminine verb תמצא is well explained by Knobel, as agreeing in form with חיות and in sense with פריץ. There is no need therefore of reading ימצא with Lowth on the authority of four Hebrew manuscripts. Knobel gives גאולים its original and proper sense of *bought back* i. e. out of the bondage into which they had been *sold*. Most other writers give it the more general meaning *freed* or *delivered*. (Junius: *vindicati*. Cocceius: *asserti*.) Barnes understands it in a double sense, as expressive both of temporal and spiritual redemption. Augusti refers it to the avenger of blood whom he supposes to be mentioned in the other clause (*von ihm gesichert wandelt man hin*). Calvin construes וחלכו as a subjunctive (*ut redempti ambulent*). Vitringa makes the last clause a distinct proposition, or rather the beginning of the next verse (*et ibunt asserti, et redempti etc.*). Ewald adopts a construction somewhat similar (*so gehen sie erlöst, und Jahvés losgekaufte u. s. w.*). There is no need, however, of departing from the simpler and more usual construction, which connects it closely with what goes before, supplying *there* as in the English Bible (*the redeemed shall walk there*) and *only* as in the version of Gesenius (*nur Erlöste gehen dort*).

V. 10. The whole series of promises is here summed up in that of restoration and complete redemption. *And the ransomed of Jehovah shall return and come to Zion with shouting, and everlasting joy upon their head; gladness and joy shall overtake (them), and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.* The first phrase, which is no doubt equivalent in meaning to גאולים in v. 9, is paraphrased as follows in one of the French versions: *ceux-la desquels l'Eternel aura payé la rançon.* The connexion with the preceding context is needlessly though not erroneously expressed in some versions by translating the initial particle *yea* (Lowth), *so* (J. H. Michaelis), or *therefore* (Calvin). Zion is mentioned as the journey's end; they shall not only move towards it but attain it. The words *everlasting joy* may either be governed by the preposition (*with shouting and everlasting joy upon their head*), or construed with the substantive verb understood (*everlasting joy shall be upon their head*). The latter construction seems to agree best with the Masoretic accents. Jarchi understands by שמחת עולם *ancient joy* or the *joy of old;* but more seems to be promised. The Chaldee Paraphrase supposes the image here presented to be that of a cloud of glory encompassing the head or floating over it. Gataker and Lowth suppose an allusion to a crown or wreath, and Umbreit to a sacerdotal crown particularly. Vitringa, Gill, and Rosenmüller understand the Prophet as alluding to the festal use of unguents. (See Ps. 45: 8. Ecc. 9: 8. Luke 7: 46.) Paulus combines the figure of a crown with that of unction. Gesenius, Maurer, and Knobel explain *joy upon the head* as meaning its expression in the countenance. According to Sanctius, *head* is put for *person* or the whole body, which seems altogether arbitrary. Clericus explains the clause to mean that joy shall be *at the head* i. e. march before them. It deserves to be recorded, as a *monstrum interpretationis*, that Forerius supposes an allusion to the washerwomen's practice of carrying clothes upon their heads. In the last clause, *joy and gladness* may be either the subject or the object of the verb. The latter construction is given in the English Bible (*they shall obtain joy and gladness*) after the example of the Targum, Peshito, and Vulgate. In favour of the other, which is given in the Septuagint (*καταλήψεται αὐτούς*), may be urged the analogy of Deut. 28: 2 (*all these blessings shall come on thee and overtake thee*) and of the last clause of the verse, where *sorrow and sighing* are allowed to be the subjects of the verb by all except Cocceius, who consistently translates it, *shall escape sorrow and sighing.* The figures of this verse are applied to the return from exile by the Targum (*from the midst of their captivity*), and Henderson thinks that deliverance not too trivial to be thus described. Junius applies it in a wider sense to the reception of converts into the church. Calvin extends it to the whole course of life and to its close. The Talmud applies it to the world to come, and Gill says that 'the highway

before described not only leads to Zion the church below, but to the Zion above, to the heavenly glory; and all the redeemed, all that walk in this way, shall come thither; at death their souls return to God that gave them, and in the resurrection their bodies shall return from their dusty beds and appear before God in Zion.' The allusions to the Babylonian exile are correctly explained by Barnes upon the principle that minor and temporal deliverances were not only emblems of the great salvation but preparatory to it. The devout Vitringa closes his exposition of the cheering promise, with which Isaiah winds up the first great division of his prophecies, by exclaiming to his reader, *Ora mecum Dominum supplex, ut eam suo tempore propitius impleat; interim credens non festinabit.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The next four chapters contain a historical appendix to the first part of Isaiah's prophecies, relating chiefly to Sennacherib's invasion and the slaughter of his host, to Hezekiah's sickness and miraculous recovery, and to the friendly intercourse between him and the king of Babylon. The same narrative is found substantially in the second book of Kings (ch. xviii–xx), and a different account of the same matters in the second book of Chronicles (ch. xxxii). The close resemblance of the former passage to the one before us has afforded full scope to the German appetite for critical conjecture and ingenious combination. Paulus and Hendewerk adhere to the old opinion of Grotius and Vitringa, that the narrative in Kings is a varied transcript of the one in Isaiah; but Eichhorn, Gesenius, Maurer, and DeWette regard the latter as an addition, by the hand of a compiler, to the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, abridged and otherwise altered from the book of Kings; while Koppe, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Umbreit, and Knobel consider the two narratives as parallel or collateral abridgments, made by different writers, from the same original, viz. a more extended history, no longer in existence. This last hypothesis is founded on the difficulty of maintaining either of the others, a difficulty springing from the fact that neither of the passages sustains, in all respects, the character of an original or an abridgment. Each contains matter which is not found in the other, and although Gesenius and Knobel have endeavoured to demonstrate that the diction, phraseology, grammatical structure, and even the orthography of the passage before us, are symptomatic of a later origin, neither the principle which they assume, nor its specific application here, is so unquestionable as to satisfy the mind of any

ordinary reader, in default of more conclusive evidence. The particular points included in this general statement will be noticed in the exposition. From the strong resemblance of the passages, and the impossibility of fixing upon either as the more ancient and authentic of the two, the natural inference would seem to be, that they are different draughts or copies of the same composition, or at least that they are both the work of the same writer, and that this writer is Isaiah. That the prophets often acted as historiographers, and that Isaiah in particular discharged this office, are recorded facts. Nothing can be more natural, therefore, than the supposition that he inserted the same narrative in one book as a part of the chronicle of Judah, and in the other as an illustrative appendix to his earlier prophecies. To what extent this would make him the author of the books of Kings, is here a question of but little moment. Whether these are to be regarded as complete compositions of particular authors, or as continuous official records, formed by successive entries, or as abstracts of such records made for permanent preservation, the supposition that he wrote both passages is equally admissible. As to the variations of the two from one another, they are precisely such as might have been expected in the case supposed, that is to say, in the case of the same writer twice recording the same facts, especially if we assume an interval between the acts, and a more specific purpose in the one case than the other. It must also be considered that on this hypothesis, the writer expected both accounts to be within the reach of the same readers, and might therefore leave them to illustrate and complete each other. That there is nothing in these variations to forbid the supposition of their being from the same pen, is evinced by the circumstance that each of the parallels has been declared, for similar reasons, and with equal confidence, to be a transcript of the other. Against the supposition that Isaiah is the author of both or either, even German ingenuity and learning have been able to adduce no better arguments than one or two flimsy philological cavils, such as the use of *Jewish* in ch. 36: 11, and some others which will be particularly mentioned in the exposition, together with the usual objections founded on the assumed impossibility of miracles and inspiration. Thus the recession of the shadow, the destruction of Sennacherib's army, the prediction of his own death, and of the length of Hezekiah's life, are all alleged with great *naïveté* by the infidel interpreters as proofs that these chapters are of later date, whereas they only prove that their writer was a prophet sent from God. The simple common-sense view of the matter is, that since the traditional position of these chapters among the writings of Isaiah corresponds exactly to the known fact of his having written a part of the history of Judah, the presumption in favour of his having written both the passages in question cannot be shaken by the mere possibility, or even the intrinsic probability, of other hypotheses, for which there

is not the least external evidence. The specific end, for which the narrative is here appended to the foregoing prophecies, appears to be that of showing the fulfilment of certain prophecies which had relation to a proximate futurity, and thereby gaining credence and authority for those which had a wider scope and a remoter consummation.

V. 1. *And it was* (or *came to pass*) *in the fourteenth year of the king Hezekiah, Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fenced* (or *fortified*) *cities of Judah, and took them.* The parallel passage in Kings is immediately preceded by a summary account of the earlier events of Hezekiah's reign, with particular mention of his religious reformations and his extirpation of idolatry, to which is added an account of the deportation of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser (2 Kings 18: 1–12). This visitation is referred to the apostasy of Israel as its meritorious cause, and contrasted with the favour of the Lord to Hezekiah as a faithful servant. While Ephraim was carried away never to return, Judah was only subjected to a temporary chastisement, the record of which follows. The verse which directly corresponds to that before us (2 Kings 18: 13) differs from it only in the omission of the idiomatic formula ויהי. The statement in Chronicles (32: 1) is, that he entered into Judah and encamped against the fortified cities and proposed (ויאמר) to subdue them to himself. The same restricted sense is put by some interpreters upon the stronger phrase (*and took them*) which Isaiah uses. Others, with the same view, limit the meaning of the word *all* before *cities*. Gesenius understands the cities here meant to be those which Rehoboam fortified (2 Chr. 11: 5–12). Sennacherib is mentioned, under nearly the same name, by Herodotus, who calls him the king of Assyria and Arabia. This may either be accounted for, as an example of the loose geographical distinctions of the ancient writers, or as implying that the Assyrian conquests really included certain portions of Arabia. Between this verse and the next, as they stand in Isaiah, the narrative in Kings inserts three others, which relate what immediately followed the invasion of the country and preceded the attack upon Jerusalem. The substance of this statement is that Hezekiah sent to Sennacherib at Lachish, saying, I have offended (i. e. in renouncing his allegiance to Assyria), return from me, that which thou puttest on me I will bear; that Sennacherib accordingly imposed a tribute of three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold, to pay which Hezekiah gave him all the treasures of the palace and the temple, not excepting the metallic decorations of the doors and pillars (2 Kings 18: 14–16). This last act seems to be entirely inconsistent with the view which Calvin takes of Hezekiah's conduct in this whole transaction as entirely innocent and laudable, evincing a pacific disposition and a willingness to purchase peace at any price. He seems indeed to have been disposed

to buy it far too dearly when he stripped the house of God to pay for it, an act which certainly implies distrust of the divine protection. There is nothing, either in the case before us, or in the general analogy of Scripture, to forbid the supposition, that the narrative was intended to exhibit the weakness no less than the strength of Hezekiah's faith, in which case there is no need of laboriously vindicating all his acts as perfectly consistent with a strong and lively faith, although his general sincerity and godliness cannot be questioned. Another addition to the narrative is found in the second book of Chronicles (32: 1–8), where we read that Hezekiah, when he saw that Sennacherib was come, and that his face was towards Jerusalem for war, took measures to strengthen the defences of the city, and to cut off the supply of water from the enemy, while at the same time he encouraged the people to rely upon Jehovah and not to be afraid of the Assyrian host. All this is spoken of as having taken place before what is recorded in the next verse of the chapter now before us. If we suppose it to have followed Hezekiah's message to Sennacherib and payment of the tribute, the inference would seem to be that the invader, having received the money, still appeared disposed to march upon the Holy City, whereupon the king abandoned all hope of conciliation, and threw himself without reserve on the divine protection.

V. 2. *And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem, to king Hezekiah, with a strong force, and he stood by the conduit* (or *aqueduct*) *of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field.* Besides Rabshakeh, the narrative in Kings mentions Tartan and Rabsaris; that in Chronicles uses the general expression *his servants.* Rabshakeh may be named alone here as the chief speaker, or as the commander of the expedition. The Jews have a tradition that he was a renegado or apostate Jew, and one absurd story makes him out to have been a son of Isaiah. Others account for his knowledge of Hebrew by supposing him to have acquired it by intercourse with captives of the ten tribes. Lachish was a town of Judah south-west of Jerusalem on the way to Egypt. This place Sennacherib was now besieging (2 Chron. 32: 9), and being probably detained longer than he had expected, he detached a part of his forces to attack Jerusalem, or rather to summon Hezekiah to surrender. That the main body of the army afterwards advanced against Jerusalem is nowhere explicitly recorded, although some infer from ch. 10: 28–32 that they did so, making a circuit to the north for the purpose of surprising the city. It is said in Chronicles that Sennacherib was now before Lachish, in the military sense, i. e. besieging it, *with all his force,* which some explain to mean *with a large part of it,* others *with his court* and the usual accompaniments of an eastern camp, in order to remove a supposed inconsistency with what

is here said. But the phrase in Chronicles relates to the Assyrian force at Lachish before Rabshakeh was detached, and is inserted merely to explain the statement that he came *from Lachish*, because Sennacherib had halted there with all his army. The verb יצבו may also be referred to the halt of Rabshakeh's detachment, or to the position which they took up on arriving; but it is simpler to refer it to the spot on which Rabshakeh himself stood during the interview about to be described. The spot was doubtless one of great resort. For the localities here mentioned, see the notes on ch. 7: 3 and 22: 9–11. The verse in Kings, which corresponds to this, is more redundant in expression, from which Gesenius infers as a matter of course, that it is the original and this the copy, as if amplification were not as easy as abridgment.

V. 3. *Then came forth unto him Eliakim, Hilkiah's son, who was over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, Asaph's son, the recorder.* The parallel narrative (2 Kings 18: 18) prefixes to this verse a statement that *he called to* (or *for*) *the king*, in answer to which summons these three ministers came out. Eliakim here appears as Shebna's successor, according to the prophecy in ch. 22: 20, and Shebna himself as an inferior office-bearer. Interpreters have amused themselves with trying to discover equivalents in modern parlance for these three official titles, such as chamberlain, steward, majordomo, secretary, master of requests, master of the rolls, historiographer etc. It is enough to know that they probably denote three principal officers of state, or of the royal household, which in oriental governments is very much the same thing. Clericus, in his version of this sentence, omits the name of *Joah*, and then notes it as an error of the Hebrew text, to be corrected by a comparison with 2 Kings 18: 18.

V. 4. *And Rabshakeh said to them: Say now* (or *if you please*) *to Hezekiah, thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What is this confidence which thou confidest in?* He expresses his contempt by withholding the name of king from Hezekiah and calling his own master *the great king*, a common title of the Persian and other oriental monarchs, corresponding to *Grand Seignior*, *Grand Monarque*, and *Emperor*, as a distinctive royal title. The interrogation in the last clause implies surprise and scorn at a reliance so unfounded. *Confide* and *confidence* sustain the same etymological relation to each other as the Hebrew noun and verb.

V. 5. *I say* (or *have said*), *only word of lips, counsel and strength for the war; now on whom hast thou confided, that thou hast rebelled against me?* The parallel passage in Kings has *thou hast said*, which Lowth assumes to be the true text here, while others treat the common reading as

an error of the writer or abridger. It is much easier, however, to account for אָמַרְתָּ as having arisen from אָמַרְתִּ, a defective orthography for אָמַרְתִּי, than to deduce the latter from the former. The truth no doubt is that both the readings are original, since both may be so explained as to express the same idea. Many interpreters regard what follows as a parenthesis (*it is only word of lips*, i. e. mere talk). Others make it interrogative (*is mere talk counsel and strength for the war?*) Others suppose an ellipsis in each member (*I say* you have *only word of lips*, but there is need of *counsel and strength for the war*). The simplest construction is: *I say, mere word of lips is* (*your*) *counsel and strength for the war*, i. e. your pretended strength and wisdom are mere talk, false pretension. The allusion is not so much to Hezekiah's prayers (Kimchi) as to his addresses to the people, recorded in 2 Chr. 32: 6–8. The sense of the other passage (2 Kings 18: 20) seems to be, *thou hast said* (to thyself, or thought, that) *mere talk is counsel and strength for the war.* The contemptuous import of דבר שפתים is apparent from Prov. 14: 23. The rebellion mentioned in the last clause is Hezekiah's casting off the Assyrian yoke (2 Kings 18: 7).

V. 6. *Behold, thou hast trusted in the staff* (or *support*) *of this broken reed, in Egypt, which, (if) a man lean upon it, will go into his hand and pierce it; so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all those trusting in him.* He answers his own question. The charge of relying upon Egypt may be either regarded as a true one, or as a malicious fabrication, or as a mere inference from the analogy of other cases and the habitual relation of the parties. Egypt may be called a broken reed, either as being always weak, or in allusion to what it had already suffered from Assyria. *Broken* of course does not mean entirely divided, but so bruised or shattered as to yield no firm support but rather to do injury. (See ch. 42: 3 below.) Neither Gesenius nor any other critic seems to consider על מצרים as a gloss, a strong proof that such explanatory clauses are not quite so unnatural as they are elsewhere represented. (See the notes on ch. 7: 17. 8: 7.)

V. 7. *And if thou say to me, we trust in Jehovah our God, is it not he whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and said to Judah and to Jerusalem, before this altar shall ye worship.* The parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 22) has *ye say* in the plural, which Gesenius regards as the original and proper form, because Hezekiah is afterwards mentioned in the third person. But what then becomes of the favourite critical canon that the more difficult reading is commonly the true one, or of the allegation that the author of the text before us is proved to be a copyist by his disposition to remove irregularities and make the form of expression uniform? Rabshakeh's question evidently refers to Hezekiah's reformation of reli-

gious worship (2 Kings 18: 4), which he erroneously regarded as a change of the national religion. The parallel passage adds, at the end of the sentence, *in Jerusalem*, which is just as likely to have been added in the one copy, as to have been omitted in the other.

V. 8. *And now, engage, I pray thee, with my lord, the king of Assyria, and I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.* A contemptuous comparison between the Jews, who were almost destitute of cavalry, and the Assyrians, who were strong in that species of force (ch. 5: 28). התערב is not to *wager*, nor to *give pledges*, but simply to *engage with*; whether in fight or in negotiation, must be determined by the context.

V. 9. *And how wilt thou turn away the face of one governor* (or *satrap*) *of the least of my master's servants? So thou hast reposed thyself on Egypt, with respect to chariots and horses.* As a man is said to turn his face towards an object of attack, so the latter may be said to turn back (or away) the face of his assailant when he repels him. The last clause is an inference from the first, as the first is from the foregoing verse. If Hezekiah could not command two thousand horsemen, he was unprepared to resist even a detachment of the Assyrian force, and if thus helpless, he must be trusting, not in his own resources, but in foreign aid.

V. 10. *And now (is it) without Jehovah I have come up against this land to destroy it? Jehovah said to me, go up to* (or *against*) *this land and destroy it.* Some interpreters suppose that the Assyrians had heard of prophecies, in which they were described as instruments by which Jehovah meant to punish his own people. It is much more natural, however, to regard this as a bold attempt to terrify the Jews by pleading the authority of their own tutelary deity for this invasion. The parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 25) has *place* instead of the first *land*, a clear case, as Knobel imagines, of assimilation on the part of the transcriber. But no such inference was drawn from the opposite appearance in v. 7, nor is any attempt made to explain why the על and אל were not assimilated also.

V. 11. *Then said Eliakim, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Pray speak unto thy servants in Aramean, for we understand (it), and speak not to us in Jewish, in the ears of the people who (are) on the wall.* This request implies an apprehension of the bad effect of his address upon the multitude. *Aramean* corresponds very nearly to *Syrian* in latitude of meaning; but the language meant is not what we call *Syriac*, but an older form, which was probably current, as the French is now, at the courts and

among the educated classes of an extensive region. *Jewish* is *Hebrew*, so called by the Jews, as the language of the whole British empire is called *English*, or as German is sometimes called *Saxon*. The use of this term here is urged by some as a proof of later date than the time of Isaiah, on the ground that the distinctive name *Jewish* could not have been common till long after the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, which left Judah the only representative of Israel. But how long after this event may we assume that such a usage became common? The ten tribes were carried into exile by Sennacherib's father, if not by his grandfather. It is altogether probable that from the time of the great schism between Ephraim and Judah, the latter began to call the national language by its own distinctive name. At the period in question, such a designation was certainly more natural, in the mouths of Jews, than *Israelitish* or even *Hebrew*. *We understand*, literally, *we (are) hearing*, i. e. hearing distinctly and intelligently.

V. 12. *And Rabshakeh said: Is it to thy master and to thee, that my master hath sent me to speak these words? Is it not to the men sitting on the wall to eat their own dung and to drink their own water with you?* The last clause might seem to mean, *is it not appointed to them, necessary for them*, or *are they not doomed etc?* But since עַל is used in the parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 27) after שׁלח, as a simple equivalent to אל, it is better to repeat the verb of the first clause at the beginning of the second: *has he not sent me?* The last clause is obviously descriptive of the horrors of famine in their most revolting form. The same idea is conveyed still more distinctly in Chronicles: *whereon do ye trust that ye abide in the fortress of Jerusalem? doth not Hezekiah persuade you to give over yourselves to die by famine and by thirst, saying, the Lord our God shall deliver us out of the hand of the king of Assyria?* (2 Chr. 32: 10, 11). So here the people are described as sitting on the wall, i. e. holding out against Sennacherib, only that they may experience these horrors. The masoretic readings in the margin of the Hebrew Bible are mere euphemistic variations. אדניך might seem to mean *thy masters*, as the singular *my master* is expressed in the same sentence by its proper form. But the fact is that the singular אדון is never joined with any suffixes but those of the first person. The only form, therefore, in which *thy master* could have been expressed, is that here used. The ambiguity is removed by the connexion, which requires the phrase to be applied to Hezekiah.

V. 13. *And Rabshakeh stood and called with a loud voice in Jewish* (i. e. Hebrew), *and said, Hear the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.* In so doing he not only testified his contempt for the king's mes-

sengers by insolently disregarding their request, but made a politic appeal to the hopes and fears of the multitude. That *he stood and called*, is explained by some to mean that he assumed a higher position, or came nearer to the wall: but the simplest and most natural explanation is, that he remained where he was before and merely raised his voice.

V. 14. *Thus saith the king: let not Hezekiah deceive you, for he will not be able to deliver you.* The repeated mention of the king reminds them, that he is not speaking in his own name, but in that of a great monarch. The parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 29) adds, *out of his hand.*

V. 15. *And let not Hezekiah make you trust in Jehovah, saying, Jehovah will certainly save us, this city shall not be given up into the hand of the king of Assyria.* The only difference between this and the parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 30) is that the latter inserts אֵת before *this city*, a construction of the passive verb which, according to Knobel, was considered incorrect by the transcriber. The idea of *certain* deliverance is expressed by the idiomatic combination of the future and infinitive.

V. 16. *Hearken not to Hezekiah, for thus saith the king of Assyria, make with me a blessing, and come out unto me, and eat ye (every) man his own vine and (every) man his own fig-tree, and drink ye (every) man the waters of his own cistern.* בְּרָכָה usually means a *blessing*, but in a few instances a *gift* or *present*, as a token of good will. Hence some explain the phrase here used, *make me a present*, or *make an agreement with me by a present.* Others give the Hebrew word, in this one case, the sense of *peace*, which of course suits the connexion, because it is in fact a mere conjecture from the context. If an unusual meaning of the word must be assumed, it might have that of *kneeling*, as a gesture of submission or an act of homage, from בָּרַךְ to *kneel.* It is possible, however, to adhere more closely to the usage of the term, by taking *blessing* in the sense of friendly salutation, which in the east is commonly an invocation of the divine blessing. Thus the verb *to bless* is often used to express the act of greeting or of taking leave. To make a blessing with one then might mean to enter into amicable intercourse. To *come out* is in Hebrew the common military phrase for the surrender of a besieged town. The inducements offered in the last clause are in obvious antithesis to the revolting threat or warning in the last clause of v. 12. To eat the vine and fig-tree (meaning to eat their fruit) is an elliptical form of speech, which has its analogies in every language.

V. 17. *Until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards.* The parallel

passage (2 Kings 18: 32) adds, *a land of oil-olive and honey, that ye may live and not die*, which has quite as much the aspect of an amplified copy as of a redundant original. This reference to the deportation of the people as a future event has led some interpreters to the conclusion, that Sennacherib was now on his way to Egypt, and deferred the measure until his return. It has been disputed what particular land is here meant, some saying Mesopotamia, to which others object that it was not a wine-growing country. But, as Knobel observes, there is no need of supposing that the Assyrian's description was exactly true. He may indeed have intended merely to promise them in general a country as abundant as their own.

V. 18. *Let not* (or *beware lest*) *Hezekiah seduce you, saying, Jehovah will deliver us. Have the gods of the nations delivered every one his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?* פֶּן is commonly equivalent to *lest*, and dependent on a foregoing verb, but sometimes (like the Latin *ne*) stands at the beginning of a sentence. Here we may either supply *take heed*, or regard פֶּן as equivalent to אַל, which is actually used in the parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 32) with a repetition of the verb הִשְׁמְעוּ (*hearken not to Hezekiah when he incites*, or, *for he shall incite you, saying*). Had this been the form of expression in Isaiah, we should have seen it noted as an instance of assimilation characteristic of a later writer; but as it unluckily occurs in the other place, it is discreetly overlooked by the interpreters. The Assyrian here, with characteristic recklessness, forsakes his previous position, that he was but acting as Jehovah's instrument, and sets himself in disdainful opposition to Jehovah himself.

V. 19. *Where* (*are*) *the gods of Hamath and Arpad? where the gods of Sepharvaim? and* (when or where was it) *that they delivered Samaria out of my hand?* In the rapidity of his triumphant interrogation, he expresses himself darkly and imperfectly. The last clause must of course refer to the gods of Samaria, though not expressly mentioned. כִּי is not an interrogative pronoun (*who have delivered?*), nor an interrogative particle (*have they delivered?*), but a connective particle, dependent upon something not expressed. For the situation of Hamath and Arpad, see the note on ch. 10: 9. Sepharvaim is probably the *Sipphara* of Ptolemy, a town and province in the south of Mesopotamia, already subject to Assyria in the days of Shalmaneser. The parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 34) adds *Hena* and *Ivvah*, which are also named with Sepharvaim in 2 Kings 19: 13 and Isai. 37: 13. The question (*where are they?*) seems to imply, not only that they had not saved their worshippers, but that they had ceased to be.

V. 20. *Who* (*are they*) *among all the gods of these lands, that have delivered their land out of my hand, that Jehovah should deliver Jerusalem*

out of my hand? The parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 35) omits *these* before *lands*, another exception to the general statement, that the narrative before us is an abridgment of the other. In this argumentative interrogation, he puts Jehovah on a level with the gods of the surrounding nations. This is still more frequently and pointedly expressed in the parallel passage in Chronicles. *Know ye not what I and my fathers have done unto all the nations of the countries? Were the gods of the nations of the countries able to deliver their country out of my hand? Who was there among all the gods of these nations, which my fathers utterly destroyed, that was able to deliver his people out of my hand, that your God should be able to deliver you out of my hand? And now, let not Hezekiah deceive you, and let him not seduce you, neither believe him; for no god of any nation or kingdom has been able to deliver his people out of my hand, and out of the hand of my fathers; how much less shall your God deliver you out of my hand.* (2 Chron. 32: 13–15.) From the same authority we learn that over and above what is recorded, Sennacherib's servants *spake still more against the God Jehovah and against Hezekiah his servant* (v. 16), and that *they cried with a loud voice in the Jewish language, to the people of Jerusalem who were on the wall, to affright them, and to trouble them, that they might take the city; and they spake against the God of Jerusalem as against the gods of the nations of the earth, the work of men's hands* (vs. 18, 19).

V. 21. *And they held their peace, and did not answer him a word, for such was the commandment of the king, saying, Ye shall not answer him.* Some interpreters refer the first clause to Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah; but the parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 36) says expressly that *the people held their peace*, which Knobel says is more correct, as if the two were inconsistent, and gravely adds, that *our narrator* was thinking of the messengers. The notion of some of the old writers, that they did confer with him, notwithstanding what is here said, is gratuitous and arbitrary in a high degree.

V. 22. *Then came Eliakim, Hilkiah's son, who (was) over the house, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah, Asaph's son, the recorder, unto Hezekiah, with their clothes rent* (literally, *rent of clothes*), *and told him the words of Rabshakeh.* Some of the older writers understand the rending of their garments as a mere sign of their horror at Rabshakeh's blasphemies; some of the moderns as a mere sign of despondency and alarm at the impending dangers; whereas both may naturally be included.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

This chapter is a direct continuation of the one before it. It describes the effect of Rabshakeh's blasphemies and threats on Hezekiah, his humiliation, his message to Isaiah, and the answer, the retreat of Rabshakeh, Sennacherib's letter, Hezekiah's prayer, Isaiah's prophecy, and its fulfilment, in the slaughter of Sennacherib's army and his own flight and murder.

V. 1. *And it was* (or *came to pass*), *when King Hezekiah heard* (the report of his messengers), *that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of Jehovah.* Gill's suggestion, that he rent his clothes because of the Assyrian's blasphemy and put on sackcloth because of his threats, appears to be a fanciful distinction. Both acts were customary signs of mourning and appropriate to any case of deep distress. He resorted to the temple, not only as a public place, but with reference to the promise made to Solomon (1 Kings 8: 29), that God would hear the prayers of his people from that place when they were in distress. Under the old dispensation there were reasons for resorting to the temple, even to offer private supplications, which cannot possibly apply to any church or other place at present. This arose partly from the fact that prayer was connected with sacrifice, and this was rigidly confined to one spot.

V. 2. *And he sent Eliakim who was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, unto Isaiah, the son of Amoz, the prophet.* While he himself resorted to the temple, he sent to ask the counsel and the intercessions of the Prophet. Calvin's supposition, that Isaiah was directed to remain at home, amidst the general alarm and lamentation, as a test of Hezekiah's faith, seems at least unnecessary. Eliakim and Shebna are again employed in this case, as being qualified to make an exact report of what had happened, and in order to put honour on the prophet by an embassy of distinguished men. In the place of Joah, he sends the *elders of the priests*, i. e. the heads of the sacerdotal families. The reference of *elders* to personal age, by Luther (*den ältesten Priestern*) and Barnes (*the old men of the priests*), is less consistent with the context, which describes the other messengers by their official titles only, and with the usage of זקנים, as denoting the hereditary chiefs of Levi no less than the other tribes. The king applies to the prophet as the authorized expounder of the will of God. Similar applications are recorded elsewhere with sufficient frequency to show that they were customary and that the prophets were regarded in this light. Thus

Josiah sent to Huldah (2 Kings 22: 14), Zedekiah to Jeremiah (Jer. 37: 3), etc. The impious Ahab required Micaiah to come to him, and that only at the earnest request of King Jehoshaphat (1 Kings 22: 9). From the mention of the Prophet's father two very different but equally gratuitous conclusions are drawn; one by Vitringa, who infers that Isaiah was of noble rank; the other by Hendewerk, who infers that he cannot be the author of this narrative, as he never would have called himself *the son of Amoz*. In the parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 2) the patronymic follows the official title, whereas here it precedes it. As this last is the usual collocation, Gesenius appears to think that it was substituted for the other by the later writer, while Hitzig, for the very same reason, declares this to be the original reading. The plural שקים seems to show that שק is not here the name of the material but of the garment (*covered with sacks or sackcloth dresses*). Of the king's prompt appeal to God in his extremity, Gill quaintly says: *Hezekiah does not sit down to consider Rabshakeh's speech, to take it in pieces, and give an answer to it, but he applies unto God.*

V. 3. *And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, A day of anguish and rebuke and contempt (is) this day, for the children are come to the birth (or to the place of birth), and there is not strength to bring forth.* The indirect construction of the first words (*that they might say to him*), adopted by some writers, is not only unnecessary but foreign from the Hebrew idiom which, especially in narrative, prefers the most simple and direct forms of expression. That Hezekiah told them thus to speak, is not only implied in their doing so, but expressly asserted by themselves, and need not therefore be recorded. As the execution of a command is often left to be inferred from the command itself (ch. 7: 3. 8: 1, etc.), so here the details of the command are to be gathered from the record of its execution. The common version of צרה (*trouble*) seems too weak for the occasion and for the figure in the other clause. It is well explained by Vitringa, as denoting, not external danger merely, but the complicated distress, both of a temporal and spiritual nature, in which Hezekiah was involved by the threats and blasphemies of the Assyrian. *Rebuke* is applied by the Septuagint (ὀνειδισμοῦ) and some interpreters to the *reproaches* of Rabshakeh; but it is more agreeable to usage to explain it as signifying the divine rebuke or chastisement, as in Ps. 73: 4. 149: 7. It is characteristic of the Scriptures and the ancient saints to represent even the malignity of human enemies as a rebuke from God. The very same phrase (*day of rebuke*) is used in the same sense by Hosea (5: 9). The verb from which נאצה is derived means to treat with contempt, or more specifically, to reject with scorn. It is sometimes used to denote God's rejection of his people (Deut. 32: 19. Jer. 14: 21. Lam. 2: 6), and Hitzig accordingly translates

the noun rejection or reprobation (*Verwerfung*). But as the verb more frequently expresses man's contempt of God (e. g. ch. 1 : 4), interpreters are commonly agreed in making the noun here mean *blasphemy*. The terms employed by Lowth (*contumely*) and Henderson (*calumny*) are too weak if the reference be to God, as the usage of the verb seems to require. The oral expression of contempt for God is blasphemy. The metaphor in the last clause expresses, in the most affecting manner, the ideas of extreme pain, imminent danger, critical emergency, utter weakness, and entire dependence on the aid of others. (Compare the similar expressions of ch. 26 : 18.) The reference of the passage to the interrupted reformation of religion, or to the abortive effort to shake off the Assyrian yoke, is equally illogical and tasteless, while the question, whether Judah is here represented as the mother or the child, betrays a total incapacity to appreciate the strength and beauty of the Prophet's metaphor. There is no more need of mooting such points than if he had simply said, the present distress is like the pains of childbirth.

V. 4. *If peradventure Jehovah thy God will hear the words of Rabshakeh, whom the king of Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God, and will rebuke the words which Jehovah thy God hath heard, then shalt thou lift up a prayer for the remnant* (that is still) *found* (here). אולי may generally be expressed by our *perhaps*, and this translation is adopted here by most interpreters, who then take ו at the beginning of the last clause in the sense of *therefore*. But by retaining what appears to be the primary and proper force of אולי, as a contingent and conditional expression, and making ו the usual sign of the apodosis, we may throw the whole into one sentence, and make more obvious the connexion of the clauses. It was because Hezekiah thought Jehovah might hear, that he asked Isaiah's prayers in his behalf. The meaning given to אולי in this construction is expressed in the English Version of Isai. 47 : 12 and Jer. 21 : 2, and might be substituted for *perhaps* in all the cases where the latter is employed to represent this particle, in some with great advantage to the clearness or the force of the expression. Lowth's explanation of אולי as an optative particle (*oh that Jehovah thy God would hear*) is not justified by usage. The doubt expressed in the first clause whether God *will hear* is viewed by some interpreters as inconsistent with the statement in the last clause that he *has heard*. To remove this imaginary discrepancy, some deny that the first clause really expresses doubt or implies contingency; others allege that *hear* is used in two distinct senses, that of simply hearing and that of regarding or attending to, and acting accordingly. The true solution seems to be that the preterite שמע denotes a past time only in relation to the contingency expressed by ישמע. Perhaps he *will hear*, and then

punish what he *has heard*. Both verbs may then be understood in one and the same sense, either that of simply hearing, or in that of acting as if one heard. The reproach and blasphemy of the Assyrian consisted mainly in his confounding Jehovah with the gods of the surrounding nations (2 Chron. 32: 19), in antithesis to whom, as being impotent and lifeless, he is here and elsewhere called the *living God*. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and most interpreters, ancient and modern, make הוכיח an infinitive, connected by the ו with חרף, and descriptive of Rabshakeh's blasphemies (*and to rebuke* me *in the words etc.*). But *reprove* or *rebuke* is a description wholly inappropriate to such a speech, and the Hebrew word nowhere means to *rail at* or *revile*. Usage moreover would require the particle to be repeated before this infinitive, and Gesenius (in his Commentary) accordingly assumes that וחוכיח is put for ולחוכיח. The grammatical and lexicographical objections may be both avoided by taking הוכיח as a preterite with the ו conversive, as in the English Version (*and will reprove*). The ב may then be either a mere connective of the verb with its object (*rebuke the words*), or denote the occasion and the ground (*rebuke* him *for the words etc.*). Maurer, who successfully defends this construction (in his note on 2 Kings 19: 4), in order to show that he is not alone in his opinion, says, *consentientem habeo Fäsium*. He might have gone a little further back, not only to Junius and Tremellius, but to Jonathan, who paraphrases the expression thus, *and will take vengeance for the words etc.* The same construction is adopted by Gesenius in his Thesaurus. It is also retained in the modern English versions, among which that of Lowth puts a peculiar sense upon the clause, by making it express a wish that God would *refute* Rabshakeh's words, meaning no doubt by the actual exertion of the power which he called in question. But this specific meaning of הוכיח cannot be sustained by usage. *To lift up a prayer* is not simply to utter one, but has allusion to two common idiomatic phrases, that of lifting up the voice, in the sense of speaking loud or beginning to speak, and that of lifting up the heart or soul, in the sense of earnestly desiring. The passive participle *found* is often used in Hebrew to denote what is *present* in a certain place, or more generally what is *extant*, in existence, or forthcoming. The meaning *left*, which is expressed in the English and some other versions, is suggested wholly by the noun with which the participle here agrees. As to the application of the whole phrase, it may either be a general description of the straits or low condition to which the chosen people were reduced (as the church at Sardis is exhorted to *strengthen the things which remain*, Rev. 3: 2), or be more specifically understood in reference to Judah as surviving the destruction of the ten tribes (compare ch. 28: 5), or to Jerusalem as spared amidst the general desolation of Judah (compare ch. 1: 8). In either case, the king requests the prophet to pray for their deliverance from entire destruction. This appli-

cation was made to Isaiah, not as a private person, however eminent in piety, but as one who was recognized as standing in an intimate relation to Jehovah, and as a constituted medium of communication with him. In like manner God himself said to Abimelech of Abraham: *he is a prophet, and shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live* (Gen. 20: 7). In recognition of this same relation, Hezekiah twice says *thy God*, i. e. thine in a peculiar and distinctive sense. This phrase is, therefore, not to be regarded as an expression of despondency, nor even of humility, on Hezekiah's part, but as a kind of indirect explanation of his reason for resorting to the Prophet at this juncture.

V. 5. *And the servants of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah.* This is a natural and simple resumption of the narrative, common in all inartificial history. It affords no ground for assuming a transposition in the text, nor for explaining ויאמרו in v. 3 as a subjunctive.

V. 6. *And Isaiah said to them, Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith Jehovah, Be not afraid of* (literally *from before* or *from the face of*) *the words which thou hast heard, (with) which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me.* The last verb means to *rail at* or *revile*, and when applied to God must be translated by a still stronger term. The word translated *servants* is not the same with that in the preceding verse, but strictly means *young men* or *boys*, and is so translated in the Targum and Vulgate. Many interpreters regard it as a contemptuous description, and it is so translated by Hitzig (*Knappen*), Umbreit (*Buben*), Henderson (*striplings*), and in other modern versions.

V. 7. *Behold I am putting* (or *about to put*) *a spirit in him, and he shall hear a noise, and shall return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.* Calvin translates the first clause, *ecce apponam illi ventum*, and explains it to mean that God would carry him away as with a wind (compare ch. 17: 13). The English Version renders it, *behold I will send a blast upon him*, meaning either a pestilential blast or a destructive tempest. Others understand by רוח the destroying angel, or an evil spirit by whom he should be haunted and possessed. But most interpreters refer the phrase to an effect to be produced upon the mind of the Assyrian. Thus some explain רוח to mean terror, others courage, others a desire to return home, others simply a change of mind. The most probable conclusion is, that it does not denote a specific change, but divine influence as governing his movements. שמועה strictly means any thing *heard*, and Luther accordingly translates the phrase, *he shall hear something*. Most writers understand this as referring to the news mentioned in v. 9

below. But Henderson observes that this news, far from driving Sennacherib home, led to a fresh defiance of Jerusalem. He therefore ingeniously suggests, that this expression has reference to the news of the destruction of his host before Jerusalem while he himself was absent. But in the next verse Rabshakeh is said to have rejoined his master, nor is there any further mention of an army at Jerusalem. It is possible, indeed, though not recorded, that Rabshakeh left the troops behind him when he went to Libnah, under the command of Tartan or Rabsaris (2 Kings 18: 17), and this is still more probable if, as some suppose, Rabshakeh was a mere embassador or herald, and Tartan the real military chief. If it can be assumed, on any ground, that the great catastrophe took place in the absence of Sennacherib, which would account for his personal escape, then Henderson's explanation of שבינה is more satisfactory than any other. The modern Germans are perplexed by this verse. They would gladly explain the prediction in the last clause as a prophecy *ex eventu;* but in that case, how could the slaughter of the host have been omitted? The only escape from this dilemma is by the arbitrary allegation that the prophecy was falsely ascribed to Isaiah by a later writer. If this be so, we may as well reject the whole; for what assurance have we that a writer, who fabricates miracles and prophecies, is faithful in his history of other matters? The inconveniences of this attempt to save a part while really discrediting the whole are curiously apparent from Gesenius's endeavour to explain the first clause of this verse as a sagacious political conjecture and the other as a subsequent interpolation.

V. 8. *And Rabshakeh returned and found the king of Assyria fighting against* (i. e. *besieging*) *Libnah, for he heard that he had decamped from Lachish.* Both these towns were in the plain or lowlands of Judah south-west of Jerusalem (Josh. 15: 39, 42), originally seats of Canaanitish kings or chiefs, conquered by Joshua (Josh. 12: 11, 15). Lachish was one of the fifteen places fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. 11: 9), and one of the last towns taken by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 34: 7). It was still in existence after the exile (Neh. 11: 30). Libnah was a city of the Levites and of refuge (Josh. 21: 13), and appears to have been nearer to Jerusalem. Henderson infers that Sennacherib had conquered Lachish, most other writers that he failed in the attempt. Some of the older writers make Libnah an Egyptian city, either because one of the stations of the Israelites in the wilderness bore this name (Num. 33: 20), or because Josephus, in order to reconcile Isaiah's narrative with that of Herodotus, represents Sennacherib as leaving Lachish to besiege Pelusium. The last verb in this verse properly denotes the removal of a tent or an encampment, an idea happily expressed in Lowth's translation by the military term *decamped*.

The sense of this verb can be here expressed in our idiom only by the use of the pluperfect, which form is given by most versions to the verb before it likewise, and Hendewerk extends it even to the verbs of the first clause, which is wholly gratuitous.

V. 9. *And he* (Sennacherib) *heard say concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, He is come forth to make war with thee ; and he heard* (*it*) *and sent* (or *when he heard* it *he sent*) *messengers to Hezekiah, saying* (what follows in the next verse). On the meaning of the Hebrew name כוּשׁ, see the notes on ch. 18 : 1 and 20 : 3. Tirhakah was one of the most famous conquerors of ancient times. Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo, puts him between Sesostris and Nebuchadnezzar. He is also named by Manetho as one of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt. He was at this time either in close alliance with that country, or more probably in actual possession of Thebais or Upper Egypt. The fact that an Ethiopian dynasty did reign there, is attested by the ancient writers, and confirmed by still existing monuments. The Greek forms of the name (*Ταρακὸς*, *Τάρκος*, *Τέρκων*) vary but little from the Hebrew. Barnes and some of the older writers suppose that Sennacherib had already been driven out of Egypt by this king, and was now afraid of being followed into Palestine ; but this conclusion is hardly warranted by the facts of the history, sacred or profane. It is unnecessary to suppose, with J. D. Michaelis, that Tirhakah had crossed the desert to invade Assyria, or even with Rosenmüller, that he was already on the frontier of Judah. The bare fact of his having left his own dominions, with the purpose of attacking Sennacherib, would be sufficient to alarm the latter, especially as his operations in the Holy Land had been so unsuccessful. He was naturally anxious therefore to induce Hezekiah to capitulate before the Ethiopians should arrive, perhaps before the Jews should hear of their approach. That he did not march upon Jerusalem himself, is very probably accounted for by Vitringa, on the ground that his strength lay chiefly in cavalry, which could not be employed in the highlands, and that the poliorcetic part of warfare was little known to any ancient nation but the Romans, as Tacitus explicitly asserts. To this may be added the peculiar difficulty arising from the scarcity of water in the environs of Jerusalem, which has been an obstacle to all the armies that have ever besieged it. (See the notes on ch. 22 : 9–11.) Gesenius supposes that symptoms of the plague had begun to show themselves in Palestine. Instead of עַל before *Tirhakah*, the parallel passage (2 Kings 19 : 9) has אֵת, which is the more remarkable because the latter particle is represented by some critics as a favourite of the copyist or later writer, to whom they ascribe this portion of Isaiah. Instead of the second *heard*, the parallel passage has *he returned*, which, according to a common Hebrew idiom, may qualify the next verb (*sent*)

by giving it the sense of *sent again*. This, which certainly yields an appropriate meaning, is restored by Lowth in this place as the true text, while Gesenius and the later German writers, who are usually bold enough in critical conjecture, choose in this case to regard the reading in Isaiah as a tautology of the later writer. Yet the variation is precisely such as one writer would be apt to make in recording the same matter twice.

V. 10. *Thus shall ye say to Hezekiah, king of Judah, Let not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.* This recognition of Hezekiah's royal dignity, of which Rabshakeh seemed to take no notice, if significant at all, as some interpreters imagine, may be accounted for upon the ground, that in this message the design of the Assyrian was not to destroy the people's confidence in Hezekiah, but the king's own confidence in God. For the same reason, Sennacherib's blasphemy is much more open and direct than that of Rabshakeh. The word *saying* may be referred either to Hezekiah or to God. The English Version makes the last construction necessary, by changing the collocation of the words; but Luther, Gesenius, and many others understand the sense to be, *in whom thou trustest, saying*. This is in fact entitled to the preference, on the ground that בוטח is the nearest antecedent. On the whole, it is best, in a case so doubtful, to retain the Hebrew collocation with all its ambiguity. The word *surrendered*, used by Henderson in this verse, is not only less simple than the common version *given*, but confines the clause too strictly to the act of the besieged, instead of making it at least include the act of God himself, as the protector of Jerusalem

V. 11. *Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all the lands, by utterly destroying them, and thou shalt be delivered!* The interjection *behold* appeals to these events as something perfectly notorious; as if he had said, see what has happened to others, and then judge whether thou art likely to escape. The pronoun *thou*, in the first clause, not being necessary to the sense, is, according to analogy, distinctive and emphatic, and may be explained to mean, *thou at least* hast heard, if not the common people. In the last clause, the same pronoun stands in opposition to the other kings or kingdoms who had been destroyed. This clause is, in most versions, rendered as an interrogation, but is properly an exclamation of contemptuous incredulity. *All the lands* may be either an elliptical expression for *all the lands subdued by them*, or, which is more in keeping with the character of the discourse, a hyperbolical expression of the speaker's arrogance. להחרים strictly means *to doom them*, or devote them irrevocably to destruction, but in usage commonly includes the idea of

execution as well as of design. (Compare the note on ch. 11 : 15.) From the mention of the *kings* of Assyria in the plural, some writers take occasion to accuse Rabshakeh of intending to arrogate the glory of these conquests to Sennacherib exclusively, whereas the latter did not dare to do so in addressing Hezekiah. But others, with more probability, infer that the singular form, employed by Rabshakeh, is itself to be understood collectively, like *king of Babylon* in the fourteenth chapter.

V. 12. *Did the gods of the nations deliver them, which my fathers destroyed, (to wit) Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which is* (or *who were*) *in Telassar?* Here again the collocation of the words makes the construction doubtful, though the general sense is clear. אותם may either be referred to *lands* in the preceding verse (the masculine form being then a license, or perhaps a sign that by the lands we are to understand the people who inhabited them), or to אלהי, or to גוים, or it may be connected with אשר in the sense of *those whom*, which appears to be preferred by Hitzig. The construction then is, *did the gods of the nations deliver those whom my fathers destroyed?* With respect to the places mentioned in the second clause, all that is absolutely necessary to the just understanding of the sentence, is that they were well known, both to speaker and hearer, as Assyrian conquests. The difficulty of identifying some of them affords an incidental argument in favour of the antiquity and genuineness of the passage. *Gozan* is probably the modern *Kaushan*, the *Gauzanitis* of Ptolemy, a region of Mesopotamia, situated on the Chaboras, to which a portion of the ten tribes were transferred by Shalmaneser. *Haran* was a city of Mesopotamia, where Abraham's father died, the *Carrae* of the Romans, and famous for the great defeat of Crassus. *Rezeph*, a common name in oriental geography, here denotes probably the *Rhessapha* of Ptolemy, a town and province in Palmyrene Syria. *Eden* means pleasure or delight, and seems to have been given as a name to various places. Having been thus applied to a district in the region of Mount Lebanon, the native Christians have been led to regard that as the site of the terrestrial paradise. Equally groundless are the conclusions of some learned critics as to the identity of the place here mentioned with the garden of Eden. In Isaiah 51 : 3, the reference is not *to a country well known and distinguished for its fertility* (Barnes), but to the garden of Eden as a matter of history. Such allusions prove no more, as to the site of the garden, than the similar allusions of modern orators and poets to any delightful region as *an Eden* or *a Paradise*. Even the continued application of the name, in prose, as a geographical term, proves no more than the use of such a name as *Mount Pleasant* in American geography. The inference, in this place, is especially untenable, because the word *sons* or *children*, prefixed to Eden, leaves it

doubtful whether the latter is the name of a place at all, and not rather that of a person, whose descendants were among the races conquered by Assyria. The relative pronoun may agree grammatically either with *sons* or *Eden*, and the form of the verb to be supplied must be varied accordingly. *Tel-assar*, which Gesenius thinks may be identical with the *Ellasar* of Gen. 14: 1, where it is substituted for the latter by the Targum of Jerusalem, appears to be analogous in form to the Babylonian names, *Tel-abib*, *Tel-melah*, *Tel-hasha*, in all which *tel* means *hill* and corresponds to the English *mount* in names of places.

V. 13. *Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah?* The question implies that they were nowhere, or had ceased to be. The first three names occur in the same order in Rabshakeh's speech (ch. 36: 19), and the remaining two also in the parallel passage (2 Kings 18: 34). As the love of uniformity and assimilation here betrayed is on the part of the pretended older writer, the German critics have discreetly overlooked it. Of Hena nothing whatever is known, and of Ivvah only that it may be identical with the *Avva* of 2 Kings 17: 24, from which Assyrian colonists were transferred to Samaria. The absence of all further trace of these two places, and the peculiar form of the names, led J. D. Michaelis to follow Symmachus and Jonathan in making both words verbs or verbal nouns, implying that the kings just mentioned had been utterly subverted and destroyed. But this interpretation, although highly plausible in this one case, is much less natural, if not wholly inadmissible, in 2 Kings 18: 34. It would be easy to affirm, no doubt, that the writer of the latter passage misunderstood the one before us; but from this suggestion even Gesenius and his followers are precluded by their foregone conclusion that the text in Kings is the more ancient of the two. Another explanation of these words is that suggested by Luzzatto, who regards them as the names of the deities worshipped at Hamath, Arpad, and Sepharvaim, and takes מֶלֶךְ in the sense of idol or tutelary god, which last idea is as old as Clericus. This ingenious hypothesis Luzzatto endeavours to sustain by the analogy of *Adrammelech and Anammelech the gods of Sepharvaim* (2 Kings 17: 31), the second of which names he regards as essentially identical with *Hena*. In favour of this exposition, besides the fact already mentioned that the names, as names of places, occur nowhere else, it may be urged that it agrees not only with the context in this place, but also with 2 Kings 18: 34, in which the explanations of the words as verbs or nouns is inadmissible. This explanation, and the grounds on which it rests, are at least entitled to a fair comparison with that first given, as the one approved by most interpreters. Musculus understands the dual form of *Sepharvaim* as denoting that it consisted of two towns, perhaps on different

sides of the Euphrates, and that *Hena* and *Ivvah* were the distinctive names of these. The particular mention of the *city* Sepharvaim, and the construction of that word with ל, are peculiarities not easily accounted for. The substitution of אית for איו (2 Kings 19: 13) is of course ascribed by Gesenius and Knobel to the later writer's fondness for exact uniformity, his own violations of it to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. 14. *And Hezekiah took the letters from the hand of the messengers, and read it, and went up (to) the house of Jehovah, and Hezekiah spread it before Jehovah.* As nothing had been previously said respecting letters, we must either suppose that the preceding address was made not orally but in writing, or that both modes of communication were adopted. The latter is most probable in itself, and agrees best with the statement in 2 Chr. 32: 17, that besides the speeches which his servants spake against the Lord God and against his servant Hezekiah, Sennacherib *wrote letters to rail on the Lord God of Israel and to speak against him.* The singular pronoun (*it*), referring to the plural antecedent (*letters*), is explained by David Kimchi distributively, as meaning *every one of them;* by the Targum, as meaning simply *one of them*, i. e. according to Joseph Kimchi, the one that contained the blasphemy. Luzzatto supposes that it was customary to send duplicates of the same letter, as the modern Samaritans did in their correspondence with Job Ludolf, and that Hezekiah, though he took both or all, had no occasion to read more than one of them. This is certainly ingenious and plausible; but perhaps the most satisfactory explanation is, that ספרים, like the Latin *literae*, had come to signify a single letter, and might be therefore treated indiscriminately either as a singular or plural form. This is the more probable, because it can hardly be supposed that Sennacherib would write more than one letter to Hezekiah on this one occasion, unless in the way suggested by Luzzatto, which is not to be assumed without necessity or evidence. That he wrote at the same time to the chief men or the people, is an arbitrary and improbable assumption, and even supposing that he did, why should Hezekiah be described as receiving all the letters? Some versions wholly disregard the difference of number. Thus the Septuagint and Luther make both noun and pronoun singular, while Calvin and the Vulgate make both plural. The parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 14) removes all appearance of irregularity by reading *them* instead of *it*. This is so glaring an exception to the sweeping allegation of a constant disposition, in the text before us, to remove anomalies and seeming incongruities, that Gesenius is under the necessity of finding some expedient for the vindication of his darling theory. This he plausibly accomplishes by saying, that as both texts have the singular form *spread it* in the other clause, the later writer chose to assimilate the phrase in question to this, and not to the preceding plural

noun. It does not seem to have occurred to the ingenious special pleader, that the last *it* needs as much to be explained as the first, and that such a copyist as he supposes, instead of saying *read it* because he was going to say *spread it* afterwards, would naturally first say *read them*, and then say *spread them* for the sake of uniformity. Such explanations appear almost puerile compared with the obvious and simple supposition of two draughts or copies by the self-same writer. Another characteristic observation of Gesenius on this verse is, that Hezekiah must have spread the letter in the temple in order to let Jehovah read it from the Holy of Holies, and that accordingly in v. 10, he is called upon to open his eyes, which he says reminds him of the praying machines of Thibet. This specimen of exegetical wit is eagerly caught up and repeated by later and inferior writers. The spreading of the letter before God is supposed by Clericus to have been designed to excite the feelings and the prayers of the people, by Calvin to affect the feelings of the king himself. It seems, however, to have been no studied, calculated movement, but a natural expression of anxiety and trust in God, as a protector and a confidential friend, a state of mind which to an infidel must needs appear ridiculous. As any man would carry an open letter, which troubled or perplexed him, to a friend for sympathy and counsel, so the pious king spreads this blasphemous epistle before God, as the occasion and the subject of his prayers. Josephus says he left it afterwards rolled up in the temple, of which there is no record in the narrative before us. He also says that Hezekiah lay prostrate, in the Jewish manner, in the presence of Jehovah, from which it might seem that he took יפרשהו in the sense of *stretched himself*, which would be ungrammatical and contrary to usage. But Vitringa is no doubt correct in his opinion, that Josephus had no reference to this word, but to the signs of mourning mentioned in the first and second verses, with which he would naturally associate prostration as their usual accompaniment. (See for example 1 Chr. 21 : 16.)

V. 15. *And Hezekiah prayed to Jehovah, saying* (what follows in the next verse). Hendewerk observes that this mode of proceeding was characteristic of a person more like David in devotion than in energy and enterprise. With a far superior appreciation of the good king's character, Gill quaintly says that, instead of answering the letter himself, he prays the Lord to answer it. Instead of *to*, the parallel passage (2 Kings 19 : 15) has *before Jehovah*.

V. 16. *Jehovah of Hosts, God of Israel, dwelling between* (or *sitting upon*) *the cherubim, thou art he, the God* (i. e. the only true God), *thou alone, to all the kingdoms of the earth ; thou hast made the heavens and the earth.*

The parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 15) omits יושב, upon which Gesenius remarks that the combination here used is very common in the prophecies, while it scarcely occurs at all in the historical books. What can be more natural, therefore, than that Isaiah should employ it in the case before us, and the simple prose form in the book of Kings? This is surely a more obvious conclusion than the one which Gesenius draws, viz. that the later copyists and compilers of the books of the Old Testament altered the text at will, to make it suit the customary form of expression in their own day. The *cherubim* were visible representations of spiritual beings, or, as Bähr and Hengstenberg suppose, of the perfection of the creature in its highest form. The name is most probably derived from כרב, as a synonyme of קרב to *approach*, or as a transposition of רכב to *ride*, in allusion to the angels as the bearers of God's chariot. This last verb is connected with the noun in Ps. 18: 11. Eichhorn's attempt to identify the word with the γρύπες or *griffins* of eastern mythology has been repeated by some later writers, but with small success. Some suppose an allusion, in the case before us, to Jehovah's riding on the cherubim (Ps. 18: 11) or angels through the air; others to his being enthroned above the material cherubs in the temple. This sense is given by Luther and the ancient versions, but Calvin and many later writers understand him to be here described as *dwelling between* the cherubim. (Compare Ex. 25: 22.) In either case, there is allusion to his manifested presence over the mercy-seat, called by the later Jews *shechinah*, which word is itself used in the Chaldee Paraphrase of the verse before us. Forerius translates the Hebrew phrase without a preposition, *inhabitant of the cherubim*, which would seem, however, to describe God as dwelling in the images, not over them or under the shadow of their wings. The pronoun הוא is understood by some as an emphatic or intensive addition like the Latin *ipse*: thou thyself (art) the God etc. Others regard it as an idiomatic substitute for the copula or verb of existence, used with all the persons: *thou art the God etc.* But on the general principle of adhering to the strict sense of words where it is possible, it is best to translate it *thou (art) he*, and to regard what follows as explanatory of this pregnant and concise expression. *The God of all the kingdoms of the earth* is not an exact translation of the Hebrew words, in which *the God* stands by itself as an emphatic phrase, meaning *the only God, the true God*, and what follows is intended to suggest a contrast with the false gods of the nations. לבד is not simply *of all, in all, for all*, or *over all*, but *with respect to all.* Thou art the one true God, not only with respect to us, but with respect to all the nations of the earth. The reason follows: because thou hast made them all, and not the earth only, but the heavens also. All this is indirectly a reply to the Assyrian blasphemies, which questioned the almighty power of Jehovah, and put him on a level with the idols of the heathen. The same

antithesis between the impotence of idols and the power of God, as shown in the creation of the world, occurs in Ps. 96: 5 and Jer. 10: 11.

V. 17. *Bow thine ear, O Jehovah, and hear; open thine eyes, O Jehovah, and see; and hear all the words of Sennacherib, which he hath sent* (or *who hath sent*) *to reproach the living God.* These expressions are entirely analogous to those in many other places, where God is entreated to see and hear, i. e. to act as if he saw and heard. The attempt of Gesenius and his followers to restrict them to the reading of the letter or the hearing it read, neither requires nor deserves refutation. Gesenius also takes עֵינֶךָ as a singular, substituted for the plural עֵינֶיךָ of the parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 16), through the *transcriber's* ignorance of the Hebrew idiom, which always speaks of turning *one* ear, but of opening *both* eyes. If this distinction is as natural and obvious as he represents, it is strange that even a transcriber, to whom the Hebrew was vernacular, should not have been aware of it. Supposing, however, that Isaiah wrote both narratives, there would be nothing more surprising in his saying *eyes* in one and *eye* in the other, than there is in the coexistence of such forms as *word of God* and *words of God*, *his mercy* and *his mercies*, where the predominance of one form does not preclude the occasional occurrence of the other. Gesenius moreover did not think it necessary to inform his readers of the fact, which Henderson has brought to light, that more than fifty manuscripts, and nearly twenty editions, have the usual plural form עֵינֶיךָ, an amount of evidence ten times as great as that which Gesenius, in other cases, thinks enough to justify the boldest changes in the text. Still less did he consider himself called upon to mention, that the common reading עֵינֶךָ itself may be a plural form, according to analogy, as stated expressly by himself in his *Lehrgebäude* (p. 215) and his smaller Grammar (§ 35. Remark 3). Least of all did he see cause to state, that this explanation of the form is rendered almost necessary here by the parallelism, because if עֵינֶךָ were written instead of עֵינֶיךָ merely because of a pause in the sentence, then אָזְנֶךָ, which occupies the very same position in the other member, would be written אָזְנֶךָ; and as this is not the case, the obvious conclusion is, that the *seghol* in עֵינֶךָ is the union-vowel of a plural noun before the suffix, with the י omitted as in Ex. 33: 13 and other cases cited by Gesenius in his grammars. The fact that עֵינֶיךָ has a stronger disjunctive accent than אָזְנֶךָ, instead of weakening confirms the argument, because if the former were in pause, the structure of the sentence would require the latter to be so too. What Gesenius says in reference to the use of the word *Hosts* in the preceding verse, viz. that it throws light upon other critical phenomena, may be applied with justice to his own style of criticism in the case before us. Instead of assuming, as he often does without a tithe of the same evidence, that עֵינֶיךָ is the true text, or reflecting

that עינך itself may be a plural according to his own showing elsewhere, and must be a plural according to the favourite rule of parallelism, he first takes for granted that it is a singular, and then makes use of it not only as a deviation from the older copy, but as characteristic of an ignorant and therefore a later writer. For by some strange process it has been discovered, that the later Hebrew writers were not only inferior in composition, but in knowledge of the idioms of the language, whereas in Greece and Rome the decline of original composition coincided with the rise and progress of grammatical science. The only end for which these inconsistencies are pointed out, is that the reader may correctly estimate authoritative *dicta* of the same kind elsewhere. The simplest version of אשר שלח is, *who has sent*. To express the idea, *which he has sent*, usage would seem to require a suffix with the verb, and accordingly we read in 2 Kings 19: 16, אשר שלחו, i. e. *which he has sent*, referring irregularly to the plural *words*, or *who has sent him*, meaning Rabshakeh, which is the construction given in the English Version of that passage.

V. 18. *It is true, O Jehovah, the kings of Assyria have wasted all the lands and their land.* The first word in the original is a particle of concession, admitting the truth of what Sennacherib had said, so far as it related merely to his conquest of the nations and destruction of their idols. The repetition, *lands* and *land*, has much perplexed interpreters. Vitringa supplies *nations* or *peoples* before *lands*, as in 2 Chr. 32: 13. Others suppose ארצות itself to be here used in the sense of *nations*, as the singular seems sometimes to denote the inhabitants of the earth or land. This supposition would account at the same time for the masculine suffix in ארצם. Gesenius follows J. D. Michaelis and Augusti in giving this suffix a reflexive sense, or referring it to the Assyrians themselves (*their own land*). The meaning then is that they had destroyed not only other countries but their own, which agrees exactly with the charge against the king of Babylon in ch. 14: 20, *thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people.* As this sense, however, is not so appropriate here, where Hezekiah is confirming what Sennacherib himself had said, it is better to adopt one of the other constructions, which brings the sentence into strict agreement, not as to form but as to sense, with the parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 17), where we have the unambiguous term *nations*. This is justly described by Rosenmüller as the easier construction of the two, which would militate against the foregone conclusion of the later Germans, as to the relative antiquity and characteristic features of the two texts. Gesenius, therefore, while he grants that the form of expression in the case before us is harsher and more difficult, alleges, with perverse ingenuity, that this arose from the attempt to remove another incongruity, to wit,

the application of the verb חרב to persons, in avoiding which the copyist committed the solecism, *lands and their land*. But this hypothesis, besides its fanciful and arbitrary character as a mere makeshift, and its gratuitous assumption of the grossest stupidity and ignorance as well as inattention in the writer, is sufficiently refuted by the emphatic combination of the same verb and noun in ch. 60 : 12. Even if that were the composition of a later writer than Isaiah, it would prove that such a writer could not have been so shocked at the expression as to make nonsense of a sentence merely for the purpose of avoiding it. The reader will do well to observe, moreover, that the same imaginary copyist is supposed, in different emergencies, to have been wholly unacquainted with the idioms of his mother tongue, and yet extremely sensitive to any supposed violation of usage. Such scruples and such ignorance are not often found in combination. A transcriber unable to distinguish sense from nonsense would not be apt to take offence at mere irregularities or eccentricities in the phraseology or diction of his author.

V. 19. *And given* (or *put*) *their gods into the fire—for they* (*were*) *no gods, but wood and stone, the work of men's hands—and destroyed them.* Most interpreters separate the clauses and translate ויאבדום, *therefore* (or *so*) *they have destroyed them.* But the true construction seems to be the one proposed by Henderson, who connects this verb directly with the first clause, and throws the intervening member into a parenthesis. Instead of the peculiar idiomatic use of the infinitive (יְהֹוָה), the parallel passage (2 Kings 17 : 18) has the preterite (וַיְהִי), a substitution of an easy for a difficult construction so undeniable that Gesenius can escape from it only by asserting that the form here used belongs to the later Hebrew, an assertion which not one of his followers has ventured to repeat, while Hendewerk flatly contradicts it. Knobel strangely imagines that Hezekiah here accuses the Assyrian of impiety towards those whom he acknowledged to be gods, whereas throughout this verse and that before it, he is simply acknowledging that Sennacherib had destroyed the idols of the nations, and assigning a reason for it, viz. that they were no gods but material idols. The application of the word *gods* to the mere external image is common in profane as well as sacred writings, and arises from the fact that all idolaters, whatever they may theoretically hold as to the nature of their deities, identify them practically with the stocks and stones to which they pay their adorations.

V. 20. *And now, oh Jehovah our God, save us from his hand, and all the kingdoms of the earth shall know, that thou Jehovah art alone* (or *that thou alone art Jehovah*). The adverb *now* is here used both in a temporal and logical sense, as equivalent, not only to *at length*, or *before it is too late*, but also to *therefore*, or *since these things are so*. The fact that Sennache-

rib had destroyed other nations, is urged as a reason why the Lord should interpose to rescue his own people from a like destruction; and the fact that he had really triumphed over other gods, as a reason why he should be taught to know the difference between them and Jehovah. The argument or motive here presented, although sneered at by the infidel interpreters, is not only common in the Scriptures, but involved in the very idea of a God. The considerations which make such a motive unbecoming in the case of creatures are entirely inapplicable to the Supreme Being. The requisition of a sentimental modesty on his part only shows that he who makes it has no higher conception of a God than as a vague sublimation of humanity. The construction of ידעו as an optative (*let all the kingdoms of the earth know*), or a subjunctive (*that all the kingdoms of the earth may know*), although admissible, ought not to be preferred to the future proper, where the latter yields a sense so good in itself and so well suited to the context. The last words of the verse may either mean, *that thou Jehovah art the only one* (i. e. as appears from the connexion, the only true God), or, *that thou alone art Jehovah*, with particular allusion to the proper import of that name as signifying absolute, eternal, independent existence. The last construction is preferred by Hitzig; but the first, which is adopted by Gesenius, is also recommended by its more exact agreement with the masoretic accents. It need scarcely be added that these questions of construction do not affect the general sense, which is, that the deliverance of his people from Sennacherib would prove Jehovah to be infinitely more than the gods of the nations whom he gloried in destroying.

V. 21. *And Isaiah, the son of Amoz, sent to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, (as to) what thou hast prayed to me (with respect) to Sennacherib king of Assyria,* (the apodosis follows in the next verse.) Vitringa's supposition that the communication was in writing, is favoured by the analogy of v. 14, and by the length and metrical form of the message itself. Knobel suggests that the messenger was probably a younger prophet. Why Isaiah corresponded thus with Hezekiah, instead of speaking with him face to face, as he did in other cases, both before and after this, none of the interpreters have been able to explain, except by resolving it into a positive command of God. J. D. Michaelis connects אשר with אלי in the sense of *I to whom;* but this use of the first person in immediate combination with the third, although not unexampled, is too rare to be assumed without necessity. The same objection lies against the explanation of אשר as a conjunction meaning *as, whereas, forasmuch,* or the like. The same essential meaning is obtained by making it as usual a relative pronoun, construed adverbially, a form of speech which cannot be transferred to our idiom without the introduction of a preposition. Gesenius

regards it as an idiomatic pleonasm, and accordingly omits it in his version, which is simply, *thou hast prayed etc.* Lowth follows several of the ancient versions in making it the object of the verb שמעתי (*I have heard*) which he inserts in the text on the authority of the parallel passage (2 Kings 19 : 20.) This emendation would be highly probable but for the fact that the sacred writers often intentionally varied their expressions in repeating the same matter, for the proof and illustration of which usage see Hengstenberg's exposition of the fourteenth and eighteenth Psalms (Commentary, vol. I. pp. 269, 372). Be this as it may, no stretch of ingenuity can make the construction in Isaiah easier or more obvious than the one in Kings. Gesenius therefore contents himself with saying that the later writer omitted שמעתי for the sake of brevity, and yet he makes him use אשר in a sense wholly different from that which it must have if שמעתי were inserted. Another difference between the two texts is the use of אל here in the place of על. This agrees well enough with the hypothesis that אל is a favourite of the later writer, but not at all with the assumption that his changes were intended to remove irregularities and make the construction easy. אל may either be regarded as equivalent to על (*against*) in this connexion, or be taken in the wider sense of *as to* or *concerning*.

V. 22. *This is the word which Jehovah hath spoken concerning* (or *against*) *him. The virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee, she hath laughed thee to scorn, the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head after thee.* There is no need of giving *word* the sense of *decree*, or even *prophecy*. The simple meaning is that what follows is a revelation from God in answer to the vaunting of Sennacherib and the prayers of Hezekiah. The two explanations of the preposition על, between which interpreters appear to be divided, differ only in extent and definiteness. For the meaning of the phrase בת ציון, see the note on ch. 1 : 8 ; for the construction of בתולת, that on ch. 23 : 12. As all interpreters agree that this last word is in apposition (as to sense) with בת, so Hengstenberg supposes the latter to sustain the same relation to ציון, on which supposition the meaning of the whole phrase is, *the virgin daughter of Zion*, i. e. Zion considered as a daughter and a virgin. It may be a personification either of the whole church and nation, or of the city of Jerusalem, which last seems more appropriate in this connexion. J. D. Michaelis and Hitzig understand the figure of virginity as meaning that the city was still unconquered. Calvin and Clericus, with strange inattention to the form of the original, take *virgin daughter of Zion* as a vocative, and refer the verb to the Assyrian (*he hath despised thee, oh virgin, etc.*), a construction utterly prohibited, not only by the masculine form of the pronoun *thee*, which might be differently pointed, but by the feminine termination of the verbs, which is a necessary part of

the text. The sense of אחריך is not merely *at thee*, but *after thee* as thou fleest. Henderson has *behind thee*, which is only defective in not suggesting the idea of his flight. Luzzatto endeavours, but without success, to explain the shaking of the head as a gesture of compassion or condolence, even where it is combined with other tokens of contempt. His argument rests wholly on a supposititious meaning of the cognate נוד. Maurer and Knobel understand by *shaking* a derisive nodding or vertical motion of the head accompanied by laughter. Gesenius supposes that a wagging or lateral motion of the head, although not used by us for such a purpose, may have been common as a gesture of derision in the east, the rather as such signs are to a great extent conventional, and as other derisive gestures mentioned in the Scriptures, such as clapping the hands, are equally foreign from our habits and associations. Hitzig supposes that the shaking of the head, with the Hebrews as with us, was a gesture of negation, and that the expression of scorn consisted in a tacit denial that Sennacherib had been able to effect his purpose. Thus understood, the action is equivalent to saying in words, *no, no!* i. e. he could not do it! A similar explanation of this gesture is given by Hengstenberg in his Commentary on Psalm 22: 8. The meaning of the whole verse, divested of its figurative dress, is that the people of God might regard the threats of the Assyrian with contempt.

V. 23. *Whom hast thou reproached and reviled, and against whom hast thou raised* (*thy*) *voice, and lifted thine eyes* (*on*) *high towards* (or *against*) *the Holy One of Israel?* This is equivalent to saying, dost thou know who it is that thou revilest? To raise the voice may simply mean to speak, or more emphatically to speak boldly, perhaps with an allusion to the literal loudness of Rabshakeh's address to the people on the wall (ch. 36: 13). The construction *loftiness of eyes* (meaning *pride*) is inconsistent both with the pointing and accentuation. מרום is a noun of place, here construed as an adverb, and in sense equivalent to *heavenward* or *towards heaven*. The act described is that of looking up to heaven as he uttered his blasphemies. The English and many other versions make the last words of the second clause an answer to the foregoing question. (*Against whom etc? Against the Holy One of Israel*). This construction is retained by Gesenius, but Ewald carries the interrogation through the verse, and renders י, at the beginning of the last clause, *that* or *so that*, while Hitzig makes the whole of that clause an exclamation. This construction is more natural than that which makes the answer begin in the middle of the last clause, instead of the beginning of the next verse, where he is expressly charged with blasphemy against Jehovah.

V. 24. *By the hand of thy servants hast thou reproached the Lord and said, With the multitude of my chariots* (or *cavalry*) *I have ascended the*

height of mountains, the sides of Lebanon, and I will cut down the loftiness of its cedars and the choice of its firs (or *cypresses*), *and I will reach its extreme height* (literally, *the height of its extremity*), *its garden-forest* (literally, *the garden of its forest*). This may be regarded either as the substance of another message actually sent by Sennacherib, or as a translation of his feelings and his conduct into words. *By the hand* may then mean simply *through* (as in ch. 20 : 1), or refer particularly to the letters mentioned in v. 14. The parallel passage has בלאכיך *thy messengers*, a variation just as likely to be made by the original writer as by a later copyist. The textual reading in that passage has ברכב instead of ברב, which is given in the margin. Gesenius points the former בְּרֶכֶב and translates the whole phrase *with my chariot of chariots* (רֶכֶב being often used collectively) i. e. my innumerable chariots (compare Nah. 3 : 17). Ewald points it בְּרִכְבַּי, *by the driving of my chariots*. The reading in the text before us, and in the margin of the other, is of course regarded as an attempt to simplify and clear up an obscure expression, a tendency diligently noted when it shows itself on the right or rather the convenient side. Vitringa gives to רֶכֶב, here as in ch. 21 : 7, the sense of *cavalry;* but other interpreters appear to be agreed, that there is no sufficient reason, in this case, for departing from the usual and proper sense, especially as little would be gained by it, lofty and rugged mountains being scarcely more accessible to horses than to chariots. Some understand the *sides of Lebanon* strictly as denoting its acclivities; others with more probability give it the peculiar idiomatic sense of extremities, whether of length, depth, or height, the latter being here required by the connexion. (See the note on ch. 14 : 13.) קִיר אֲרָזָיו is explained by Clericus to mean *its standing cedars*, but by other interpreters *its lofty cedars*, as the parallel expressions mean its *choice firs* or *cypresses*. (Compare the note on ch. 14 : 8.) The explanation of *Carmel* as a proper name can only be admitted on the supposition that the pronouns in this clause refer to Hezekiah or to Judah. If on the contrary they refer to Lebanon, which seems the only natural construction, כרמל must be taken in its primary and proper sense of *fruitful field, vineyard, garden, orchard*, or the like. It is here combined with *forest*, either for the purpose of describing the cedar groves of Lebanon as similar to parks and orchards, or of designating the spot where the cultivated slope of the mountain is gradually changed into a forest. It was long supposed that the only cedar grove of Lebanon was the one usually visited near the highest summit of the range; but in 1805, Seetzen discovered two others of greater extent, and the American missionaries have since found many trees in different parts of the mountain. (Robinson's Palestine. III. 440.) Instead of בְּרוֹם קְצֵהוּ the parallel passage has בְּלִין קְצֵהוּ (*his extreme abode*), a variation both in sense and form, which Gesenius and his followers think decidedly more poetical and difficult

than that before us, and of course more ancient, as the inference happens in this case to favour the foregone conclusion. Such assertions are best answered by a counter assertion, in itself at least as plausible, that the diversity is just such as might have been expected in the case of one and the same writer. The reference to Lebanon in this verse is by many interpreters literally understood; but why should the Assyrian attempt or even threaten so absurd a passage with his mounted troops, when a shorter and easier one lay open to him? Others regard Lebanon as a poetical description of the kingdom of the ten tribes, or of Judah, or of Israel in general, with special mention of Jerusalem, or the temple, or the tower of Lebanon, as its extreme height or abode. But if we take into consideration the whole context, and the strongly hyperbolical expressions of the other messages and speeches of Sennacherib, it will be found most natural to understand this verse as a poetical assertion of the speaker's power to overcome all obstacles.

V. 25. *I have digged and drunk water, and I will dry up with the sole of my feet* (literally, *steps*) *all the streams of Egypt.* As in the preceding verse, he begins with the past tense and then changes to the future, to denote that he had begun his enterprise successfully and expected to conclude it triumphantly. The confusion of the tenses, as all futures or all preterites, is entirely arbitrary, and the translation of them all as presents is at least unnecessary, when a stricter version not only yields a good sense, but adds to the significance and force of the expressions. According to Luzzatto, קוּר means to spring up or gush forth as a fountain, and the verse is a poetical description of the conqueror under the figure of a stream which drinks in its tributary waters and exhausts all other rivers in its course. This last expression the ingenious rabbin wisely disguises in a paraphrase, as he could scarcely have found any reader, Jew or Gentile, who would tolerate the figure of one stream drying up others with the *soles of its feet.* Another original interpretation of the verse is that proposed by Barnes, who gives the usual explanation of the first word, but applies that clause to the supply of the Assyrian cities with water. The obvious objections to this exposition are, that it does not follow, because digging of wells is a public benefit in desert countries and among nomadic tribes, that the supply of a great kingdom like Assyria would be so described; but secondly and chiefly, that the parallelism and indeed the whole connexion of the clauses is destroyed by this interpretation of the first. What coherence is there between the assertions, that he had supplied his own kingdom with water, and that his army was numerous enough to exhaust the streams of Egypt? Vitringa understands the first clause as meaning that he had sated his desire of conquest, he had sought and found, he had dug for water and slaked his thirst. The objection to this interpretation is, not that it makes

the first clause figurative, which agrees exactly with the style of the whole passage, but that it makes it too indefinite to match the other clause precisely. If the latter, as all except Luzzatto seem to grant, describes the march of a great army, there is a natural presumption that the other has respect to the same subject. The best interpretation, therefore, on the whole, is that which understands the verse to mean that no difficulties or privations could retard his march, that where there was no water he had dug for it and found it, and that where there was he would exhaust it, both assertions implying a vast multitude of soldiers. The drying up of the rivers with the soles of the feet is understood by Vitringa as an allusion to the Egyptian mode of drawing water with a tread-wheel (Deut. 11 : 10). Others suppose it to mean, that they would cross the streams dry-shod, which does not seem to be a natural explanation of the words. Bochart understands the sense to be that the dust raised by their march would choke and dry up rivers. In favour of supposing an allusion to the drawing out of water, is the obvious reference to digging and drinking in the other clause. This appears to preclude the explanation of the language as a boast that the elements themselves were subject to him, not unlike that which Claudian puts into the mouth of Alaric. *Subsidere nostris sub pedibus montes, arescere vidimus amnes.* Even there, however, the literal and figurative meanings seem to run into each other, as the poet adds a few lines lower, *fregi Alpes, galeis Padum victricibus hausi.* That such hyperboles were wont to be applied to the oriental armies, we may learn from Juvenal. *Credimus altos defecisse amnes, epotaque flumina Medo.* The old interpretation of יאורי מצור, as meaning the waters of Jerusalem while in a state of siege, or the moats of fortified places in general, is now universally abandoned for the meaning which the same words have in ch. 16 : 6. (See above, p. 350.)

V. 26. *Hast thou not heard? From afar I have done it, from the days of old, and have formed it. Now I have caused it to come, and it shall be* (or *come to pass*), *to lay waste,* (*as* or *into*) *desolate heaps, fortified cities.* Clericus makes this a continuation of the speech ascribed to Sennacherib, who is here boasting that he (i. e. Assyria) had created Egypt, meaning that Egypt was peopled from Assyria, which was now about to lay it waste. This interpretation is refuted at great length by Vitringa, whose main objection to it is, that Assyria was no more the founder of Egypt than of any other ancient state. Vitringa supposes this interpretation to have sprung from an unwillingness to recognise the doctrine of divine decrees. But such a motive cannot be imputed to Calvin, who, although he agrees with most interpreters in making these the words of God himself, refers them not to his eternal purpose, but to his having made Jerusalem or Zion what she was, and to his fixed determination to preserve her. In order to sustain this

explanation of the first clause, he is obliged to read the second interrogatively, which is altogether arbitrary. Most writers, ancient and modern, are agreed in applying the first clause, either to express predictions, or to the purpose and decree of God. The sense is then substantially the same with that of ch. 10: 5, 15, to wit, that the Assyrian had wrought these conquests only as an instrument in the hand of God, who had formed and declared his purpose long before, and was now bringing it to pass. *Hast thou not heard?* may either be a reference to history and prophecy, or a more general expression of surprise that he could be ignorant of what was so notorious. Gesenius directs attention to the form לִמְרֹמֵי in the parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 25) as less usual; but the inference, which he evidently wishes to be drawn from this variation, is precluded by the use of the same combination here in the phrase לְמִרְחוֹק. A writer who, through ignorance or want of taste, took offence at the double preposition in the one word, could not have retained it in the other. Instead of וַתְּהִי, Luzzatto reads וַתֶּהִי, which is unnecessary, as the future is entirely appropriate. Most writers take this as the second person of the verb, *and thou shalt be*, or *that thou shouldest be*. Ewald more simply makes it the third person, agreeing with the noun to which the pronoun *it* must be referred, namely, the series of events in which Sennacherib had gloried. The parallel passage has the contracted form לְהַשִּׁית, which, as being unusual and irregular, is supposed by Gesenius to have been amended in the later copy. For גַּלִּים Lowth reads גַּיִּים, and translates the whole phrase, *warlike nations*. Most other writers are agreed in making it mean *ruined* or *desolated heaps*. The construction is that of a double accusative, without an ellipsis of the particle, which may however be supplied in English.

V. 27. *And their inhabitants are short of hand; they are broken and confounded; they are grass of the field and green herbage, grass of the house-tops, and a field before the stalk* (or *standing corn*), i. e. before the grain has grown up. This may be regarded either as a description of the weakness of those whom the Assyrian had subdued, or as a description of the terror with which they were inspired at his approach. In the former case this verse extenuates the glory of his conquest, in the latter it enhances it. A short hand or arm implies inability to reach the object, but does not necessarily suggest the idea of mutilation. In a negative sense, it is applied to God, Num. 11: 23. Isai. 50: 2. 59: 1. Here, as in many other cases, the particle of comparison is not expressed. *Green herbage*, literally, *the green of herbage*. Barnes supposes an allusion to the ease with which grass is trodden down by an army; but how does this cohere with the mention of grass upon the house-tops? In this last expression there is reference at once to the flat surface, the earthy material, and the various uses of the

oriental house-top, in consequence of which seeds would frequently spring up there, but without depth of root and therefore short-lived. The comparison of human frailty and infirmity to grass is very common in the Scriptures. Instead of שְׁדֵמָה, the parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 26) has שִׁדָּפָה *blasting* or *blasted corn*, which has led some to regard שְׁדֵמָה either as an error of transcription or as an orthographical variation of the other word. If this be so, the text before us cannot be charged with always giving the preference to regular and familiar forms. But as the plural שְׁדֵמִי is elsewhere used in the sense of *fields*, this may be here retained, the idea of blasting being either supplied by the connexion, or omitted altogether. In the latter case, the comparison is simply with the weakness and fragility of immature grain, *field* being put by a common figure for its contents or products. The general meaning of the whole verse evidently is that they were unable to resist him.

V. 28. *And thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, I have known, and thy raging* (or *provoking of thyself*) *against me.* The Targum explains *sitting* to mean sitting in council, *going out* going to war, and *coming in* the invasion of Judah. It is commonly agreed, however, that these phrases are combined to signify all the actions of his life, like *sitting down* and *rising up* in Ps. 139: 2, *going out* and *coming in*, Deut. 28: 6, 1 Kings 3: 7 and elsewhere, the latter especially in reference to military movements (1 Sam. 18: 16. 2 Sam. 5: 2).

V. 29. *Because of thy raging against me, and* (*because*) *thy arrogance has come up into my ears, I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will cause thee to return by the way by which thou camest.* The sense of *tumult*, given by the English and other versions to שַׁאֲנָן, is founded on the etymology proposed by Rabbi Jonah, who derives it, through שַׁאֲנָן, from שָׁאָה. The more obvious derivation is from the verb שָׁאַן and its root שׁאן, meaning to *rest* or *be quiet*, from which we may readily deduce the ideas of security, indifference, nonchalance, supercilliousness, and arrogance. However dubious the etymology may be, the whole connexion makes it certain that the word is expressive of something in the conduct of Sennacherib offensive to Jehovah. In the first clause there is an abrupt change of construction from the infinitive to the finite verb, which is not uncommon in Hebrew, and which in this case does not at all obscure the sense. Another solution of the syntax is to take יָקֵן as an elliptical expression for יָקֵן אֲשֶׁר or יָקֵן כִּי, as in Num. 20: 12 and 1 Kings 20: 42, and make עֲלָה agree with both the verbal nouns preceding. This is the construction given in the English Version. The figures in the last clause are drawn from the customary method of controlling horses, and from a less

familiar mode of treating buffaloes and other wild animals, still practised in the east and in menageries. (Compare Ezek. 19: 4. 29: 4. 38: 4. Job 41: 1. The figure may be taken in a general sense as signifying failure and defeat, or more specifically as referring to Sennacherib's hasty flight.

V. 30. *And this to thee* (oh Hezekiah, shall be) *the sign* (of the fulfilment of the promise): *eat, the* (*present*) *year, that which groweth of itself, and the second year that which springeth of the same, and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof.* The preceding verse closes the address to the Assyrian, begun in v. 22, and the Prophet now continues his message to Hezekiah. It is commonly agreed that סָפִיחַ denotes voluntary growth or products, such as spring from the seed dropped before or during harvest. Most writers give a similar meaning to שָׁחִישׁ (2 Kings 19: 29 סָחִישׁ), the etymology of which is very doubtful. Hitzig applies it, in a wider sense, to spontaneous products generally, such as milk, honey, etc. Aquila and Theodotion render the two words *αὐτόματα* and *αὐτοφυῆ*. Symmachus and Jerome make the second mean *apples*. As to the general meaning of the verse, there are two opinions. Rosenmüller, Augusti, and Gesenius understand the infinitive אכל as referring to the past. The sense will then be that although the cultivation of the land had been interrupted for the last two years, yet now in this third year they might safely resume it. To this interpretation it may be objected, that it arbitrarily makes *the year* mean the year before the last, and no less arbitrarily assumes that the infinitive is here used for the preterite. The later German writers seem to have gone back to the old and obvious interpretation, which refers the whole verse to the future. This is grammatically more exact, because it takes *the year* in a sense analogous to that of *the day*, the common Hebrew phrase for *this day*, and assimilates the infinitive to the imperatives which follow. Thus understood, the verse is a prediction that for two years the people should subsist upon the secondary fruits of what was sown two years before, but that in the third year they should till the ground, as usual, implying that Sennacherib's invasion should before that time be at an end. But why should this event be represented as so distant, when the context seems to speak of Sennacherib's discomfiture and flight as something which immediately ensued? Of this two explanations have been given. The one is, that the year in which these words were uttered was a sabbatical year, and the next the year of Jubilee, during neither of which the Jews were allowed to cultivate the ground, so that the resumption of tillage was of course postponed to the third. It is no conclusive objection to this theory, that the chronological hypothesis which it involves cannot be positively proved. The difficulty in all such cases arises from the very absence of positive proof, and the necessity of choosing between different possibilities.

A more serious objection is, that the mode of subsistence for the first two years seems to be mentioned, not as a mere preparation for what follows, but as a substantive prediction. Even this, however, would be of no weight in opposition to an hypothesis which accounts for the known facts and explains the language of the passage. The other solution of the difficulty is, that Sennacherib was now on his way to Egypt, and that the Prophet expected his return within a year, by which the Jews would be again deterred from making the usual provision for their own subsistence, and thus the crops of two years would be lost. But such an expectation of the Prophet would have been falsified by the Assyrian's immediate retreat to his own country, and however this may recommend the supposition to those who refuse to admit his inspiration, can have no weight with those who regard him as a prophet. The proofs of his divine legation and foreknowledge are so many and various, that when two hypotheses present themselves, the one which clashes with his inspiration is of course to be rejected. The only remaining question is, wherein the sign consisted, or in what sense the word *sign* is to be understood. Some take it in its strongest sense of *miracle*, and refer it, either to the usual divine interposition for the subsistence of the people during the sabbatical years, or to the miraculous provision promised in this particular case. Others understand it here as simply meaning an event inseparable from another, either as an antecedent or a consequent, so that the promise of the one is really a pledge of the other. Thus the promise that the children of Israel should worship at Mount Sinai was a *sign* to Moses that they should first leave Egypt, and the promised birth of the Messiah was a *sign* that the Jewish nation should continue till he came. (See above, p. 119.)

V. 31. *And the escaped* (literally *the escape*) *of Judah, that is left, shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward.* This verse foretells, by a familiar figure, the returning prosperity of Judah. יָסַף usually means to *add*, and is taken here by Hendewerk in the sense of enlarging or increasing. Gesenius seems to make it simply equivalent to the English *take* or *strike* in a similar connexion. Ewald and the older writers understand it as implying repetition, an idea which may be expressed in translation by *again*, *anew*, or *afresh*. For the peculiar use of the abstract noun פְּלֵיטָה, see above, ch. 4 : 2. 10 : 20. 15 : 9.

V. 32. *For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and an escape from Mount Zion; the zeal of Jehovah of Hosts shall do this.* For the meaning of the last clause, see the commentary on ch. 9 : 8. The first clause is an explanation of the use of the words שְׁרִידָה and פְּלֵיטָה in the foregoing verse. Grotius (on 2 Kings 19 : 31) understands the *going forth*

literally of the people being pent up in Jerusalem, but now set at large by the retreat of the invaders, and again quotes from Virgil, *Panduntur portae; juvat ire et Dorica castra desertosque videre locos.* (See above, on ch. 33: 17.) But it is much more natural to understand it figuratively like the preceding verse, and as denoting simply that some in Jerusalem or Zion shall be saved.

V. 33. *Therefore* (because Jehovah has determined to fulfil these promises), *thus saith Jehovah* (*with respect*) *to the king of Assyria, he shall not come to this city, and shall not shoot an arrow there, and shall not come before it with a shield,* (or *a shield shall not come before it*), *and shall not cast up a mound against it.* Some understand this as meaning simply that he should not take the city, others that he should not even attack it. מגן has its ordinary sense of *shield*, and not that of συναγισμὸς or *testudo.* In favour of the usual construction of וקדמנה is the fact that all the other verbs have Jehovah for their subject. Some translate אל *into*, which is favoured neither by the usage of the particle nor by the context, which relates to movements of the enemy without the walls. Calvin understands by סללה the *balista*, or ancient engine for projecting stones and other missiles, a gratuitous expedient to evade an imaginary difficulty, as to the use of the verb שפך, which usually means to *pour*, but may also be applied to excavation and the heaping up of earth. This verse seems to show that Jerusalem was not actually besieged by the Assyrians, or at least not by the main body of the army under Sennacherib himself, unless we assume that he had already done so and retreated, and regard this as a promise that the attempt should not be repeated.

V. 34. *By the way that he came shall he return, and to this city shall he not come, saith Jehovah.* The first clause may simply mean that he shall go back whence he came, or more specifically, that he shall retreat without turning aside to attack Jerusalem, either for the first or second time. The construction given in the English Bible (*by the same shall he return*) makes בה emphatic and connects it with the following verb. This is also the masoretic interpunction; but according to analogy and usage, it belongs to what precedes and must be joined with אשר, as the usual Hebrew expression for *in which.*

V. 35. *And I will cover over* (or *protect*) *this city,* (*so as*) *to save it, for my own sake, and for the sake of David my servant.* This does not mean that the faith or piety of David, as an individual, should be rewarded in his descendants, but that the promise made to him, respecting his successors, and especially the last and greatest of them, should be faithfully performed.

(See 2 Sam. 7 : 12, 13). It is equally arbitrary, therefore, to make *David* here the name of the Messiah, and to infer, as Hitzig does, from this mention of David, that vs. 32–35 are by a later writer. Knobel, on the contrary, notes it as characteristic of Isaiah, and refers to ch. 9 : 6. 11 : 1. 10. 29 : 1, as parallel examples. Umbreit says the genuineness of these verses can be called in question only by a perfectly uncritical skepticism (*Zweifelsucht*). The terms of the promise in the first clause may be compared with those of ch. 33 : 5.

V. 36. *And the angel of Jehovah went forth, and smote in the camp of Assyria an hundred and eighty and five thousand, and they* (the survivors, or the Jews) *rose early in the morning, and behold all of them* (that were smitten) *were dead corpses.* Various attempts have been made to extenuate this miracle, by reading אַלָּפִים for אֲלָפִים, (*chiefs* instead of *thousands*), or by supposing that the vast number mentioned were in danger of death from the plague or otherwise. Others, unable to explain it away, and yet unwilling to admit the fact recorded, resort to the cheap and trite expedient of calling it a *myth* or a traditional exaggeration. Such assertions admit of no refutation, because there is nothing to refute. Receiving, as these very authors do, the other statements of the context as historical, they have no right to single this out as a fabrication. If it is one, then the rest may be so too, for we know that fictitious writers do not confine themselves to prodigies and wonders, but often imitate the actual occurrences of real life. In the fact itself, there is nothing incredible. Those who reject it themselves refer to the enormous ravages of the plague. If the population of whole cities may be buried in a night by a flow of lava, or in an instant by an earthquake, what is there to shock the understanding in the statement of the text, especially on the supposition, favoured by these same interpreters, that the *angel of Jehovah* is a hebraism for the plague, or some other physical cause or means of destruction. But even if we give the phrase its usual sense, "there is," to use the words of Barnes, "no more improbability in the existence of a good angel than there is in the existence of a good man, or in the existence of an evil spirit than there is in the existence of a bad man ; there is no more improbability in the supposition that God employs invisible and heavenly messengers to accomplish his purposes than there is that he employs men." There is consequently no need of departing from the strict sense of the words, or of disputing whether by the angel of the Lord we are to understand a storm, a hot wind, or a pestilential fever. As little necessity or reason is there for attempting to make the verse descriptive of a gradual or protracted mortality, so that every morning when they rose there was nothing to be seen but corpses. The terms used can naturally signify nothing but a single instantaneous stroke of divine vengeance, and

the parallel passage (2 Kings 19: 35) says expressly that the angel smote this number *in that night*. Skeptical critics would be glad to have it in their power to plead the silence of profane tradition as an objection to the narrative before us. But although such an inference would be wholly inconclusive, even if the fact were so, it happens in this case that the fact is not so. The account which Herodotus received from the Egyptian priests, as to Sennacherib's retreat from Pelusium, occasioned by an irruption of field-mice, which Vulcan sent to rescue Sethos, who was priest to that divinity as well as king of Egypt, is admitted by the latest German writers, notwithstanding the denial of Gesenius, to be an evident variation of this history, not more corrupt than in many other cases where the identity of origin has never been disputed. The transfer of the scene of the event to Egypt, and the substitution of Sethos and Vulcan for Hezekiah and Jehovah, are in strict accordance with the common practice of the ancient nations, to connect the most remarkable events, by their traditions, with their own early history. Even the figment of the mice may be regarded as a change of no unusual character or magnitude, unless we choose to assume, with J. D. Michaelis, that it was founded on a misconception of the mouse as the hieroglyphical emblem of destruction. The ancient date of the tradition was attested, in the days of Herodotus himself, by a statue of Sethos in the temple of Vulcan, holding a mouse in his hand, with the inscription ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω. The parallel narrative in 2 Chr. 32: 21, instead of numbering the slain, says that all the mighty men of valour, and the leaders, and the captains, in the camp of the Assyrian were cut off. Where this terrific overthrow took place, whether before Jerusalem, or at Libnah, or at some intervening point, has been disputed, and can never be determined, in the absence of all data, monumental or historical. Throughout the sacred narrative, it seems to be intentionally left uncertain, whether Jerusalem was besieged at all, whether Sennacherib in person ever came before it, whether his army was divided or united when the stroke befell them, and also what proportion of the host escaped. It is enough to know that one hundred and eighty-five thousand men perished in a single night.

V. 37. *Then decamped, and departed, and returned, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and dwelt* (or *remained*) *in Nineveh.* The form of expression in the first clause is thought by some writers to resemble Cicero's famous description of Catiline's escape (*abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*), the rapid succession of the verbs suggesting the idea of confused and sudden flight. His dwelling in Nineveh is supposed by some interpreters to be mentioned as implying that he went forth no more to war, at least not against the Jews. An old tradition says that he lived only fifty days after his return; but according to other chronological hypotheses, he reigned eighteen years

longer, and during that interval waged war successfully against the Greeks and founded Tarsus in Cilicia.

V. 38. *And he was worshipping (in) the house of Nisroch his god, and Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword, and they escaped* (literally, *saved themselves*) *into the land of Ararat, and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.* The Jews have a tradition that Sennacherib intended to sacrifice his sons, and that they slew him in self-defence. Another tradition is, that he had fled into the temple of his god as an asylum. A simpler supposition is, that the time of his devotions was chosen by his murderers, as one when he would be least guarded or suspicious. Hendewerk cites, as parallel instances of monarchs murdered while at prayer, the cases of the Caliph Omar and the emperor Leo V. For the various derivations of the name *Nisroch* which have been proposed, see Gesenius's Thesaurus, tom. II. p. 892. The name *Adrammelech* occurs in 2 Kings 17 : 31, as that of a Mesopotamian or Assyrian idol. Berosus has *Ardumusanus*, and Abydenus *Adramelus*, which are obvious corruptions of the Hebrew or Aramean name. In like manner *Esarhaddon* is called *Asordanius* by Berosus, and *Axerdis* by Abydenus, who moreover has *Nergilus* instead of *Sharezer*, a discrepancy which seems to be explained by the combination *Nergal-sharezer* (Jer. 39 : 3, 13). Supposing this to have been the full name of Sennacherib's son, one half would seem to have been preserved by Abydenus, and the other by Isaiah. *Ararat*, both here and in Gen. 8 : 4, is the name of a region, corresponding more or less exactly to *Armenia*, or to that part of it in which the ark rested. The Armenians still call their country by this name. From the expression *mountains of Ararat* (Gen. 8 : 4), has sprung the modern practice of applying this name to the particular eminence where Noah landed. The country of Ararat is described by Smith and Dwight, in their Researches in Armenia, vol. II. p. 73, etc. The original name is retained in the Vulgate, while the Septuagint renders it Ἀρμενία.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

This chapter contains an account of Hezekiah's illness and miraculous recovery, together with a Psalm which he composed in commemoration of his sufferings and deliverance. The parallel passage (2 Kings 20 : 1–11) varies more from that before us than in the preceding chapter. So far as

they are parallel, the narrative in Kings is more minute and circumstantial, and at the same time more exactly chronological in its arrangement. On the other hand, the Psalm is wholly wanting in that passage. All these circumstances favour the conclusion that the text before us is the first draught, and the other a repetition by the hand of the same writer.

V. 1. *In those days Hezekiah was sick unto death, and Isaiah, the son of Amoz, the Prophet, came to him, and said to him, Thus saith Jehovah, Order thy house, for thou (art) dying, and art not to live.* As Hezekiah survived this sickness fifteen years (v. 5), and reigned in all twenty-nine (2 Kings 18: 2), *those days* must be restricted to the fourteenth year, which was that of the Assyrian invasion. Whether this sickness was before the great catastrophe, as Usher, Lightfoot, and Prideaux suppose, or after it, as Calvin, Vitringa, and Gesenius think, is not a question of much exegetical importance. The first opinion is sustained by the authority of the Seder Olam, the last by that of Josephus. In favour of the first is the promise in v. 6, according to its simplest and most obvious meaning, though it certainly admits of a wider application. It is also favoured by the absence of allusions to the slaughter of Sennacherib's host in the song of Hezekiah. But on the other hand, his prayer is only for recovery from sickness, without any reference to siege or invasion. Vitringa objects to this hypothesis, that the king of Babylon, who was tributary to Assyria, would not have dared to send a message of congratulation to Hezekiah before the destruction of the host. But even granting this, which might be questioned, and admitting the assumed fact as to the dependence of the king of Babylon, why may we not suppose that the catastrophe occurred in the interval between Isaiah's sickness and the embassy from Merodach-baladan? Calvin objects to the hypothesis which makes the sickness previous in date to the destruction of the host, that it would not have been omitted in its proper place. It is altogether natural, however, that the Prophet, after carrying the history of Sennacherib to its conclusion, should go back to complete that of Hezekiah also. לָמוּת strictly means *to die*, i. e. so as to be ready to die, or at the point of death. An analogous Greek phrase (*ἀσθένεια πρὸς θάνατον*) is used in John 11: 4, to denote a sickness actually fatal. Here it expresses merely tendency or danger, the natural and necessary course of things without a special intervention. *Order thy house* is ambiguous, both in Hebrew and in English. The ל may express relation in general, or indicate the object of address. In the former case the sense will be, give orders with respect to thy house. (LXX. *τάξαι περὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου.*) In the latter, order or command thy household, i. e. make known to them thy last will. Grotius quotes from Plutarch the analogous expression, *ἐντέλλεσθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις.* In either case, the general idea is that of a final settling of his affairs, in the

prospect of death. (Compare 2 Sam. 17 : 23.) There is no need of departing from the strict sense of מֵת as an active participle. The modern writers infer from the treatment described in v. 21, and said to be still practised in the east, that Hezekiah had the plague, which would make it less improbable that this was the instrument employed in the destruction of Sennacherib's army. Of those who make the sickness subsequent to this great deliverance, some suppose the former to have been intended, like the thorn in Paul's flesh, to preserve Hezekiah from being *exalted above measure*. That he was not wholly free from the necessity of such a check, may be inferred from his subsequent conduct to the Babylonian envoys.

V. 2. *And Hezekiah turned his face to the wall, and prayed to Jehovah.* Jerome understands by *the wall* that of his heart, Vatablus the side of his bed, Jonathan the wall of the temple, towards which Daniel prayed (Dan. 6 : 11). But this last was a practice which arose during the exile, and even the promise in 1 Kings 8 : 25 has reference to that condition. The obvious meaning is the wall of the room, towards which he turned, not merely to collect his thoughts, or to conceal his tears, but as a natural expression of strong feeling. As Ahab turned his face toward the wall in anger (1 Kings 20 : 2), so Hezekiah does the same in grief. There is no need of supposing with Lowth, that the bed was in the corner of the room, so that he could not turn either way without looking towards the wall. Calvin regards the conduct of Hezekiah in this, and all other parts of the narrative, as an eminent example of pious resignation. Vitringa seems to admit that the effect here described was connected in some degree with Hezekiah's undue attachment to the things of this life. Grotius ascribes it to the indistinct views then enjoyed of a future state. Josephus thinks he was the more distressed because he had as yet no heir, since Manasseh was not born till three years afterwards (2 Kings 21 : 1).

V. 3. *And he said, Ah Jehovah, remember, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth and with a whole heart, and that which is good in thine eyes I have done.* The figure of *walking before God* includes the ideas of communion with him and subjection to him, and is therefore more comprehensive than the kindred phrase of *walking with* him. By *truth* we are here to understand sincerity and constancy. The explanation of שָׁלֵם by Gesenius as meaning *devoted* (like the Arabic مسلم *Moslim*) is justified neither by Hebrew etymology nor usage, which require it to be taken in the sense of *whole* or *perfect*, as opposed to any essential defect. The reference of this and the following phrase to freedom from idolatry and zeal for the worship of Jehovah, is too limited. This verse is not an angry expostulation, nor an ostentatious self-praise, but an appeal to the only satis-

factory evidence of his sincerity. Calvin supposes Hezekiah to be here resisting a temptation to despondency arising from the sudden intimation of approaching death. אָנָּה is a strong expression of entreaty. It is more regularly written elsewhere אָנָּא. Hitzig supposes it to be a contraction of אַל־נָא (Gen. 19: 7); but as it is also used where there is no negation, it is better to derive it with Gesenius from אָ and נָא.

V. 4. *And the word of Jehovah was* (or *came*) *to Isaiah, saying* (what follows in the next verse). Calvin supposes a considerable time to have elapsed before this second message was sent; but he seems to have overlooked the more particular statement in the parallel passage (2 Kings 20: 4), that the word of the Lord came to him *before he had gone out of the middle court* (according to the keri), or the *middle city* (according to the kethib). The former reading is found in the ancient versions, but the latter as usual is supposed to be more ancient by the latest critics. The *middle city* may either mean the middle of the city (*media urbs*), or a particular part of Jerusalem so called, perhaps that in which the temple stood, or more generally that which lay between the *upper city* on Mount Zion and the *lower city* on Mount Akra. The communication may have been through the *middle gate* mentioned by Jeremiah (39: 3). In either case, the interval could not have been a long one, though sufficient to try the faith of Hezekiah. The omission of these words in the text before us is ascribed by Knobel to ignorance of the localities on the part of a writer living after the exile. It might have been supposed that even such a writer, living on the spot and with the older Scriptures in his hands, would have enjoyed as good opportunities of understanding such a point as Knobel himself.

V. 5. *Go and say to Hezekiah, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears* (or *weeping*); *behold, I am adding* (or *about to add*) *unto thy days fifteen years.* The parallel passage (2 Kings 20: 5) has: *return and say to Hezekiah, the chief* (or *leader*) *of my people, Thus saith Jehovah* etc. After *tears* it adds: *behold, (I am) healing* (or *about to heal*) *thee; on the third day thou shalt go up to the house of Jehovah.* David is particularly mentioned as the person to whom the promise of perpetual succession had been given (2 Sam. 7: 12). The construction of הִנְנִי יוֹסִף is the same as in ch. 29: 14. Gesenius and the rest of that school set this down of course as undoubtedly a prophecy *ex eventu*, because (says Knobel with great *naïveté*) Isaiah could not know how long Hezekiah was to live. Hendewerk adds that Jehovah is here represented as changing his mind and directly contradicting himself. To this no further answer is necessary than what Calvin had said long before, to wit, that the threatening in v. 1 was conditional,

and that the second message was designed from the beginning no less than the first. The design of the whole proceeding is well explained by Vitringa to have been to let Hezekiah feel his obligation to a special divine interposition for a recovery which might otherwise have seemed the unavoidable effect of ordinary causes.

V. 6. *And out of the hand of the king of Assyria I will save thee and this city, and I will cover over* (or *protect*) *this city.* Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Knobel, with some of the older writers, infer from this verse that the army of Sennacherib was still in Judah. Gesenius and Rosenmüller follow Calvin and Vitringa in referring it to subsequent attacks or apprehensions. This is really more natural, because it accounts for the addition of this promise to that of a prolonged life. The connexion, as explained by Calvin, is, that he should not only live fifteen years longer, but should be free from the Assyrians during that time. The parallel passage (2 Kings 20: 6) adds, *for my own sake and for the sake of David my servant,* as in ch. 37: 35. Had this addition been made in the text before us, it would of course have been an instance of repetition and assimilation, symptomatic of a later writer.

V. 7. *And this* (*shall be*) *to thee the sign from Jehovah, that Jehovah will perform this word which he hath spoken.* The English Version has *a sign;* but the article is emphatic, *the* (*appointed*) *sign* (*proceeding*) *from Jehovah* (not merely from the Prophet). The translation *this thing,* although justified by usage, is here inadmissible because unnecessary. The parallel narrative in Kings is much more circumstantial. What occurs below, as the last two verses of this chapter, there stands in its regular chronological order, between the promise of recovery and the announcement of the sign, so that the latter appears to have been given in compliance with Hezekiah's own request and choice. *And Isaiah said, This* (*shall be*) *to thee the sign from Jehovah, that Jehovah will perform the thing which he hath spoken; shall the shadow advance ten degrees, or shall it recede ten degrees? And Hezekiah said, It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten degrees; nay, but let the shadow return backward ten degrees* (2 Kings 20: 9, 10). As to the transposition of vs. 21, 22, see below.

V. 8. *Behold, I* (*am*) *causing the shadow to go back, the degrees which it has gone down* (or *which have gone down*) *on the degrees of Ahaz with the sun, ten degrees backward; and the sun returned ten degrees on the degrees which it had gone down.* As to the nature of the phenomenon here described, there are three opinions. The first is that the Prophet took advantage of a transient obscuration, or of some unusual refraction, to confirm the king's belief of what he promised. The sec-

ond is that the whole is a myth or legend of a later date. The third is that Isaiah did actually exhibit a supernatural attestation of the truth of his prediction. This is supposed by some to have consisted merely in the foresight of a natural phenomenon, while others regard the phenomenon itself as miraculous. Of these last, some again suppose a mere miraculous appearance, others an actual disturbance of the ordinary course of nature. This last is not a question of much exegetical or practical importance, since it neither can nor need be ascertained, whether the course of the sun (or of the earth around it) was miraculously changed, or the shadow miraculously rendered independent of the sun which caused it. The former hypothesis is favoured by the statement that *the sun went back*, if taken in its strictest and most obvious sense, although it may be understood as a metonymy of the cause for the effect. At any rate, little would appear to be gained by paring down a miracle to certain dimensions, when even on the lowest supposition it can only be ascribed to the almighty power of God, with whom all things are not only possible but equally easy. The choice is not between a greater and lesser miracle, but between a miracle, a myth, and a trick. The last two suppositions are so perfectly gratuitous, as well as impious, that no believer in the possibility of either miracle or inspiration can entertain them for a moment. And if thus shut up to the assumption of a miracle, it matters little whether it be great or small. It is enough that God alone could do it or infallibly predict it. As to the disproportion of the miracle to the occasion, it remains substantially the same on any supposition which involves a real miracle at all. If this be admitted, and the historical truth of the narrative assumed, the safest course is to expound it in its simplest and most obvious sense. Another question in relation to this verse, of far less moment in itself, has given rise to a vast amount of learned and ingenious controversy. This is the question whether the *degrees* here mentioned were the graduated scale of a dial, or the steps of a staircase. In this dispute, besides the exegetical writers on Isaiah and the second book of Kings, we meet with the great names of Usher, Petavius, Salmasius, Scaliger, and others of eminent repute but later date. It is important to observe that there is no word in the text necessarily denoting such an instrument. By comparing the text and margin of the common English Version, it would seem that the translators were disposed to put this sense upon the words מעלות אחז בשמש, which they render, *the sun-dial of Ahaz*, but which literally mean, *the degrees of Ahaz in* (or *by*) *the sun.* So too the Targum has *hour-stone* (אבן שעיא), and the Vulgate *horologium.* The only word corresponding to all this in the original is מעלות, which, like the Latin *gradus*, first means *steps* and then *degrees.* The nearest approach to the description of a dial is in the words, *degrees of Ahaz.* This circumstance may show that the reference to a dial, properly so called, is not so

obvious or necessary in the Hebrew text as in the English Version. It was further alleged by Scaliger, and other early writers on the subject, that the use of dials was unknown in the days of Hezekiah. Later investigations have destroyed the force of this objection, and made it probable that solar chronometers of some sort were in use among the Babylonians at a very early period, and that Ahaz may have borrowed the invention from them, as he borrowed other things from the Assyrians (2 Kings 16: 10). There is therefore no historical necessity for assuming, with Scaliger, that the shadow here meant was the shadow cast upon the steps of the palace, called the *stairs of Ahaz* because he had built them or the house itself. The only question is, whether this is not the simplest and most obvious explanation of the words, and one which entirely exhausts their meaning. If so, we may easily suppose the shadow to have been visible from Hezekiah's chamber, and the offered sign to have been suggested to the Prophet by the sight of it. This hypothesis relieves us from the necessity of accounting for the division into ten or rather twenty degrees, as Hezekiah was allowed to choose between a precession and a retrocession of the same extent (2 Kings 20: 9). These two opinions are by no means so irreconcilable as they may at first sight seem. Even supposing the *degrees of Ahaz* to have been an instrument constructed for the purpose of measuring time, it does not follow that it must have been a dial of modern or of any very artificial structure. A Jewish writer, quoted by Grotius, describes it as a globe within a concave hemisphere, casting its shadow on the concave surface. But besides the arbitrary character of this supposition, it does not account for the description of the shadow as descending with the sun, since the shadow on such an instrument would ascend as the sun descended. Knobel imagines that there may have been an artificial eminence or mound, with steps or terraces surrounding it, on which the shadow cast by an obelisk or gnomon at the summit would grow longer as the day declined, or in other words, descend with the descending sun. But a still more simple supposition is that the gnomon was erected on a staircase of suitable exposure, or that a column at the top cast a shadow which was found available for a rude measurement of time. The minor questions, whether the gnomon was designed to be such, or was erected for some other purpose, and whether מעלות means ordinary steps or astronomical degrees, do not affect the essential fact, that the recession of the shadow was perceptible in such a situation and on such a scale as to be altogether incontestable. המעלות may either be connected with what goes before (*the shadow of the degrees*), or construed as an accusative of measure (*the degrees which it has gone down*).

V. 9. *A writing of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when he was sick, and lived* (i. e. *recovered*) *from his sickness.* This is the title or inscription of

the following psalm (vs. 10–20), not inserted by a copyist or compiler, but prefixed, according to the ancient oriental usage, by the author himself, and therefore forming an integral part of the text. The title מִכְתָּם, prefixed to several of the Psalms, is regarded by Gesenius as an orthographical variation of the word (מִכְתָּב) here used. Others derive the former from a different root, but suppose its form to be copied from the one before us. (See Hengstenberg on Psalm 16 : 1.) The specific senses put upon this word by the Septuagint (*prayer*), the Targum (*confession*), and Gesenius (*song*), are inferred from the contents of the passage itself, and do not belong to the Hebrew word, which simply means a *writing*. The particle prefixed is strictly equivalent neither to *by* nor *of*, but means *belonging to*, as in the frequent formulas לְדָוִד and לַמְנַצֵּחַ in the titles of the Psalms, *belonging to David* (as the author), *belonging to the chief musician* (as the performer). The conjecture of Grotius, that Isaiah dictated the psalm, or put it into Hezekiah's mouth, is perfectly gratuitous. That Hezekiah should compose a psalm, is not more strange than that he should make a collection of proverbs (Prov. 25 : 1). It would have been far more strange if one so much like David, in character and spirit, had not followed his example in the practice of devotional composition. The inspiration and canonical authority of this production are clear from its having been incorporated by Isaiah in his prophecies, although omitted in the second book of Kings. The questions raised by some interpreters, as to its antiquity and genuineness, are founded on the mere possibility, that the passage may be of later date and by another writer. So far as we have evidence, either external or internal, there is not the slightest ground for critical misgiving. The ב at the beginning of the last clause does not mean *concerning his sickness* and indicate the subject of the composition, but, as usual before an infinitive, denotes the time of the action. This is by most writers understood to be, *after he had been sick* and *had recovered*, as explained in the Vulgate (cum aegrotasset et convaluisset). The words, in themselves considered, would more naturally seem to mean, *during his sickness and recovery*, and are accordingly explained by Hitzig. There is nothing in the psalm itself at all inconsistent with the supposition, that it was conceived, and perhaps composed, if not reduced to writing, before the complete fulfilment of the promise in the king's recovery. The contrary hypothesis has tended to embarrass and perplex the interpretation, as will be more distinctly seen below. The idiomatic phrase to *live from sickness*, in the sense of convalescence or recovery, occurs repeatedly elsewhere, either fully or in an abbreviated form. (See for example 1 Kings 1 : 2. Gen. 20 : 7.)

V. 10. *I said in the pause of my days I shall go into the gates of the grave, I am deprived of the rest of my years.* The pronoun of the first

person does not seem to be emphatic or distinctive, as it usually is when separately written, but appears to be expressed for the sake of a euphonic or rhythmical effect. The words בדמי ימי may naturally qualify either the foregoing or the following verb, *I said in the pause of my days*, or, *in the pause of my days I shall go;* but the latter construction is favoured by the accents, and by the analogy of the following verse, where אמרתי is immediately succeeded by the words which he uttered. The explanation of דמי ימי, as meaning *the blood of my days*, is unnatural in itself, and requires an arbitrary change of pointing. Kimchi gives דמי the sense of *cutting off* (כריתה), derived from נדמה. (See above, the note on ch. 6: 5.) Most interpreters regard it as synonymous with דְּמִי silence, stillness, though they differ as to the application of the figures. Scheidius supposes it to mean the standing still of the sun, or its apparent pause at noonday, and then noon itself, or what the Greeks call ἡ μεσημβρία τοῦ βίου, and ourselves the meridian of life. This may also be the meaning of the Septuagint version (ἐν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου), in the height (or zenith) of my days, although Clericus and others confidently allege that the Seventy for דמי read רמי, of which there is no example elsewhere. Umbreit understands by the stillness of his days the period of life when the passions cease to govern and the character becomes more calm. Gesenius applies it to the reign of Hezekiah, and supposes him to mean that he was about to be cut off when he had every prospect of a peaceful reign. Even Kimchi's sense of *cutting off* is reconcilable with this explanation of דמי as meaning silence, then cessation. The general idea is correctly given in the Vulgate (*dimidio*), which Gesenius gratuitously thinks may be a mere conjecture from the Latin *demi*, but which is much more likely to have been suggested by the analogous expression in Ps. 102: 25, *I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days* (בחצי ימי). There is not the slightest ground, however, for supposing this last to be the true text here. The preposition before *gates* may mean either *to*, *through*, or *into;* but the last is its usual sense after verbs of motion. As parallel expressions may be mentioned *the gates of death* (Ps. 9: 14) and *the gates of hell* (Matth. 16: 18). The verb פָּקַד means *to visit*, and especially to visit for the purpose either of *inspection* or *punishment*. From the former of these applications springs the secondary sense of *missing* or finding wanting. This is adopted here by Gesenius, so as to make the last clause mean, *I shall be missed* (by my acquaintances and friends) *during the rest of my years*. But nature and the context show that Hezekiah's thoughts were running upon what he was to miss himself. Besides, the future meaning given to the preterite is, in this case, gratuitous, and therefore ungrammatical. A much better use of the same general sense is made by those who take the Pual as a causative passive, *I am made to miss* or *lose the rest of my years*, or as the English Version has it, *I am*

deprived of them. It is better still, however, because more in accordance with the tone and spirit of the whole composition, to understand the verb as expressing not mere loss or privation, but penal infliction. It was because Hezekiah regarded the threatened abbreviation of his life as a token of God's wrath, that he so importunately deprecated it. Instead of the *remainder*, Cube and Dathe read *the best part* of my days, but without any adequate authority from usage.

V. 11. *I said, I shall not see Jah, Jah in the land of the living; I shall not behold man again* (or *longer*) *with the inhabitants of the world.* יה יה is not an error of the text for יהוה (Houbigant), but an intensive repetition similar to those in vs. 17, 19. Or the second may be added to explain and qualify the first. He did expect to see God, but not in the land of the living. This is better than to make the second יה the subject of a distinct proposition, as Luzzatto does, *I shall not see Jah, (for) Jah (is only to be seen) in the land of the living.* The same writer regards this as the appropriate name of God considered as a gracious being. He supposes it to have been originally an exclamation of delight or joy, corresponding to יָהּ (*ovà*, *vae*) as an exclamation of distress or fear, from the combination of which arose the name יהוה, denoting an object both of love and fear. For other explanations of the name יָהּ, see above, on ch. 12: 1 and 26: 4. The *land of the living* is not the Holy Land (Hendewerk), but the present life. The preposition עִם may connect what follows either with the subject or the object of the verb; *I with the inhabitants*, or, *man with the inhabitants.* חדל, which strictly means *cessation*, is regarded by the older writers as a description of this transitory life or fleeting world. Vitringa objects, that he would not have regretted leaving such a world, and therefore applies חדל to the state of death. *I, with* (or *among*) *the inhabitants of* (*the land of*) *stillness, shall no more see man.* This is adopted by Gesenius and the other modern writers. It may be objected, however, that it needlessly violates the parallelism, on which so much stress is elsewhere laid, and which plainly indicates, in this case, that the last words of the verse bear the same relation to *I shall not see man*, that the words *in the land of the living* bear to *I shall not see Jah.* If the latter designate the place in which he was no more to see God, then the former would naturally seem to designate the place in which he was no more to see man. Another reason for preferring the old interpretation is afforded by the obvious affinity between the expression here and that in Ps. 49: 2. *Hear this all the nations, give ear all the inhabitants of the world* (ישבי חלד). That the text in one of these cases is to be corrected by the other, or that one of them arose from misapprehension of the other, are superficial and uncritical assumptions. That the one was suggested by the other, but with an intentional change of form, so as to fur-

nish two descriptions of the present life, alike in sound but not identical in sense, is not only probable in itself, but perfectly in keeping with the genius of the language and the usage of the sacred writers. (See above, ch. 37: 24.) As to the objection, that Hezekiah would not have been loth to leave a world so transient and unsatisfying, it is not only contradicted by experience, but admits of this solution, that its transitory nature was the very thing for which he grieved.

V. 12. *My dwelling is plucked up and uncovered by me* (or *away from me*) *like a shepherd's tent. I have rolled up, like the weaver, my life; from the thrum he will cut me off; from day to night thou wilt finish me.* The same thing is here represented by two figures. The first is that of a tent, the stakes of which are pulled up, and the covering removed, with a view to departure. The usual sense of דּוֹר (*generation*) seems inappropriate here. For that of *age* or *life* there is no authority in usage. That of *dwelling* is founded on the Arabic analogy, and yields a good sense, not only here but in Ps. 49: 20. Most interpreters explain נִגְלָה as meaning *removed* or *departed*, a sense which it has not elsewhere. Its usual sense *uncovered* is entirely appropriate, and exactly descriptive of a part of the process of striking a tent. The מִנִּי may then be understood, either as referring the act described to the speaker, or as making him the object from which the removal was to take place. On the latter hypothesis, some of the German writers enter into profound discussions whether Hezekiah meant to identify the *Ich* or personal principle with his body or his soul, or with both, or with neither. The second figure is that of a web completed and removed by the weaver from the loom. The old interpretation of קִפַּדְתִּי makes it mean *cut off*; the modern one, *rolled up*; the allusion in either case being to a weaver's mode of finishing his work. To make this verb passive or reflexive, is entirely arbitrary. Still more so is a change of person from the first to the second, since the same succession of the first, second, and third persons reappears in the next verse. It is not even necessary to make the verb causative (*I have caused him to cut out* or *roll up my life*). The true solution is proposed by Calvin, viz. that he first thinks of himself as the guilty cause of his own death, and then of God as the efficient agent. Umbreit imagines that he here describes himself as dying by a voluntary act, as Schleiermacher is said by one of his biographers to have done, instead of dying like other men because he could not help it. This is not only unnatural and irrational in itself, but inconsistent with the context, where the king is represented as any thing rather than a voluntary sufferer. According to the latest writers, מִדַּלָּה does not mean *with pining sickness*, nor *from a state of exaltation*, but *from the thrum* (as in the margin of the English Bible) i. e. the ends of the threads by which the web is fastened to the beam.

Lowth gives the same sense by employing the more general term *loom*. *From day to night* is commonly explained to mean *before to-morrow*, within the space of one day. The verb in the last clause might, without violence to etymology or usage, be explained to mean, *thou wilt* (or *do thou*) *make me whole*. But interpreters appear to be agreed in giving it the opposite sense of *thou wilt make an end of me*. Some suppose moreover that the figure of a weaver and his web is still continued, and that the idea expressed in the last clause is that of *finishing* a piece of work.

V. 13. *I set* (*him before me*) *till the morning* (i. e. all night) *as a lion*, (saying) *so will he break all my bones; from day to night thou wilt make an end of me*. Either these last words are repeated in a different sense, or else the repetition shows that they have no special reference, in the foregoing verse, to the process of weaving. Gesenius seems to treat with contempt the suggestion of an inadvertent repetition on the part of some transcriber, though he has no difficulty in adopting it when it can serve a useful purpose. Most writers disregard the masoretic interpunction, and connect *like a lion* with the second clause. They are then obliged to take שִׁוִּיתִי in the sense of *I reckoned* (i. e. counted the hours, or reckoned that as a lion etc.), or as meaning *I endured*, or *I composed myself*, neither of which has any sufficient ground in the usage of the language, and the last of which requires *but* to be arbitrarily supplied. Jarchi adheres to the masoretic accents, and explains the first clause, *I likened myself to* (or *made myself like*) *a lion* (i. e. roared) *until the morning*. To this it has been objected, not without reason, that as the crushing of the bones involves an obvious allusion to the lion (compare Ps. 7 : 3), we then have the same figure used to represent both the sufferer and the author of his sufferings, which is forced and unnatural. The masoretic interpunction may, however, be retained without this inconvenience, by explaining שִׁוִּיתִי in accordance with its usage in Ps. 16 : 8 and 119 : 30. In the former case, the Psalmist says, *I have set Jehovah before me always*, i. e. I continually recognise his presence, or regard him as present. In the other case the same idea seems to be expressed by the verb alone, with an ellipsis of the qualifying phrase. *Thy judgments have I placed* (i. e. before me). Supposing a similar ellipsis here, the sense will be, *I set him before me*, i. e. viewed him as present, imagined or conceived of him *as a lion*, and expected him to act as such, saying, *so* (i. e. as a lion) *he will crush all my bones*. If this be the true construction, it removes all ground for making *fear*, or *pain*, or *the disease*, the nominative of the verb *will break*, and leaves it to agree with *Jehovah*, as the natural subject of the sentence. This construction is further recommended by its giving uniformity of meaning to the clauses, as descriptive of the sufferer's apprehensions.

V. 14. *Like a swallow* (or) *a crane*, (or *like a twittering swallow*,) *so I chirp; I moan like the dove; my eyes are weak* (with looking) *upward* (or *on high*); *O Jehovah, I am oppressed, undertake for me* (or *be my surety*). In the first clause the moanings of the sufferer are compared, as in many other cases, to the voice of certain animals. The dove is often spoken of in such connexions, and the mention of it here makes it probable that the parallel expressions are also descriptive of a bird or birds. סוּס is the common Hebrew word for *horse*, and is so explained even here by Aquila, who retains עָגוּר without translation. Theodotion retains both, but writes the first σίς (סִיס), which Jerome thinks is probably the true text. This same reading appears as a Keri in the masoretic text of Jer. 8: 7, the only other place where the word seems to signify a bird. The old rabbinical interpretation gives to סוּס the sense of *crane*, and to עָגוּר that of *swallow*. Bochart reverses them and undertakes to show that עָגוּר is the Hebrew word for *crane*. This word affords a curious instance of the way in which Gesenius sometimes leaves his followers and transcribers in the lurch. In his Commentary, while he speaks of עָגוּר as a word of doubtful import, he gives Bochart's explanation as upon the whole the most probable. Some of his copyists go further and allege that it certainly means *crane*. In the mean time Gesenius, in his Manual Lexicon, rejects Bochart's proofs as *invalid*, and explains עגר as a description of the gyratory motion of the swallow. In the Thesaurus, this is abandoned in its turn, and the word explained to mean chirping or twittering. Maurer objects to the explanation of עגור as a mere descriptive epithet, that in Jer. 8: 7 we have סוס ועגור as two independent substantives. To this Gesenius replies, that the epithet is there used as a poetical substitute for the noun, or perhaps the name of a particular species. On any supposition, the comparison before us is evidently meant to be descriptive of inarticulate moans or murmurs. The reference of the verbs in the first clause to past time (*I chirped, I moaned*), though assumed by most interpreters, is perfectly gratuitous, when the future proper yields so good a sense. This violation of the syntax has arisen from assuming that the clause must be a retrospective description of something already past, and not an expression of present feeling such as he might have uttered at the moment. That this last is no unnatural hypothesis, is certain from the fact that all interpreters adopt it in the other clause. But if that may be the language of the sufferer at the time of his distress, it is equally natural, or rather more so, to explain the first clause in the same way. Clericus understands דָּלַל as meaning *lifted up*, which he admits to be a mere conjecture having no foundation in usage, but rendered necessary by the addition of לִמְרוֹם. Most interpreters regard it as an instance of *constructio praegnans*, and retain the proper meaning of the verb. Hitzig makes עשקה an imperative, and identifies it with the Arabic عشق to love tenderly or ardently. *Incline thy heart*

to me. There is, however, no necessity or warrant for departing from the Hebrew usage of עשׁק to do violence or oppress. The older writers supply a definite subject, such as *death, my disease*, or the like. Ewald makes it impersonal, *it is oppressed to me*, i. e. I am oppressed. Gesenius treats it as a noun, (*there is*) *oppression to me*, and explains the Metheg as a mere sign of the secondary accent. Junius and Tremellius render עָרְבֵנִי, *weave me through* (pertexe me), i. e. do not cut out the unfinished web. But this return to the metaphor of v. 12, after alluding in the mean time to a lion, to a swallow, to a crane, and to a dove, would be exceedingly unnatural, and although not impossible can only be assumed in case of extreme exegetical necessity, which certainly has no existence here. The same word is used in Ps. 119: 122, in the sense of *undertake for me* or *be my surety*, i. e. interpose between me and my enemies. The reference is rather to protection than to justification. Gill carries out the metaphor to an extreme by saying that Hezekiah here *represents his disease as a bailiff that had arrested him, and was carrying him to the prison of the grave, and therefore prays that the Lord would bail him or rescue him out of his hands.*

V. 15. *What shall I say? He hath both spoken to me, and himself hath done (it); I shall go softly all my years for the bitterness of my soul.* This, which is substantially the common version, is the one adopted by most modern writers, who regard the verse as an expression of surprise and joy at the deliverance experienced. *What shall I say?* i. e. how shall I express my gratitude and wonder? *He hath said and done it*, he has promised and performed, perhaps with an implication that the promise was no sooner given than fulfilled. The recollection of this signal mercy he is resolved to cherish *all his years*, i. e. throughout his life, by *going softly*, solemnly, or slowly, *on account of the bitterness of his soul*, i. e. in recollection of his sufferings. Some, however, understand these last words to mean, *in the bitterness of my soul*, i. e. in perpetual contrition and humility. But the preposition עַל is properly expressive, not of the manner of his going, but of its occasion. The verb אֲדַדֶּה occurs only here and in Ps. 42: 5, where it is commonly agreed to signify the solemn march of the people in procession to Mount Zion. It would here seem to be equivalent to the phrase חלך אט applied to Ahab in 1 Kings 21: 27. Another interpretation of the verse, which might, at first sight, seem more natural, regards it as the language of Hezekiah during his sickness, and as expressive, not of joy and wonder, but of submission. *What shall I say*, in the way of complaint? *He hath both said and done it*, i. e. threatened and performed it. But this view of the first clause cannot be reconciled with any natural interpretation of the second, where the phrase *all my years* is inconsistent with the supposition that he expected to die forthwith.

V. 16. *Lord, upon them they live, and as to every thing in them is the life of my spirit, and thou wilt recover me and make me live.* This exceedingly obscure verse is now most generally understood to mean, that life in general, and the life of Hezekiah in particular, was dependent on the power and promise of God. *Upon them*, the promise and performance implied in the verbs *said* and *did* of the preceding verse, *they live*, i. e. men indefinitely live. The sense of עַל, when construed thus with חיה, is clear from such examples as Gen. 20: 27. Deut. 8: 6. Some suppose כל to govern חיו, notwithstanding the intervening word בהן, and the prefix ל, which must then be pleonastic. *All the life of my spirit (is) in them.* A simpler construction is to make לכל an adverbial phrase meaning *as to* (or *with respect to*) *every thing.* The other attempts which have been made to explain עליהם as referring to the *bones* of Hezekiah, or his *years*, or his *subjects*, or those *over whom* (God is) *Lord*, are so forced, that the one first given, notwithstanding its obscurity and harshness, seems entitled to the preference. The explanation of the future and imperative in the last clause as referring to past time (*thou hast recovered me and made me live*) is not only arbitrary but gratuitous, as it assumes without necessity that such a prayer or expectation could not have been uttered after Hezekiah's recovery, whereas it is a natural expression of desire that what had been begun might be continued and completed. והחיינו is not an infinitive, which would here take the construct form, but an imperative. In either case, its meaning is determined by the foregoing future, so that both verbs may take the future form in translation. The original form of expression may, however, be retained in English, by omitting the auxiliary in the second future.

V. 17. *Behold, to peace (is turned) my bitter bitterness, and thou hast loved my soul from the pit of destruction, because thou hast cast behind thy back all my sins.* The idea of change or conversion must either be supplied, or supposed to be expressed by מָר, which is then the preterite of מוּר, not elsewhere used in Kal, although the Hiphil is of frequent occurrence. Most of the late writers understand מר לי מר as an emphatic or intensive repetition, of which there are several examples in this passage (vs. 11, 19), and suppose the verb to be suppressed, or suggested by the preposition ל. The English Bible, and some other versions, put an opposite meaning on the clause, as a description, not of his restoration but of his affliction. *For peace I had great bitterness*, or, *on my peace (came) great bitterness.* The other interpretation agrees better with the usage of the preposition and makes the parallelism more exact. We have here another instance of pregnant construction, *to love from*, i. e. *so to love as to deliver from.* This sense is expressed in the English Bible by a circumlocution. בְּלִי means properly nonentity, annihilation, here put for perdition or destruction from

the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power (2 Thess. 1 : 9). The last clause shows that Hezekiah regarded the threatened destruction as a punishment of sin. To cast behind one, or behind one's back, in Hebrew and Arabic, is to forget, lose sight of, or exclude from view. The opposite idea is expressed by the figure of setting or keeping before one's eyes. (See Ps. 90 : 8. 109 : 14, 15. Jer. 16 : 17. Hos. 7 : 2.)

V. 18. *For the grave shall not confess thee* (*nor*) *death praise thee; they that go down to the pit shall not hope for thy truth.* Here, as often in the Psalms, the loss of the opportunity of praising God is urged as a reason, not only why he should be loth to die, but why God should preserve him. (See Ps. 6 : 6. 88 : 11, 12.) It does not follow from these words, either that Hezekiah had no expectation of a future state, or that the soul remains unconscious till the resurrection. The true explanation of the words is given by Calvin, viz. that the language is that of extreme agitation and distress, in which the prospect of the future is absorbed in contemplation of the present, and also that so far as he does think of futurity, it is upon the supposition of God's wrath. Regarding death, in this case, as a proof of the divine displeasure, he cannot but look upon it as the termination of his solemn praises. The *truth* mentioned in the last clause is the truth of God's promises, to hope for which is to expect the promised blessing. לא תודך strictly means, *shall not acknowledge thee*, with special reference to the acknowledgment of favours, or thanksgiving. The influence of the negative extends to the second clause, as in ch. 23 : 4. (See above, p. 407.)

V. 19. *The living, the living, he shall thank thee, like me* (or *as I do*) *to-day; father to sons shall make known, with respect to thy truth*, i. e. the truth of thy promises, as in the verse preceding. Only the living could praise God in that way to which the writer was accustomed, and on which his eye is here fixed, with special reference, no doubt, to the external service of the temple. The last clause must be taken in a general sense, as Hezekiah was himself still childless.

V. 20. *Jehovah to save me! And my songs we will play, all the days of our life, at the house of Jehovah.* The obvious ellipsis in the first clause may be variously filled with *came, hastened, commanded, was ready, be pleased*, or with the verb *is*, as an idiomatic periphrasis of the future, *is to save* for *will save*. The reference to the future and the past is equally admissible, since God, in one sense, had already saved him, and in another was to save him still. נגינה is properly the music of stringed instruments, or a song intended to be so accompanied. The word may here be used in the more general sense of song or music; but there seems to be no need of

excluding the original and proper meaning. The singular form, *my song*, refers to Hezekiah as the author of this composition; the plurals, *we will sing* and *our lives*, to the multitude who might be expected to join in his public thanksgiving, not only at first, but in after ages. The use of עַל is explained by some as an allusion to the elevated site of the temple; but it seems to be rather a license of construction, similar to our promiscuous use of *at* and *in*, with names of towns. It is a possible but not a necessary supposition, that this particle may here denote upward motion, as in a procession from the lower city to the temple. *We will sing* or *play my songs, all the days of our lives, up to the house of the Lord.* The general sense in either case is that of public and perpetual praise, the promise of which closes this remarkable production.

V. 21. *And Isaiah said, Let them take a lump* (or *cake*) *of figs, and rub them* (or *lay them softened*) *on the boil* (or *inflammation*), *and he shall live* (or *let him live*), i. e. *recover.* The indirect construction, preferred by most of the modern writers, *that they should take*, and *that he might recover*, is entirely unnecessary, since the words may naturally be regarded as the very words spoken by the Prophet himself. מרח seems properly to have the sense of rubbing, either in reference to the application, or to the preparing of the figs by trituration. The latter explanation is now commonly preferred. Grotius follows some of the rabbinical interpreters in the assumption that the natural effect of such an application would have been injurious. But although this may seem to magnify the miracle, it is a gratuitous assumption, and directly contradicted by the modern oriental practice of applying figs to pestilential pustules, for the purpose of maturing their discharge. Such a pustule is commonly supposed to be denoted by שחין, both here and elsewhere, although some choose to adhere to what they think the primary sense of *inflammation*. Hitzig makes this noun the subject of the verb יחי (*that it might be healed*) on the authority of Lev. 13: 10, 14, 15; but the analogy of the first verse of the chapter now before us seems to be decisive in favour of the usual construction, which makes the verb refer to Hezekiah.

V. 22. *And Hezekiah said, What sign that I shall go up* (*to*) *the house of Jehovah?* The ellipsis is easily supplied by reading, *what sign dost thou give*, or *what sign is there*, or more simply still, *what is the sign?* The construction of מה as an exclamation of surprise (*what a miracle!*) is neither natural in itself, nor justified by usage, in a case where the usual interrogative sense is perfectly appropriate. The question is more fully given in 2 Kings 20: 8 as follows. *And Hezekiah said to Isaiah, What sign that Jehovah is about to heal me, and that I shall go up, on the third day, to the house of Jehovah?* The reference is to the promise as recorded

in v. 5 of the same chapter. *Return and say to Hezekiah, the chief of my people, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears; behold, I am about to heal thee; on the third day thou shalt go up to the house of Jehovah.* The last two verses of this chapter in Isaiah are evidently out of their chronological order, and the question has been raised, whether this transposition is to be ascribed to the original writer, and if so how it is to be accounted for. The hypotheses which have been proposed may be reduced to three. The first is, that the transposition is an error of transcription, arising from the mere inadvertence of some ancient copyist. Besides the difficulty common to all such suppositions, that errors of the kind supposed, although they might take place, could scarcely become universal; it is here precluded by the fact that these two verses cannot be inserted in the text above without breaking its continuity, and cannot therefore have dropped out of it, unless we take for granted also, that the text was altered after the omission, which is only adding arbitrarily another to the gratuitous assumptions made before. Some avoid this difficulty by supposing that the verses do not properly belong to this text, but were added by a later hand, in order to complete the narrative as given in the second book of Kings. Apart from the natural presumption against all such imaginary facts, except where the assuming of them cannot be avoided, it can scarcely be doubted that a copyist or critic, who would use such freedom with the text, would have used more, and inserted this statement in its proper place. It is only necessary to compare these fanciful hypotheses with the obvious and simple supposition that the passage before us is the first draught or original form of Isaiah's narrative, in which the facts recorded in these two last verses were added by a kind of afterthought, and that in re-writing the account, as a part of the national history, he naturally placed them in their chronological order. It would probably be easy to produce many parallel cases from the correspondence of voluminous letter-writers, or from other cases of repeated composition on the same subject by the same writer. However this may be, it seems clear that the explanation now proposed is simpler in itself, and requires less to be imagined or supposed, than any other, and is therefore, even on the strictest principles of criticism, entitled to the preference.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

This chapter contains an account of the Babylonian embassy to Hezekiah, and of his indiscreet and ostentatious conduct, which became the

occasion of a threatening message by the hands of Isaiah, predicting the Babylonian conquest and captivity, but with a tacit promise of exemption to the king himself, and to the country while he lived, which he received with humble acquiescence and thankful acknowledgment.

The chapter is evidently a direct continuation of the narrative before it, nor is there any real ground, internal or external, for suspecting its authenticity, antiquity, or genuineness.

V. 1. *In that time, Merodach Baladan, son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a gift to Hezekiah, and he heard that he was sick and was recovered.* The first phrase is used with great latitude of meaning, and may either describe one event as contemporaneous with another, or as following it, at once or more remotely. Knobel supposes it to mean here simply *in the days of Hezekiah.* Most other writers take it for granted that this message of congratulation must have been sent soon after the recovery of Hezekiah. These understand וַיִּשְׁמַע as equivalent in meaning to כִּי שָׁמַע 2 Kings 20: 12, and explain all the verbs of the last clause as pluperfects (*for he had heard etc.*). Knobel, on the contrary, gives ו its usual sense, and understands the clause to mean, that the king of Babylon heard of Hezekiah's sickness from his ambassadors on their return. But this is inconsistent with the parallel statement, assumes a needless prolepsis or anticipation, and encumbers the narrative with a fact entirely superfluous. What the ambassadors reported to the king on their return, is of no importance to the history. *Merodach* occurs in Jer. 50: 2, as the name of a Babylonian idol. Grotius supposes that a man of that name had been deified; others, that it was common to name men after gods. Hitzig identifies the name with the Persian diminutive مردك *little man* (as a term of endearment), Gesenius with the *Mars* of classical mythology. In 2 Kings 20: 11, it is written *Berodach*, which Hiller explains as a contraction of *Bar Merodach*, the son of Merodach, while Knobel regards it as a mere mistake, and Gesenius as a customary variation, *b* and *m* being often interchanged. Two manuscripts read *Berodach* in the case before us, and a few have the transposed form *Medorach*. *Baladan*, according to Von Bohlen, is a Persian word meaning *praised*; according to Gesenius, an Aramean compound meaning *Bel* (*is his*) *lord*. Hitzig explains *bal* as a connective syllable, like *pol* in Nabopolassar, *pal* in Sardanapalus, etc. Most of the modern writers agree with Vitringa in identifying this king with the *Mardokempad* of Berosus, as preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius; but Knobel understands him as naming Merodach Baladan distinctly. The same authority describes these Babylonian princes, not as sovereigns, but as viceroys or tributaries subject to Assyria. In that case, it is not improbable that Merodach Baladan was meditating a revolt, and sent this embassy to gain Hezekiah's co-operation.

The congratulation on his recovery may have been a secondary object, or perhaps a mere pretext. In 2 Chron. 32: 31, a further design is mentioned, namely, *to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land*, whether this be understood to mean the destruction of Sennacherib's army, or the miraculous recession of the shadow. There is no incompatibility between these different designs. Perhaps an embassy is seldom sent to such a distance with a single undivided errand.

V. 2. *And Hezekiah was glad of them, and showed them his house of rarities, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the good oil* (or *ointment*), *and all his house of arms, and all that was found in his treasures; there was not a thing which Hezekiah did not show them, in his house and in all his dominion.* The parallel passage (2 Kings 20: 13) has וישמע עליהם, which Knobel understands to mean that he *heard of them*, but which seems to be more correctly rendered in the English Bible, *and he hearkened unto them.* There is no need of regarding either as an error of transcription, or as the correction of a later writer. Nothing could be more natural than such a variation on the part of the original writer, describing Hezekiah's feelings in the one case and his conduct in the other. He hearkened to them courteously *because* he was glad of their arrival. Henderson says, *he was deligkted with them;* but the context seems to show that it was not so much the company or manners of the men that he was pleased with, as the honour done him by the king of Babylon in sending them. The practice of exhibiting the curiosities and riches of a palace to distinguished visitors, Vitringa illustrates by the parallel case of Croesus and Solon, as recorded by Herodotus. נכת has been commonly regarded as identical with the נכאות of Gen. 37: 43, and the whole phrase interpreted accordingly, as meaning properly *a house of spices*, and then by a natural extension of its import, a depository of rare and precious things in general. The former meaning is retained by Aquila (*τὸν οἶκον τῶν ἀρωμάτων*) and the Vulgate (*cellam aromatum*). The other is given in the Targum and Peshito, and by most modern writers. The Septuagint retains the Hebrew word (*νεχωθᾶ*). Abulwalid derives it from נָכַת to bite, and applies it to provisions; Lorsbach from a Persian verb meaning to deposit; Hitzig from a Hebrew root of similar import. בית כלים is not a house of *jewels* or *vessels*, but of *arms*, i. e. an arsenal, most probably the same that is mentioned in ch. 22: 8. Luther has *all his arsenals*, but this would be expressed in Hebrew by the plural. Lowth more correctly has *whole arsenal*, which is also the meaning of the common version, *all the house of his armour.* The goodly or precious oil is supposed by Barnes to have been that used in the unction of kings and priests, or perhaps applied to more ordinary purposes in the royal household. Knobel explains מרשלתו as meaning *in his power* or *possession.* So the LXX.

(ἐξουσία). It is more commonly explained, however, as a local noun denoting realm or dominions. Hitzig gives אֹצָרוֹת the specific sense of store-rooms or treasure-chambers, which is unnecessary. Even on the usual hypothesis, the ב need not be translated *among*, but may have its usual and proper sense of *in*.

V. 3. *Then came Isaiah the prophet to the king Hezekiah, and said to him, What said these men, and whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, From a far country came they unto me, from Babylon.* The Prophet was not sent for by the king, as in ch. 37 : 2; but he was no doubt sent by God, and came in his official character. The older writers seem to regard as the occasion of his visit the vainglory which the king had displayed in his entertainment of the strangers. The moderns lay the chief stress on the political negotiations which had passed between them, and which could not be regarded by the Prophet but with strong disapprobation. The statement in Chronicles is that *God left him, to try him, to know all in his heart* (2 Chr. 32 : 31). This may include the sins of vain ostentation and of distrust in God, showing itself in a longing after foreign alliances. There is no sufficient ground for Hendewerk's assumption, that a treaty had actually been concluded. Gesenius observes that Hezekiah answers only the second of the Prophet's questions, as if he shrunk from answering the first. But this mode of replying to the last interrogation, when there is more than one, is natural and common in cases where there can be no motive for concealment. It is unnecessary, therefore, to suppose with Clericus, that a part of Hezekiah's answer is omitted in the narrative. In the last clause, Calvin understands the king as boasting of the distance from which the embassy had come, as implying the extent of his own fame and political importance. Vitringa supposes the distance to be mentioned as an excuse for his hospitable attentions. Knobel thinks it was intended to disarm Isaiah's suspicion of a league, as if he had said, too distant to admit of any intimate communion or alliance. All these interpretations seem to strain the words beyond their natural and obvious import, according to which *a far country* is nothing more than a familiar designation of Babylon or Babylonia.

V. 4. *And he said, What have they seen in thy house? And Hezekiah said, All that is in my house have they seen; there is not a thing that I have not showed them in my treasures.* Some of the later Germans say that Hezekiah, finding evasion and concealment impossible, now frankly tells the truth. But the frankness of the answer here recorded rather shows, that there was no attempt at concealment from the first. It was not, as Calvin well observes, until the Prophet questioned him, that Hezekiah became aware of the error which he had committed. Knobel gratuitously asserts

that the Prophet here shifts his ground from finding fault with what had passed in words to blaming what had passed in act, between the king and the ambassadors.

V. 5. *And Isaiah said to Hezekiah, Hear the word of Jehovah of Hosts.* This form of expression gives to what follows the solemnity and authority of a divine decree. The parallel passage (2 Kings 20: 16) omits צבאות, which Vitringa regards as emphatic here, implying a signal exercise of divine providence and power.

V. 6. *Behold, days (are) coming, when all that (is) in thy house, and that which thy fathers have hoarded until this day, shall be carried to Babylon; there shall not be left a thing* (literally *a word*), *saith Jehovah.* Jarchi directs attention to the exact correspondence of the punishment with the offence. As the Babylonians had seen all, they should one day take all; as nothing had been withheld from them now, so nothing should be withheld from them hereafter. The German interpreters are at a loss, whether to make this explicit prophecy a proof of later date, or to explain it as a sagacious conjecture founded on the previous fate of the ten tribes, and on the actual relations of the Babylonian monarchy to Judah and Assyria. The scale preponderates in favour of the latter supposition, notwithstanding its absurd assumption of a mere political conjecture as to events which did not happen for a hundred years. To those who are under no unhappy necessity of explaining away the clearest proofs of inspiration and prophetic foresight, this passage affords a striking instance of the gradual development of prophecy. The general threatening of expatriation had been uttered seven hundred years before by Moses (Lev. 26: 33. Deut. 28: 64–67. 30: 3). Five hundred years later, Ahijah had declared that Israel should be rooted up and scattered *beyond the river* (1 Kings 14: 15). Within a hundred years, they had been threatened by Amos with *captivity beyond Damascus* (Am. 5: 27). Isaiah himself had obscurely intimated a future connexion between the fortunes of Israel and Babylon (ch. 14: 1. 21: 10). But here, for the first time, the Babylonish exile is explicitly foretold, unless the similar prediction of the contemporary prophet Micah (4: 10) be considered earlier. The fulfilment of the prophecy began in the deportation of Manasseh (2 Chron. 33: 11), but was described as something still prospective by Jeremiah (20: 5), in whose days, and the reign of Zedekiah, it was at length fully accomplished (2 Chron. 36: 18). To the objection, that a national calamity of this description bears no proportion to the fault of Hezekiah, there is no need of any other answer than the one already given by Vitringa, to wit, that Hezekiah's fault was not the cause but the occasion of the punishment which fell upon

the people, or rather of its being so explicitly predicted in the case before us. For, as Calvin says, the punishment of Hezekiah's individual fault was included in the punishment of Israel for national offences.

V. 7. *And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away, and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.* The future form of the expression in the first clause has respect to the fact that Hezekiah had as yet no children. (See above on ch. 38 : 2.) Hendewerk regards the terms used as inapplicable to any but immediate descendants, in which case the prophecy must be restricted to Manasseh (2 Chron. 33 : 11). But Hitzig and Knobel justify the wider application of the terms by the analogy of ch. 51 : 2, and by the constant use of *father* and *son* in reference to remote descendants or progenitors. The מן at the beginning of the verse is universally admitted to be partitive. *They shall take* may either be an indefinite construction, or agree with *the Babylonians* understood. סריסים is strictly understood by the Septuagint (*σπάδοντας*) and the Vulgate (*eunuchi*), but explained by the Targum to mean nobles (רברבין absurdly rendered in the London Polyglot, *nutriti*), i. e. courtiers or household-officers, an extension of the meaning which agrees well with the usages of oriental courts. The latter explanation is approved by Gesenius in his Commentary for a specified reason. In his earlier Lexicons he leaves it doubtful; but in the Theasurus he contends for the strict sense, even in Gen. 37 : 36, as well as in the case before us, with respect to which he answers his own argument upon the other side, by a counter-argument of equal strength. Instead of יקחו, the parallel passage (2 Kings 20 : 17) has the singular יקח, which is equally correct and regular, in a case of indefinite construction. The fulfilment of this prophecy is recorded in 2 Kings 24 : 12–16 and Dan. 1 : 1–7, and that so clearly, that the neologists are driven to their usual supposition of an interpolation, or of such an alteration as to make the terms of the prediction more determinate.

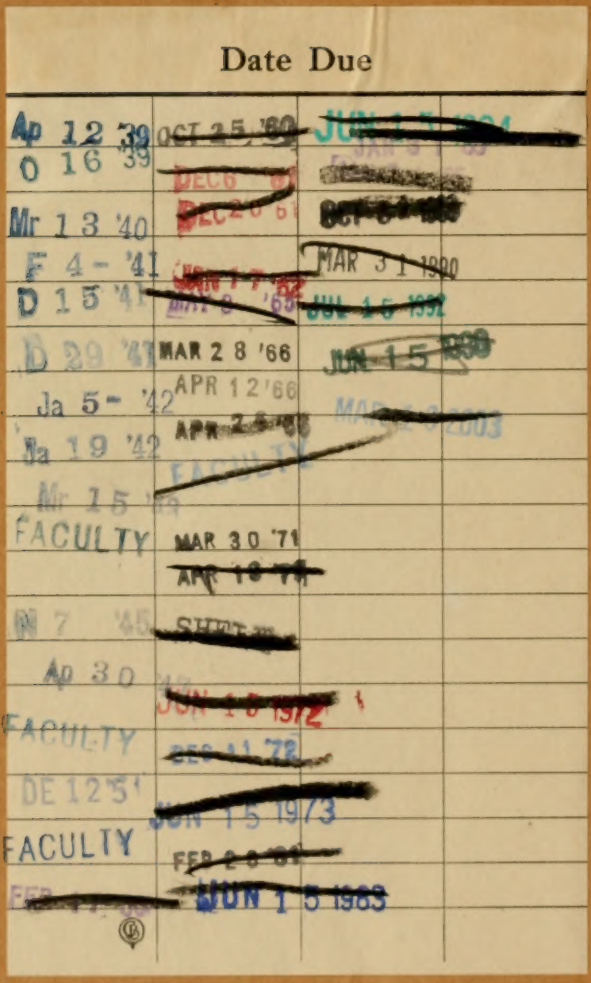
V. 8. *And Hezekiah said to Isaiah, Good is the word of Jehovah which thou hast spoken. And he said, For there shall be peace and truth in my days.* The word *good* is here used, neither in the sense of *gracious* nor in that of *just* exclusively, but in that of *right*, as comprehending both. While the king acquiesces in the threatening prophecy as righteous and deserved, he gratefully acknowledges the mercy with which it is tempered. That he looked upon the woes denounced against his children as a personal misfortune of his own, is clear from his regarding the postponement of the execution as a mitigation of the sentence on himself. The expression of thankfulness at this exemption shows how true the narrative is to nature and experience. Umbreit has the good sense and feeling to describe it as a

natural and childlike acknowledgment. The purer taste and loftier morality of other German writers can regard it only as *naiv-egoistisch* (Gesenius), or as an expression of true oriental *egoismus* (Hitzig). According to these philosophical interpreters, Hezekiah, instead of being thankful for the mercy which was mingled with God's judgments, ought to have rejected the promise of peace and truth in his own days, unless extended to his children also. This sentimental magnanimity may answer well enough in plays and novels, but is equally at variance with human nature and the word of God. It was not more clearly Hezekiah's duty to submit without a murmur to God's threatening, than it was to accept with gratitude the exemption promised to himself. *Quamvis enim haec poena aliud seculum maneret, tamen praesentem gratiam amplecti debuit; et certe nostro potissimum seculo servire debemus, ejusque praecipue ratio habenda est; futurum non est negligendum, sed quod praesens est atque instat magis officium nostrum requirit.* (Calvin). Nothing, therefore, as the same great writer well says, can be further from the spirit of this answer, than that of the Greek sentence, *ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί*, or the Latin, *mihi mortuo omnes mortui sunt.* Calvin is also of opinion that the words, *which thou hast spoken*, are emphatic, and intended to recognise Isaiah as an authoritative messenger from God. There is no need of supposing that the second ויאמר means, he said in his heart (Hitzig), or after Isaiah was gone (Knobel), much less that it simply means *he thought* (Hendewerk). The obvious sense of the expression is that these words were added to explain his previous acquiescence in the divine determination. The repetition of the verb *he said* implies a pause or interval however short. The various explanations of the particle כי, as meaning *well, yes, provided, only, yet, oh that*, etc. are mere substitutions of what the interpreters think Hezekiah ought to have said for what he did say, which is simply this, (*I call it good*) *because there is to be etc.* This exact sense of the words is retained in the Targum and the English Version. The optative meaning is expressed in the Septuagint (*γενέσθω δή*) and the Vulgate (*fiat tantum*). The Peshito simplifies the syntax by omitting *and he said*, and connecting the two clauses directly: *good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken, that there shall be peace and truth in my days.* But this, besides its arbitrary mutilation of the text, impairs the force of Hezekiah's language by restricting it wholly to the promise. *Peace* may be here taken in the wide sense of prosperity, but with special reference to its proper import, as denoting exemption from war. *Truth* is understood by Henderson and Barnes in its modern religious sense of true religion. Cocceius even restricts it to the preaching of the truth. Hendewerk gives it the sense of *goodness*, as the Septuagint does that of

righteousness. Hitzig supposes it to mean the mutual fidelity of men in their relations to each other. But the best interpretation seems to be the one approved by Calvin, Vitringa, and Gesenius, who take the word in its primary etymological sense of *permanence*, *stability*, in which the ideas of fidelity and truth may be included, as effects necessarily imply their cause.

From the foregoing exposition of chapters XXXVI–XXXIX, it may safely be inferred, as a legitimate if not an unavoidable deduction, that they form a continuous unbroken narrative by one and the same writer; that this writer may as well have been Isaiah as any other person, if we regard internal evidence, and can have been no other, if we regard the immemorial tradition of the Hebrew Canon; and that these four chapters, far from having been inserted here at random or through ignorance, are in their proper place, as a connecting link between the Earlier and Later Prophecies, the threatening in ch. 39: 6 being really the theme or text of the long prophetic discourse, with which the remainder of the book is occupied.

THE END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